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**An edition and study of select sermons from the Carolingian Sermonary of Salzburg**

McCune, James

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# **An Edition and Study of Select Sermons from the Carolingian Sermonary of Salzburg**

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A thesis submitted to the University of London, in partial  
fulfilment for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

King's College, London  
Department of History  
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## Abstract

In recent years several anonymous collections of Carolingian sermons have been unearthed. This thesis presents an edition and study of a selection of sermons from a collection known in anglophone scholarship as the ‘Sermonary of Salzburg’. The first chapter publicizes all previous editions and studies of Carolingian sermons, and offers a thoroughgoing critical review of the historiography on the rôle of sermons and preaching in the Carolingian renaissance. The next chapter introduces the ‘Sermonary of Salzburg’ itself, describing the manuscripts in which it is transmitted, and attempting to ascribe a date and place of composition. On the basis of internal evidence from the sermons themselves, the existence of other comparable collections, and the presence of homiliaries in parish church inventories, it is argued that the ‘Sermonary of Salzburg’ was compiled to furnish priests with model sermons to preach to their congregations. The following chapters analyse in detail a discrete group of sermons. In each chapter attention is paid to how the compiler adapts his sources (when they can be identified), and what this reveals about the projected audience. In the instances where there is no known source text, parallels from other contemporary collections and patristic writers are sought to shed light on where the author may have gleaned his material. There are chapters on exegesis in the sermons; the sermons on the subjects of penance and confession – a topic which pervades the whole collection; a cycle of four Pseudo-Augustinian sermons on concupiscence and almsgiving; sermons on the Resurrection; and finally, on a group of sermons explicitly addressed to lay potentates: *iudices* and *principes*. In sum, this thesis contributes to the question of how religious beliefs were inculcated in the laity as part of the Carolingian attempt to reform society.

## Acknowledgments

I gratefully acknowledge the generous funding provided by the (now) Arts and Humanities Research Council, which enabled me to spend nearly three years working on this thesis. I owe a debt of gratitude to Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton, both at the University of Exeter, who provided references at short notice to the then AHRB which helped to secure the award. It was Professor Thomas L. Amos who first suggested to me via e-mail that this important sermonary would repay study. His untimely death in July 2005 robbed the scholarly world of a pioneer in the study of early medieval sermons and preaching. I would also like to express my thanks to François Dolbeau, whose immense erudition is matched by his benevolence: he read and commented upon a very rough draft of chapter V and sermons XII-XV, making many helpful suggestions and encouraging me to publish. I have benefited immeasurably from discussions with Maximilian Diesenberger about this sermonary; he has been kind enough to share his ideas, send me offprints, and offer bibliographic references. My thesis supervisor, Jinty Nelson, has not been so much a supervisor as an intellectual inspiration: it was an honour to be her student. It is an oft-repeated maxim that researching and writing a Ph.D. is a lonely task. It would have been far the lonelier but for the friendship and mutual support of Kriston Rennie. Finally, I want to take this opportunity to acknowledge the understanding and patience shown by my fiancée, Miss Hélène Wilson: *Hoc opusculum, mea carissima, tibi dedico.*



## Abbreviations

Bischoff, <i>Schreibschulen I</i>	B. Bischoff, <i>Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit. Teil I: Die bayrischen Diözesen</i> (3 <sup>rd</sup> ed., Wiesbaden, 1974)
Bischoff, <i>Schreibschulen II</i>	B. Bischoff, <i>Die südostdeutschen Schreibschulen und Bibliotheken in der Karolingerzeit. Teil II: Die vorwiegend österreichischen Diözesen</i> (Wiesbaden, 1980)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis
CLA	<i>Codices Latini antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century</i> , ed. E. A. Lowe (11 vols plus supplement, Oxford, 1934-1972)
<i>MGH: Capit. I</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica: Capitularia regum Francorum I</i> , ed. A. Boretius (Hannover, 1883)
<i>MGH: Capit. episc. I</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica: Capitula episcoporum I</i> , ed. P. Brommer (Hannover, 1984)
<i>MGH: Capit. episc. II</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica: Capitula episcoporum II</i> , ed. R. Pokorny and M. Stratmann (Hannover, 1995)
<i>MGH: Capit. episc. III</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica: Capitula episcoporum III</i> , ed. R. Pokorny (Hannover, 1995)
<i>MGH: Conc. I</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica: Concilia aevi Karolini (742-842) I</i> , ed. A. Werminghoff (Hannover, 1906)
<i>MGH: Conc. II</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica: Concilia aevi Karolini (742-842) II</i> , ed. A. Werminghoff (Hannover, 1908)
<i>MGH: Epp. IV</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica: Epistolae Karolini aevi IV</i> , ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin, 1895)
<i>MGH: Poetae I</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica: Poetae latini aevi Carolini I</i> , ed. E. Dümmler (Berlin, 1881)

<i>MGH: SS</i>	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica: Scriptores</i> (Hannover, 1826-)
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina</i> , ed. J.-P. Migne (221 vols, Paris, 1844-55)
<i>PLS</i>	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Latina.</i> <i>Supplementum</i> , ed. A. Hamman (5 vols, Paris, 1958-74)
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue bénédictine</i>
<i>Settimane</i>	<i>Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi</i> <i>sull'alto medioevo</i>

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# I. Voices in the Night? Sermons and Preaching in the Carolingian Renaissance

## Foreword

The concept of reform in Christian thought, as Gerhart Ladner has shown in his magisterial studies, has its roots in the Pauline doctrine of a personal renovation in Christ toward that original 'image-likeness' of man to God, blemished in the Fall.<sup>1</sup> This idea of individual reformation gradually assumed a supra-individual meaning, encompassing the 'reform' or 'correction' of Christian society as a whole to a putative pristine state. Beginning in the mid-eighth century, successive Carolingian kings and ecclesiastical leaders sponsored such a programme of religious and cultural reform.<sup>2</sup> The moment was propitious for such a renewal: stable political conditions along with a vigorous impetus from the centre, as well as ample material resources, produced a flowering of learning. Foreign scholars and émigrés brought their erudition to the Carolingian court; efforts were undertaken to ensure that manuscripts were transcribed correctly in a legible minuscule script in ateliers across the Frankish world; an endeavour was made to Romanize and regulate liturgical observance; the study of pagan Latin authors was rejuvenated in order to better understand Holy Writ. The reformers saw these measures as a means to an end: they sought to effect a moral regeneration of the Frankish people which would lead to salvation for all. Charlemagne famously took his cue from Josias, the Old Testament king, who 'by visitation, correction and

<sup>1</sup> G.B. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, MA, 1959); idem, 'Die mittelalterliche Reformidee und ihr Verhältnis zur Idee der Renaissance', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 60 (1952), 31-59.

<sup>2</sup> There is a huge bibliography on the Carolingian renaissance. Some of the most pertinent studies are: E. Patzelt, *Die karolingische Renaissance: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kultur des frühen Mittelalters* (Vienna, 1924); P. Lehmann, 'Das Problem der karolingischen Renaissance', *Settimane*, 1 (1954), 309-58; P.E. Schramm, 'Karl der Grosse: Denkart und Grundauffassungen – Die von ihm bewirkte Correctio ("Renaissance")', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 198 (1964), 306-45, esp. 339-42; K.F. Morrison, 'The Church, Reform, and Renaissance in the Early Middle Ages', in R.S. Hoyt (ed.), *Life and Thought in the Early Middle Ages* (Minneapolis, 1967), pp.143-159; W. Ullmann, *The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship. The Birkbeck Lectures 1968-9* (London, 1969); G.W. Trompf, 'The Concept of the Carolingian Renaissance', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 34 (1973), 3-26; J.L. Nelson, 'On the Limits of the Carolingian Renaissance', *Studies in Church History*, 14 (1977), 51-69; R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789-895* (London, 1977); J. Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance', in idem, *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts* (Aldershot, 1992), c.III, pp.59-74, reprt. from W. Treadgold (ed.), *Renaissances before the Renaissance* (Stanford, 1984); M. Rouche, 'The Carolingian Renewal', in R. Fossier (ed.), *The Cambridge Illustrated History of the Middle Ages I (350-950)*, trans. J. Sondheimer (Cambridge, 1989), pp.416-73; G. Brown, 'Introduction: The Carolingian Renaissance', in R. McKitterick, *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge, 1994), pp.1-51.



admonition, strove to recall the kingdom which God had given him to the worship of the true God.’<sup>3</sup>

For centuries however, scholars have queried the significance of the Carolingian renaissance. Petrarch, the Renaissance humanist who is widely credited with establishing the chronology of the ‘Dark Ages’, wrote disparagingly of Charlemagne and his dynasty’s achievements.<sup>4</sup> Modern academics have not been so condescending, though debate has ranged in scholarly circles from the question of semantics to the precise nature of the renaissance. For instance, when compared to the Renaissance proper in terms of character and goals, does it even merit the appellation ‘renaissance’ at all? Is not ‘correctio’ a better term? The ‘renaissance’ label however has stuck. One area in which the study of sermons and preaching has the potential to contribute to the enquiry is at the disjuncture between ideal and reality: in other words, the extent to which the Carolingian renaissance did indeed impinge on the lives of ordinary people, or whether it was really a cultural movement in a vacuum, distinct from society at large and restricted to intellectuals in their ivory towers.

The purpose of this introductory chapter is threefold: firstly, I will set out the place of the sermon in the liturgy, and explain the terms used both by contemporaries and historians to describe the genus; second, I present an up-to-date account of all previous editions and studies of Carolingian sermon texts, one intention of which is to provide the reader with some essential facts about collections that will be referred to right the way through this thesis; finally, I proffer a critical review of the secondary literature on the rôle of sermons and preaching in the Carolingian period. All this forms a prelude to a comprehensive study of one particular sermon collection: the so-called ‘Sermonary of Salzburg’.

### Definitions of the Genre

The issues of nomenclature and taxonomy have long occupied historians. Two liturgical frameworks existed in the early Middle Ages for preaching: at Mass and in the Divine Office. Christianity inherited the reading of Holy Scripture and commenting upon it at worship services from Judaism. Since the earliest times the annual recurrence of certain celebrations led to a choice of biblical readings suited to the occasion being read at the

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<sup>3</sup> *MGH: Capit. I*, no.22, p.54; translated in P.D. King, *Charlemagne: Translated Sources* (Lambrigg, 1987), p.209.

<sup>4</sup> T.E. Mommsen, ‘Petrarch’s Conception of the “Dark Ages”’, *Speculum*, 17 (1942), 226-242; W.K. Ferguson, ‘Humanist Views of the Renaissance’, *The American Historical Review*, 45 (1939), 1-28.



Eucharist.<sup>5</sup> This choice of scriptural passage separated from its biblical order and context is known as a pericope. Initially, it was left to the bishop to choose what, and how much, a lector should read. From about the fourth century onwards there is evidence that a fixed system of readings for the entire year had developed; surviving lectionaries, however, date only from the sixth century. The number of readings varied from church to church between two (the Roman tradition which was prevalent by the eighth century) or three (the Gallican and elsewhere), but the Gospel reading was always last. As in the synagogue, an oral exposition followed the reading.

Many different terms were used to describe this oral exposition, depending on its character. However, in a now classic article, Christine Mohrmann showed how in the course of the fourth century *sermo* became the most widely-used term for preaching *ad populos*, regardless of whether it was exegetical, catechetical or simple moral exhortation.<sup>6</sup> Again, in the fourth century the Latin verb *praedicare* became the technical term for ordinary preaching by bishops or priests. *Praedicare* evoked the original mystical meaning of the word as a translation from the New Testament Greek; it designated the proclamation of the Word of God by Christ and the Apostles, inspired by the Holy Spirit. Jean Longère, surveying the question of terminology down to the twelfth century, came to the same conclusion as Mohrmann: the word *sermo* predominated over *tractatus* or the Greek *homilia* by the Carolingian period, but all were used interchangeably.<sup>7</sup>

Usually, scholars classify a given text as a sermon or a homily based on its content and internal organization. Thomas N. Hall has defined a sermon as ‘a catechetical or admonitory discourse built upon a theme or topic not necessarily grounded in scripture, whereas a homily is a systematic exposition of a pericope...commenting on a given passage verse by verse’.<sup>8</sup> Thus a homiliary is a

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<sup>5</sup> All scholars nowadays deny that there was ever a *lectio continua* of Scripture at Mass. See C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, rev. and trans. W.G. Storey and N.K. Rasmussen (Washington D.C., 1986), pp.291-355; A.G. Martimort, *Les lectures liturgiques et leurs livres*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 64 (Turnhout, 1992); E. Palazzo, *Histoire des livres liturgiques. Le moyen âge, des origines au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1993), pp.103-23.

<sup>6</sup> C. Mohrmann, ‘Praedicare – Tractare – Sermo: Essai sur la terminologie de la prédication paleochrétienne’, *La Maison-Dieu*, 39 (1954), 97-107 (reprt. in eadem, *Études sur le latin des chrétiens* (4 vols, Rome, 1958-1977), ii, pp.63-72).

<sup>7</sup> J. Longère, ‘Le vocabulaire de la prédication’, in *La lexicographie du latin médiéval et ses rapports avec les recherches actuelles sur la civilisation du moyen âge* (Paris, 1981), pp.303-20.

<sup>8</sup> T.N. Hall, ‘The Early Medieval Sermon’, in B.M. Kienzle (ed.), *The Sermon*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 81-3 (Turnhout, 2000), pp.203-69, at p.205. See also B.M. Kienzle, ‘Introduction’, in *ibid.*, pp.143-74, at pp.160-4; R. Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux: analyse de manuscrits* (Spoleto, 1980), pp.18-24.



collection of exegetical texts which follow the order of pericopes for the liturgical year. A sermonary, on the other hand, is a collection of texts categorized by their moral or doctrinal theme, similarly arranged according to the course of the liturgical cycle, but not necessarily tied to a portion of Scripture. These definitions, however, are artificial constructs imposed by modern historians: Carolingian compilers did not always make such distinctions, and one particular collection might contain both types of text. Nonetheless, this terminology is convenient in order to compartmentalize the two genres. As we shall see, the texts in the 'Sermonary of Salzburg' are sermons. That is to say, in form they do not expound a pericope, and in terms of content they are exhortative and instructive discourses.

The other liturgical context for the use of sermons or homilies was the monastic night Office (also called Vigil or Matins). The Benedictine Rule lays down clearly that at this Office passages of Scripture from the Old and New Testament were to be read, as well as 'commentaries on them which have been made by well-known and orthodox Catholic Fathers.'<sup>9</sup> Other monastic rules included similar provisions. What is more, Benedict stipulated that at the beginning of Lent each brother was to choose a book from the library to read right through during Lent: one or two of the senior monks were deputed to ensure no one shirked the duty.<sup>10</sup> The Rule also prescribed reading on Sundays, and decreed that a lector was to be appointed weekly each Sunday who would read to his fellow brothers in the refectory.<sup>11</sup> A homily or sermon would be suitable fare on any of these occasions; hagiographical readings also took place during the Office. Moreover, Chrodegang of Metz's (†766) *Regula canonorum* ordered that tractates or homilies were to be read to the canons at Chapter on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays.<sup>12</sup> This communal recitation of texts, argues Claussen, was a technique to mould the spiritual community, as well as being educational.

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<sup>9</sup> *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, ed. and trans. J. McCann (London, 1951), c.IX, pp.50-1. See further R. Grégoire, *Les homéliaires du moyen âge: inventaire et analyse des manuscrits* (Rome, 1966), pp.5-6; idem, *Homéliaires liturgiques*, pp.4-10; Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy*, pp.363-5; Martimort, *Les lectures*, pp.69ff; Palazzo, *Les livres*, pp.166-9.

<sup>10</sup> *Rule of Saint Benedict*, trans. McCann, c.XLVIII, pp.110-113. On the evolution of this practice see B. Victor, 'Aux origines de la bibliothèque monastique: la distribution du Carême', *Scriptorium*, 50 (1996), 247-53.

<sup>11</sup> *Rule of Saint Benedict*, trans. McCann, c.XXXVIII, pp.92-95 (weekly reader); c.XLVIII, pp.112-113 (Sunday reading).

<sup>12</sup> M.A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula canonorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge, 2004), pp.70-1, 106. See further J. Barrow, 'Review Article: Chrodegang, his Rule and its Successors', *Early Medieval Europe*, 14 (2006), 201-12.



It was the French scholar, Henri Barré, who first distinguished between ‘homélistes patristiques’ and ‘homélistes carolingiens’.<sup>13</sup> The former are collections of homilies/sermons arranged according to the cycle of the liturgical year which reproduce patristic texts more or less verbatim. They were generally destined for reading aloud at the Divine Office or at the refectory, though they could also furnish edifying material for private reading. By ‘Carolingian homiliary’ Barré meant primarily the products of the Auxerre school – Haymo, Heiric and Remigius. These authors, while adhering closely to the pericope, took a greater liberty with their patristic source material, abridging, modifying and stitching homilies together. Barré saw this originality and independence as a manifestation of the Carolingian renaissance. Their systematic and sophisticated exegesis, he concluded, rendered them best suited to private devotional reading, not liturgical use.<sup>14</sup> However, Barré and other French scholars, such as Étaix and Jean Longère,<sup>15</sup> also construed the genre of ‘Carolingian homiliary’ more broadly to include those homiliaries which, similar to the Auxerre type, did not simply transcribe their sources, but unlike them, were intended for pastoral use: namely, to instruct the clergy and supply them with preaching material. Accordingly, it is possible to distinguish three types of collection from this period:

- i. those for use in the night Office;
- ii. those for private devotional reading by monks, clergy and educated laymen;<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> H. Barré, ‘Homélistes’, in *Dictionnaire de spiritualité t. 7* (Paris, 1969), cols 597-606, esp. cols 601-3; idem, *Les homélistes carolingiens de l’école d’Auxerre: authenticité, inventaire, tableaux comparatifs, initia* (Vatican City, 1962); R. Étaix, ‘Les homélistes carolingiens de l’école d’Auxerre’, in D. Iogna-Prat, C. Jeudy and G. Lobrichon (eds), *L’école carolingienne d’Auxerre de Murethach à Remi 830-908* (Paris, 1991), pp.243-51.

<sup>14</sup> Grégoire, *Les homélistes*, pp.9-11 also makes it clear that the ‘Carolingian homiliaries’ were never used for the Office, ‘sauf en des cas exceptionnels’, but were ‘destinés à la lecture privée et à la méditation.’

<sup>15</sup> Although containing nothing intrinsically original, Jean Longère in his tome on medieval preaching offers a useful and admirably clear synthesis primarily of the French historiography, detailing the main homiletic collections from the early medieval period and setting out the legislative background to preaching. See J. Longère, *La prédication médiévale* (Paris, 1983), pp.35-54; idem, ‘Le pouvoir de prêcher et le contenu de la prédication dans l’Occident chrétien’, in *Prédication et propagande au Moyen Age: Islam, Byzance, Occident*, Penn-Paris-Dumbarton Oaks Colloquia III (Paris, 1983), pp.165-77, esp. pp.167-8; idem, ‘La prédication et l’instruction des fidèles selon les conciles et les statuts synodaux depuis l’antiquité tardive jusqu’au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle’, in *Actes du 109<sup>e</sup> congrès national des sociétés savants. L’encadrement religieux des fidèles au Moyen-Age et jusqu’au Concile de Trente* (Paris, 1985), pp.391-418, esp. pp.393-6.

<sup>16</sup> Examples of homiliaries from the Carolingian period destined mainly for private reading include that composed by Hrabanus Maurus at the express request of the Emperor Lothar – see R. Étaix, ‘L’homéliste composé par Hraban Maur pour l’empereur Lothaire’, *Recherches augustiniennes*, 19 (1984), 211-40, and a homiliary preserved in Munich, *Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 14386, s.ix<sup>2</sup>, prov. St Emmeram, orig. around Regensburg – see Bischoff, *Schreibschulen I*, pp.227-8, and R. Étaix, ‘Un



iii. and finally, those meant to provide models for preaching to the laity.

This theoretical division is, however, not always so clear-cut. Sometimes it is tricky to assign a particular manuscript to one category, and of course, boundaries could always blur in reality.

### Previous Studies and Editions: The State of Play

This thesis is concerned exclusively with Latin sermons designed to be preached to a lay Christian audience at Mass. The aim of this section is to publicize all the literature on popular sermons from the Carolingian period that has appeared hitherto, primarily to supply some basic data about collections that will be encountered again during the course of this thesis, but also to make available an up-to-date inventory for interested scholars.<sup>17</sup>

Many sermonaries were assembled by, or for, bishops to discharge their preaching office. There exist recent editions and studies of the sermonary compiled by Hrabanus Maurus for archbishop Haistulf of Mainz between 822 and 825,<sup>18</sup> and that of Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, commissioned by bishops Froterius of Poitiers (900-

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homélaire quadragésimal du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle: le ms. Clm 14386', *Scriptorium*, 40 (1986), 3-15. The format, content (mainly extracts from the commentaries of Alcuin, Bede and Jerome) and origin of Boston Public Library 95 [*quondam* Phillipps 13842], s.x<sup>1/3</sup>, orig. Benedictine abbey of St Allyre nr. Clermont, also class it as this type of homiliary – see M.M. Gorman, 'The Oldest Latin Manuscript in Boston: A Unique Carolingian Homiliary for Lent from Clermont', *Manuscripta*, 26 (1982), 157-66. A monastic origin and usage must be posited for the so-called 'Luculentius' homiliary, drawn up around the beginning of the tenth century in central Italy, which has one hundred and fifty-six homilies on the Epistle and Gospel readings for each Sunday and feast day. See J. Lemarié, 'La collection carolingienne de Luculentius restituée par les deux codices Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia Aemil. 17 et 21', *Sacris Erudiri*, 27 (1984), 221-371; an edition of eighteen of these homilies appears in PL 72:803A-860A, with one more in PLS IV:1416-20. H. Müller, *Das 'Luculentius'-Homiliar. Quellenkritische Untersuchungen mit Teiledition*, Wiener Studien Beiheft 23 (Vienna, 1999) edited a further twelve homilies and provides a commentary on each. She confirms the genus of this homiliary on pp.14-21: it is a 'Lesehomiliarien' like those produced by the Auxerre school for private devotion (*Andacht*) and edification (*Bildung*), with no direct liturgical purpose. Finally, a homily on the Transfiguration which appears in a s.xii/xiii homiliary from Salerno has been ascribed by Étaix to the second half of the ninth century, but this too was undoubtedly written for an audience of religious. See R. Étaix, 'An Unpublished Homily on the Transfiguration', in T.N. Hall (ed.), *Via Crucis: Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J.E. Cross* (Morgantown, 2002), pp.285-94.

<sup>17</sup> This inventory supplements and updates that of Hall, 'Early Medieval Sermon', pp.221-7, and Tom Amos's doctoral thesis (see below).

<sup>18</sup> J.C. Woods, *A Critical Edition of Sermons 42-64 from the Ninth-Century Latin Sermon Collection Compiled by Hrabanus Maurus for Archbishop Haistulf of Mainz* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London, 1997); eadem, 'Six New Sermons by Hrabanus Maurus on the Virtues and Vices', *RB*, 107 (1997), 280-306; R. Étaix, 'Le recueil de sermons composé par Raban Maur pour Haistulfe de Mayence', *Revue des études augustiniennes*, 32 (1986), 124-137. A complete new edition of this collection edited by Clare Woods is forthcoming in the series *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis*, but for now, one is forced to rely on PL 110:9B-134D.



936) and Fulrad of Paris (922-926/7).<sup>19</sup> There are article-length studies of the so-called homiliary of Mondsee, dedicated to Archbishop Hildebald of Cologne between 811-818/19 by Lantperhtus, abbot of Mondsee,<sup>20</sup> and a further anthology written under the auspices of Hildebald.<sup>21</sup> The sermons of bishop Atto of Vercelli (924-60) survive in two contemporaneous manuscripts, both with Atto's monogram, one de luxe copy for his own personal use, the other for his clergy to consult.<sup>22</sup> From the very end of the chronological period with which we are concerned come the sermons of bishop Rather of Verona (†974).<sup>23</sup> Highly politicized, some were proclaimed to his clergy, others to his congregation.

The contribution of French scholars in unearthing previously unknown anonymous collections in libraries across Europe and publishing accounts of them has been immensely valuable. Those seemingly intended to serve as models for popular preaching brought to light in recent years include a collection given the appellation 'the Carolingian homiliary of Angers', reconstructed painstakingly by the peerless Raymond Étaix, which he attributes to 'a pastor of the tenth century'.<sup>24</sup> Another sermonary publicized by Étaix was named by him after the place where it reposed in the fifteenth

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<sup>19</sup> *Abbo von Saint-Germain-des-Prés: 22 Predigten. Kritische Ausgabe und Kommentar*, ed. U. Önnersfors (Frankfurt am Main and New York, 1985). This has now superseded the old paper by J. Leclercq, 'Le florilège d'Abbon de Saint-Germain', *Revue du moyen âge latin*, 3 (1947), 113-140. On the later use made of Abbo's sermons by Wulfstan, archbishop of York (†1023), see J.E. Cross and A. Brown, 'Wulfstan and Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés', *Mediaevalia*, 15 (1993), 71-91. The preamble and five sermons were printed by Migne in PL 132:761A-778B.

<sup>20</sup> H. Barré, 'L'homiliaire carolingien de Mondsee', *RB*, 71 (1961), 71-107; idem, *Les homéliaires*, p.25. There seems to be some confusion over the date of Hildebald's death. Barré and the annals of St Emmeram say 819 (*MGH: SS I*, p.93); others say 818, e.g. Étaix (see n.21) and D. Bullough, 'Charlemagne's "Men of God". Alcuin, Hildebald and Arn', in J. Story (ed.), *Charlemagne: Empire and Society* (Manchester, 2005), pp.136-50, at pp.142-6.

<sup>21</sup> R. Étaix, 'Le sermonnaire d'Hildebald de Cologne', *Recherches augustiniennes*, 23 (1988), 115-124. A description and digitized images of the manuscript (Cod. 171) can be found online at <http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de/>. Note also that the manuscript Cologne, *Dombibliothek*, 172, probably a product of the Mondsee scriptorium c.800 and containing the first part of the homiliary known as Pseudo-Bede, was also brought to Cologne by Hildebald, who happened to be titular abbot thereof.

<sup>22</sup> See S.F. Wemple, *Atto of Vercelli: Church State and Christian Society in Tenth Century Italy* (Rome, 1979), appendix II, pp.185-89 on the manuscripts, and pp.197, 199 on their sources. Wemple (p.42) had little time for Atto's sermons: she criticized Atto's lack of 'spontaneity' and 'warmth', judging them to be 'disappointing' as examples of medieval preaching. Edition in PL 134:833B-860A.

<sup>23</sup> PL 136:689A-758B; newer edition in *Ratherius Veronensis, Opera minora*, ed. P.L.D. Reid, CCCM 46 (Turnhout, 1976). B.R. Reece, 'Addenda to Ratherius' *Sermones* in Brussels 5463-67 (Lat. 1104) and Munich 6426', *Latomus*, 26 (1967), 783-6 supplies some additional readings from previously unknown manuscripts, Munich 6426 corrected by Rather himself. A translation is available in *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona*, trans. P.L.D. Reid (Binghamton, N.Y., 1991). On the character of the sermons see *ibid.*, p.14: 'his sermons are unusual for the degree to which his personal feuds and his own failings interpose themselves.'

<sup>24</sup> R. Étaix, 'L'homiliaire carolingien d'Angers', *RB*, 104 (1994), 148-190.



century, 'l'Hôtel-Dieu de Beaune'.<sup>25</sup> This collection undoubtedly emanated from Bavaria, and was most likely concocted very early in the ninth century, for it uses a couple of Alcuin's (†804) late works and was also drawn upon by the compiler of our sermonary, the homiliary on the Epistles known as Pseudo-Bede,<sup>26</sup> and the 'Bavarian homiliary'. The latter was probably composed for the church of Salzburg (or possibly Augsburg, wherein originated its earliest manuscript), for it contains a sermon for St Rupert of Salzburg; it also depends upon the homiliary of Mondsee and almost certainly dates to the first quarter of the ninth century.<sup>27</sup> Another significant collection, known after its oldest manuscript witness as the 'Saint-Père de Chartres' homiliary, must post-date 819 since it utilises Hrabanus Maurus's *De clericorum institutione*.<sup>28</sup> A ninth-century homiliarium originally consisting of two separate parts and containing items common to the Saint-Père collection was acquired by the Newberry Library in Chicago in 1954; the savant Henri Barré subsequently uncovered more sources and corroborated its Languedocian origin.<sup>29</sup> In addition, a small anonymous compilation of fourteen sermons from northern Italy which date from the mid-ninth century has been edited by Paul Mercier.<sup>30</sup> An additional homiliary emanating from Italy in the first half of the

<sup>25</sup> R. Étaix, 'Le sermonnaire carolingien de Beaune', *Revue des études augustiniennes*, 25 (1979), 106-49.

<sup>26</sup> See Barré, *Les homéliaires carolingiens*, pp.6-10. I doubt very much whether this homiliary was for popular consumption, but it deserves further study.

<sup>27</sup> Barré, 'L'homilaire carolingien de Mondsee', 83-91; idem, *Les homéliaires carolingiens*, pp.26-7. The presence of some items from this collection in the manuscript Udine, *Biblioteca arcivescovile*, 4 (M), which Bischoff dated to the first quarter of the ninth century, means that Barré's dating of the second quarter of the ninth century has to be revised slightly.

<sup>28</sup> This Chartres manuscript (s.x-xi) was almost totally destroyed by fire in 1944, but some detective work on the remnants led to the discovery that Cambridge, *Pembroke College*, 25 (s.xi) preserved the same collection. See Barré, *Les homéliaires carolingiens*, pp.17-25; J.E. Cross, *Cambridge Pembroke College Ms. 25: A Carolingian Sermonary used by Anglo-Saxon Preachers* (London, 1987), defends the unity of the Pembroke collection against the views of Barré; F. Dolbeau, 'Du nouveau sur un sermonnaire de Cambridge', *Scriptorium*, 42 (1988), 255-7, proposes a Continental origin for the collection, maybe Tours, in contrast to Cross who suggests a insular provenance, or at least a centre on the Continent under insular influence. No.22 from this collection was transcribed by H.L. Spencer, 'Vernacular and Latin Versions of a Sermon for Lent: "A Lost Penitential Homily" Found', *Mediaeval Studies*, 44 (1982), 271-305, at 282-91. It was translated into Old English and appears in several Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: see J. Turville-Petre, 'Translations of a Lost Penitential Homily', *Traditio*, 19 (1963), 51-78. Another sermon has recently been printed by J. Lemarié, 'Le sermon *Oportet nos, fratres karissimi, gaudere hodie et exultare* de l'homilaire carolingien dit "de Saint-Père de Chartres"', in D. Gobbi (ed.), *Florentissima proles ecclesiae: miscellanea hagiographica, historica et liturgica Reginaldo Grégoire OSB XII lustra complementi oblata* (Trento, 1996), pp.373-9. No.51 from this collection has apparently been edited by J.-D. Kaestli, 'Le Protévangile de Jacques latin dans l'homélie *Inquerendum est pour la fête de la Nativité de Marie*', *Apocrypha*, 12 (2001), 99-154, which I have not seen. Finally, P.E. Szarmach, 'Pembroke College 25, Arts. 93-95', in Hall, *Via Crucis*, pp.295-325 prints nos.93-95.

<sup>29</sup> M.P. Cunningham, 'Contents of the Newberry Library Homiliarium', *Sacris Erudiri*, 7 (1955), 267-301; H. Barré, 'Sermons marials inédits "in Natali Domini"', *Marianum*, 25 (1963), 39-93, at 50-6. I have not been able to get hold of M.T. Martin, *Two Sermons from the Newberry Homiliary* (Unpublished M.A. thesis, Western Michigan University, 1996).

<sup>30</sup> *XIV homélies du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. P. Mercier, Sources chrétiennes no.161 (Paris, 1970).



ninth century and discussed by Tom Amos also appears to have been meant for popular preaching.<sup>31</sup> This 'Italian homiliary' was the subject of a recent Ph.D. dissertation by Michael Martin, who presents a transcription of the one hundred and twelve homilies thereof and puts forward Lyon[s] between 798 and 820 as its place of origin.<sup>32</sup>

Unsurprisingly, a group of fifteen sermons claiming to be the work of St Boniface (†754) has had much ink spilled over it by German scholars, some attempting to deny its authenticity, others to prove it.<sup>33</sup> Jean-Paul Bouhot dated the collection to the mid-ninth century, based on the fact that some manuscripts transmitting the sermons include an instruction on baptism written in response to Charlemagne's enquiry of c.812 which, in his opinion, the author originally added to his compilation. He also pointed out, as others had done before, that the fifteenth sermon is earlier in date than the rest and should be considered separately.<sup>34</sup> The manuscript evidence shows that the collection of fourteen sermons was in existence by the mid-ninth century; individual pieces from the collection, some with attributions to Boniface, are attested in earlier manuscripts. It was noticed long ago that the content of the collection corresponds exactly to the prescriptions laid down in chapter 82 of the *Admonitio generalis* (789) as to what should form the substance of preaching: a late-eighth or early-ninth century date would seem to accord well with this evidence.<sup>35</sup> Gerhard Schmitz, arguing for the homogeneity of the collection, recently advanced the eminently plausible hypothesis that it originated around 800 from someone in Alcuin's circle, owing to its author's visibly Alcuinian mindset (*Gedankengut*).<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>31</sup> The collection was first discovered by Dom Morin. Its manuscripts, character and provenance are considered by Henri Barré, *Les homéliaires carolingiens*, pp.27-30, and alluded to as the 'Homélaire italien du Nord' by Longère, *La prédication*, p.43. There is a short note by Amos in *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 29 (1992), 47-8 which summarizes a paper given by him on this homiliary at Kalamazoo in 1991.

<sup>32</sup> M.T. Martin, *The Italian Homiliary: Texts and Contexts* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Western Michigan University, 2005). Martin promises a full critical edition.

<sup>33</sup> For example, both H. Hahn, 'Die angeblichen Predigten des Bonifaz', *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, 24 (1884), 585-625, and F. Flaskamp, *Die homiletischen Wirksamkeit des hl. Bonifatius* (Hildesheim, 1926), pp.31-2 answer firmly in the negative, basing their judgements partly on a comparison with his extant letters and partly on the non-missionary content of the sermons. Cf. A.J. Nürnberger, 'Die angebliche Unechtheit der Predigten des heiligen Bonifatius', *Neues Archiv*, 14 (1889), 109-34. The collection can be found in PL 89:843C-872A.

<sup>34</sup> J.-P. Bouhot, 'Alcuin et le "De catechizandis rudibus" de saint Augustin', *Recherches augustiniennes*, 15 (1980), 176-240, at 184-191.

<sup>35</sup> In an unpublished paper entitled 'The Sermons Attributed to Boniface' given at the International Medieval Congress in Leeds on 10 July 2006, Rob Meens of the University of Utrecht favoured this date over Bouhot's suggestion.

<sup>36</sup> In an unpublished paper called 'Bonifatius und Alkuin: Ein Beitrag zur Glaubensverkündigung in der Karolingerzeit' given at a conference held in St Gallen, Switzerland from 30.09.2004-02.10.2004 on 'Alkuin von York (um 730-804) und die geistige Grundlegung Europas'. A report on the conference can be found at: <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/tagungsberichte/id=615>. I would like to thank Prof.



The genuineness of the sermons masquerading under the name of St Eligius of Noyon has also been disputed. They stem from a bishop, but where and when?<sup>37</sup> Vacandard contended over a century ago that their author used works by Alcuin and Remigius of Auxerre (†c.908),<sup>38</sup> was not preoccupied with idolatry, and wrote when the feast of the Purification was universal, thus at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century. Dom Plaine countered each argument, maintaining that the sermons could be contemporary with Eligius, though were not by him.<sup>39</sup> In the absence of any modern, scientific investigation, it is tricky to date or localize this important set of texts, but in my current estimation, a Romance-speaking area in Francia in the last quarter of the ninth or the tenth century is the likeliest option.<sup>40</sup>

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Dr. Schmitz for very kindly sending me a copy of his manuscript from this conference, and to Prof. David Ganz who alerted me to Prof. Dr. Schmitz's work. Here it should also be noted that F.-C. Scheibe, 'Alcuin und die Admonitio generalis', *Deutsches Archiv*, 14 (1958), 221-9 listed many stylistic parallels between Alcuin's writings and the second part of the *Admonitio generalis* (cc.60-82), concluding that Alcuin was an influential participant in the drawing up of the capitulary.

<sup>37</sup> The author's episcopal status is revealed clearly by the phrase 'nos episcopi' in hom. XII, PL 87:639C.

<sup>38</sup> The commentary on Paul's first letter to the Corinthians in question is actually the work of Haymo of Auxerre (fl.840-60), which obviously has implications for the dating. See D. Iogna-Prat, 'L'oeuvre d'Haymon d'Auxerre: état de la question', in Iogna-Prat *et al.* (eds), *L'école carolingienne*, pp.157-79, at pp.161-2. Burton Van Name Edwards' index of Carolingian biblical commentaries lists a staggering 188 manuscripts of this work: <http://www.tcnj.edu/~chazelle/carindex.htm>. The comparable passage with homilia XV, PL 87:647B-C is in PL 117:572C, where the work is attributed to Haymo's namesake, Bishop Haymo of Halberstadt (†853).

<sup>39</sup> E. Vacandard, 'Les homélies attribuées a saint Éloi', *Revue des questions historiques*, 64 (1898), 471-80; F. Plaine, 'Nouvelles remarques sur les homélies attribuées a saint Éloi', *Revue des questions historiques*, 65 (1899), 235-42; E. Vacandard, 'Réponse aux remarques de Dom Plaine', *Revue des questions historiques*, 65 (1899), 243-55. H. Millemann, 'Caesarius von Arles und die frühmittelalterliche Missionspredigt', *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft und Religionswissenschaft*, 23 (1933), 12-27, at 17-19 concludes that the sermons 'in der jetzigen Form wahrscheinlich nicht von Eligius, sondern aus späterer, vielleicht karolingischer Zeit, könnten aber sehr wohl interpolierte Eligiuspredigten sein.' He bases his argument on the fact that the sermons preserved in the *vita* of Eligius rely on Caesarius of Arles, as do some of the Pseudo-Eligius sermons. This hypothesis I find untenable given the wide usage of Caesarius amongst all Carolingian sermoners. The sermon in the *vita* (c.15 in PL 87:0524D-550C; c.16 in *MGH: SS rer. Merov. IV*, pp.705-8 (extracts only)) seems to have been compiled by the Carolingian hagiographer from Eligian material, for it corresponds at its beginning and end with the probably genuine 'praedicatio Eligii de supremo iudicio' edited in *MGH: SS rer. Merov. IV*, pp.751-61. A. de Vogüé, 'Vestiges de l'"Admonitio ad filium spirituale" du pseudo-Basile dans la prédication de saint Éloi', *RB*, 98 (1988), 18-20 adds another source for the *vita* sermon. The Ps.-Eligius collection is preserved in the eleventh-century codex Vatican, *Reg. Lat.*, 75, and was edited in PL 87:593B-654A, but A. Wilmart, *Codices Reginenses Latini, t.I* (Vatican, 1937), p.168, notes that 'Editorem autem alio codice usum esse, quanquam simillimo, videtur.' I know of no other manuscript. Incidentally, Tom Amos's view on this collection is confusing and error-strewn. In his *The Origin and Nature of the Carolingian Sermon* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan, 1983), pp.208-9, 230 nn.45-7 he states that Millemann dated the collection to between 800-60, which he did not. He further claims that the edition in Migne was taken from the Vatican manuscript. In 'Augustine and the Education of the Early Medieval Preacher', in E.D. English (ed.), *Reading and Wisdom: The De doctrina Christiana of Augustine in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 1995), pp.23-40, at pp.30-1, 39 nn.37-8 he first dates the collection 'between 810 and 860', then in the notes 'between 800 and 900'!

<sup>40</sup> I intend to study this collection further and present this argument in a paper entitled 'Rethinking the Pseudo-Eligius Sermon Collection' at the International Medieval Congress, Leeds, in July 2007.



A somewhat mutilated ninth-century manuscript written in northern Germany at the Benedictine abbey of Weissenburg contains some genuine sermons of Augustine and Caesarius of Arles (†542), plus some apocrypha, but nothing more recent than the sixth century. It could well be a copy of a much earlier compilation concocted by Caesarius to circulate abroad to serve as a preaching manual for priests.<sup>41</sup> A similar compendium of mainly Caesarian sermons dating to the last quarter of the eighth century with Bavarian and east Frankish glosses has been by tradition associated with the first bishop of Würzburg, the Anglo-Saxon Burchard (†753).<sup>42</sup> In fact, as Dom Morin pointed out long ago, it is only a corrupted copy of a collection of the sort Caesarius himself disseminated.<sup>43</sup> Finally, palaeographers have credited an assortment of sermons, principally Caesarian, but also incorporating Pirmin's (?) (†753) *Scarapsus*, conserved in two manuscripts residing at the Swiss monastery of Einsiedeln, with an eighth- or ninth-century date.<sup>44</sup>

Moreover, there exist popular sermons by the archbishops Agobard of Lyons (†840)<sup>45</sup> and Theodulf of Orléans (†821),<sup>46</sup> but it is a moot point in my view whether

<sup>41</sup> R. Grégoire, 'La collection homilétique du ms. Wolfenbüttel 4096', *Studi Medievali*, 14 (1973), 259-86 (reprinted as ch.XII in idem, *Homéliaires liturgiques*). One has to question seriously, though, whether it did in fact have the same function in the Carolingian period, what with its archaic African citations of Scripture (no.6) and references to conditions and events contemporary to the fifth and sixth centuries (e.g. nos.41, 94).

<sup>42</sup> Since Johann Georg von Eckhart published his *Commentarii de rebus Franciae orientalis et episcopatus Wirceburgensis* in 1729. Burchard's ninth-century biographer Egilward mentions books written or acquired by him, later bequeathed to Würzburg. See *MGH: SS XV*, lib.2, c.12, p.59; lib.3, c.1, p.60. The only internal evidence to support this attribution is an ornamented letter 'B' and majuscles 'DB' on the last folio.

<sup>43</sup> Dom G. Morin, 'L'homélaire de Burchard de Würzburg. Contribution à la critique des sermons de saint Césaire d'Arles', *RB*, 13 (1896), 97-111; B. Bischoff and J. Hofmann, *Libri sancti Kyliani: Die Würzburger Schreibschule und die Dombibliothek im VIII. und IX. Jahrhundert*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte des Bistums und Hochstifts Würzburg, Band VI (Würzburg, 1952), pp.10, 75 n.60, 100 n.158, 156; Grégoire, *Homéliaires*, p.73; H. Thurn, *Die Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Würzburg, Bd. 3, Hälfte 1: Die Pergamenthandschriften der ehemaligen Dombibliothek* (Harrassowitz, 1984), pp.19-21. Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 29047, an even older fragmentary manuscript in uncial script (s.viii<sup>1</sup>), is a copy of the same collection. See Bischoff, *Schreibschulen I*, p.257. I have not been able to see W. Böhne, 'Bischof Burchard von Würzburg und die von ihm benutzten liturgischen Bücher. Überlegungen und Vermutungen', *Würzburger Diözesangeschichtsblätter*, 50 (1988), 43-56.

<sup>44</sup> CLA VII, no.875, p.12 (Einsiedeln, *Stiftsbibliothek*, 199+281). Partial edition and outline of the contents by P. Piper, 'Superstitiones et Paganiae Einsidlenses', in *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Chatelain par ses élèves et ses amis 15 avril 1910* (Paris, 1910), pp.300-11. Another sermon was edited by C.P. Caspari, *Eine Augustin fälschlich beigelegte Homilia de sacrilegiis* (Christiania, 1886), pp.5-16; reprt. in PLS 4:969-973. In his opinion, this was an eighth-century text from north Francia (pp.66-73) written in 'fehlerhaft und barbarisch' Latin by a cleric 'von sehr geringe Qualität' (pp.52-3). Its sources are Ps.-Aug. s. 129 and 278. The other sermon printed by Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anekdota nebst neuen Ausgaben patristischer und kirchlich-mittelalterlicher Schriften I* (Christiania, 1883), pp.215-24 is actually by Caesarius of Arles (no.14 in Morin's edition). See further Millemann, 'Caesarius', 22-23.

<sup>45</sup> *Sermo exhortatorius ad plebem de fidei veritate et totius boni institutione*, PL 104:267C-288B.

<sup>46</sup> *De omnibus ordinibus huius saeculi*, PL 105:280C-282B.



the sermon *De cupiditate* by Ambrosius Autpertus (†784), abbot of San Vincenzo al Volturno for a time, was actually for a lay audience.<sup>47</sup> Other individual sermons of unknown provenance which are almost certainly Carolingian have also been edited,<sup>48</sup> as have others preached at synods,<sup>49</sup> one delivered at an episcopal visitation, most likely by Paulinus of Aquileia (†802),<sup>50</sup> an oration given by Abbot Lupus of Ferrières (†c.862) on the festal day of St Judocus (St Josse) on 13 December, sometime in the 850s or early

<sup>47</sup> Ambrosius Autpertus, *Opera III*, ed. R. Weber, CCCM 27B (Turnhout, 1979), p.977-80. On Ambrosius, see further chapter II n.154.

<sup>48</sup> The anonymous sermons *Allocutio sacerdotum de conjugii illicitis ad plebem*, PL 89:819A-821B, and *Homilia de decimis et de jejuniis*, PL 129:1261C-1262D, plus the Pseudo-Augustinian sermon *De conscientia*, maybe composed in Bavaria in the early ninth century, published by R.E. Reynolds, 'The Pseudo-Augustinian "Sermo de conscientia" and the Related Canonical "Dicta sancti Gregorii papae"', *RB*, 81 (1971), 310-17. A sermon printed by W. Scherer, 'Eine Lateinische Musterpredigt aus der Zeit Karls des Grossen', *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, 12 (1865), 436-446, is extant in Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 6330 and Vienna, *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, 515 (containing a fragment of the 'Lorsch' Annals). Bischoff, *Schreibschulen I*, pp.145-6 states that the hand responsible for the first part of Clm 6330 'is probably identical, or closely related' to that which wrote the annal entries for 794-7 and the homily in the Vienna manuscript. Bischoff dates Clm 6330 to 'shortly after 800'; the script type is Alemannian. Further discussion of the annals in R. McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), pp.104-11. See also CLA X, no.1483, p.14. Part of this sermon (pp.439ff. inc. 'Haec sunt autem opera mala') reappears in Ps.-Boniface sermon VI, PL 89:855B-856C, as well as Ps.-Hrabanus, homilia LXVII, PL 110:127B-128C. Woods (see n.18) has established that sermons LXV-LXX, as reprinted by Migne from Colvener's edition of 1626, are *not* by Hrabanus. Klaus Gamber in 1964 tried to show that this sermon was the work of Nicetas of Remesiana (fl.400), but Bouhot, 'Alcuin et le "De catechizandis rudibus"', 183-4 nn.18-20 says this is improbable based on its similarity with Pirmin's (?) *Scarapsus*, making it eighth-century. Millemann, 'Caesarius', 23-25 argues that the 'Musterpredigt' used Ps.-Boniface, not vice versa (*pace* Scherer). Wilhelm Levison printed part of a late Merovingian missionary(?) sermon referring to pagan customs in *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), app. x, pp.302-314 (reprt. PLS 4:967-9). Dom Morin, 'Textes inédits relatifs au symbole et à la vie chrétienne', *RB*, 22 (1905), 505-24, at 514-19 published a sermon from a twelfth-century manuscript on Christian duties, comparing it with the *Homilia de sacrilegiis* (see n.44). In his opinion, its origin was 'l'Alémanie, probablement, au cours du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle'. The sermons printed by C.P. Caspari, *Briefe, Abhandlungen und Predigten aus den zwei letzten Jahrhunderten des kirchlichen Alterthums und dem Anfang des Mittelalters* (Christiania, 1890), pp.200-1, 202-6, 206-8 are in fact by Caesarius of Arles (Morin's nos.201, 11 and 161); sermon XIV on pp.208-20 Caspari dates to the early seventh century at the latest (pp.429-72). Finally, Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anekdota*, pp.193-12 printed another anonymous sermon which is no more than an abridgement of Martin of Braga's *De correctione rusticorum* (composed shortly after 572).

<sup>49</sup> P.W. Finsterwalder, 'Die sogenannte Homilia Leonis IV., ihre Bedeutung für Hinkmars Capitula und Reginos Inquisitio', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung*, 27 (1938), 639-64 argues that an apocryphal homily of Leo IV (and printed no less than six times by Migne e.g. PL 115:670A-673C) began life as an episcopal capitulary at the beginning of the ninth century, but in the mid-ninth century was used as an opening address for bishops to preach to their clergy on their duties at synods/episcopal visitations. It was used as a source by Hincmar for his capitularies, and by Regino of Prüm. N. Kyll, 'Eine Trierer Sendpredigt aus dem 9. Jahrhundert', *Kurtrierisches Jahrbuch*, 1 (1961), 10-19 identified a sermon from an episcopal visitation and inquisition in Trier dating c.850-882. R. Pokorny, 'Ein unbekannter Synodalsermo Arn's von Salzburg', *Deutsches Archiv*, 39 (1983), 379-94 publicized a sermon preached by Arn at a Bavarian provincial synod between 806-11. On the sermon inc. 'Dilectissimi fratres, sanctissimi consacerdotes' and other material by Theodulf printed in PL 105:206B-208A after his first capitulary see *MGH: Capit. episc. I*, p.74, n.4: 'Die u.a. bei Migne...gedruckten "Zusätze"...gehören nicht zur Überlieferung des Kapitulars'.

<sup>50</sup> J. Leclercq, 'Bref discours pastoral attribuable à Paulin d'Aquilée', *RB*, 59 (1949), 157-60.



860s, lamenting the devastation wrought by the Northmen,<sup>51</sup> and finally, in a similar vein, an address proclaimed by a representative of the bishop at a synod in Freising cathedral to a clerical and lay audience, between 909-14 or 921-37, which alludes to Hungarian incursions.<sup>52</sup> A couple of interesting military sermons designed to be preached before battle have also been preserved, one for Carolingian soldiers about to fight the Avars,<sup>53</sup> and another from the time of Louis the Pious for warriors about to come to blows with Muslims (in the Spanish March one assumes).<sup>54</sup>

A small number of sermons by Alcuin survive, and all are hagiographical: one appended to the prose *vita* he wrote in 796 or 797 of his fellow Northumbrian St Willibrord for Beornrad, archbishop of Sens and abbot of Echternach;<sup>55</sup> another attached to a life of St Vedastus (St Vaast), rewritten sometime post-796 for Abbot

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<sup>51</sup> Reprinted from an earlier publication by W. Levison, 'Eine Predigt des Lupus von Ferrières', in idem, *Aus Rheinischer und Fränkischer Frühzeit* (Düsseldorf, 1948), pp.557-66.

<sup>52</sup> H. Schneider, 'Eine Freisinger Synodalspredigt aus der Zeit der Ungarneinfälle', in H. Mordek (ed.), *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter. Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (Tübingen, 1991), pp.95-115.

<sup>53</sup> Printed by A.M. Koeniger, *Die Militärseelsorge der Karolingerzeit. Ihr Recht und ihre Praxis* (Munich, 1918), pp.68-72. This sermon is extant in Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 14410. See J.M. Heer, *Ein Karolingischer Missions-Katechismus: Ratio de cathecizandis rudibus und die Tauf-Katechesen des Maxentius von Aquileia und eines Anonymous im Kodex Emmeram. XXXIII saec. IX*, *Biblische und Patristische Forschungen*, 1 (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1911), pp.60-2, who concludes it was intended for the Avar wars of 791-9. Koeniger comments on p.51 that, 'Von der Wende des 7. und 8. Jahrhundert ist eine Bußpredigt erhalten, die offenbar im Felde gehalten wurde, also eine Militärpredigt in eigentlichen Sinn darstellt.' I do not understand his dating of the text (unless it is a misprint), for on p.51 n.1 he cites Heer's appraisal of the sermon and a review of Heer's book by J. Schmidlin, who suggested the Saxons as a possibility, but the Avars as the likeliest foe. See further B.S. Bachrach, *Early Carolingian Warfare: Prelude to Empire* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp.155, 348-9 n.190; D. Bachrach, 'Confession in the *Regnum Francorum* (742-900): The Sources Revisited', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 54 (2003), 3-22, at 15-18.

<sup>54</sup> Koeniger, *Militärseelsorge*, pp.72-4, with comments on pp.51-2, where he says that the sermon 'aus dem Kämpfen Karl Martells gegen die Mauren stammen mag.' See also Bachrach, *Early Carolingian Warfare*, pp.154-6, 348-9 nn.183-199; D. Bachrach, 'Confession', 18-19, dates the text to the reign of Louis the Pious, citing (p.18 n.69) an (as then) unpublished paper by Michael McCormick, 'The Liturgy of War from Antiquity to the Crusades', in D.L. Bergen (ed.), *The Sword of the Lord: Military Chaplains from the First to the Twenty-First Century* (Notre Dame, 2004), pp.45-67. McCormick (pp.56-8, 63 n.33), relying on Bischoff, states that the manuscript containing the homily is a 'chaplain's book' produced for the court in the 820s; the language of the homily is akin to Carolingian spoken Latin.

<sup>55</sup> *MGH: SS rer. Merov. VII*, pp.113-4 (prologue): 'Unam...superaddidi omeliam, quae utinam digna esset tuo venerando ore populo praedicari'; pp.138-41 (homily). Prologue re-edited in *MGH: Epp. IV*, no.120, pp.174-5 (BHL 8937). For the dating of this *vita* and the others I follow I. Deug-Su, *L'opera agiografica di Alcuino* (Spoleto, 1983), pp.31-7, 79-80, 115. But cf. I. Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400-1050* (Harlow, 2001), p.82: 'The homily, which Beornrad might want to read to the general public, the *populus*, may seem to be intended for a different audience. The text itself, however, makes it clear that it is to be read at the tomb of Willibrord: the *populus* is no more than the people who could get access to the shrine of the saint on the anniversary of his death. The initial audience...is, therefore, the community at Echternach...'



Rado;<sup>56</sup> and finally, a short life of St Richarius for preaching, composed during the year 801 for Angilbert of St Riquier.<sup>57</sup> The incomparable Dom Morin identified Wizo (†c.805), nicknamed Candidus by Alcuin, who became schoolmaster at Aachen after Alcuin left for Tours, as the author of a sermon for St Servais and two others.<sup>58</sup> Recently, Jones has corroborated Morin's attribution, postulating that a fourth sermon which appears contiguous with the others in a single manuscript might also have been written by Wizo; all are 'oriented *ad populum*'.<sup>59</sup> Other hagiographical sermons exist by Odo of Beauvais (†881),<sup>60</sup> and Radbod of Utrecht (†917),<sup>61</sup> but a sermon on St Maura by Prudentius of Troyes (†861) strongly gives the impression it was written for an exclusively monastic audience.<sup>62</sup> In a Beneventan manuscript of the eleventh century Henri Barré discovered a Marial sermon which, through a sterling piece of detective work, he was able to credit to David, bishop of Benevento from 781/2 onwards.<sup>63</sup> David delivered the sermon on 18 December, the anniversary of the consecration of his cathedral to the Virgin. Barré was unable to identify any sources: rather, it has the character of a spontaneous popular oration noted down. Another interesting sermon was written by an nameless monk of St Vaast to commemorate the return of the saint's relics from Beauvais to Arras on 15 July 893 after Viking depredations, an episode in which

<sup>56</sup> PL 101:678C-681A. For the dedicatory letter see also *MGH: Epp. IV*, no.74, pp.115-7. Although the lives were written to be read to the brothers, Alcuin says: 'Festivis diebus veniente ad ecclesiam populo, fac eis praedicare verbum Dei.' (BHL 8509).

<sup>57</sup> *MGH: SS rer. Merov. IV*, pp.381-401. Note what Alcuin writes in the preface about the *libellus in stilo simpliciori* he has been tasked to revise (p.389): 'Cuius simplex et minus polita locutio quia fratribus ad recitandum in populo aptior videbatur...', and note also what he says in the final part of the life (p.401): '...a nobis honorificetur, qui eius corpori cotidie adsistimus...Unde, fratres carissimi et sanctissimi patres et filii iocundissimi et totius sanctae congregationis populus qui ad tanti patroni festa convenistis, dignos vos facite, ut Deus omnipotens per eius intercessionem vestras exaudiat orationes.' (BHL 7223).

<sup>58</sup> Dom G. Morin, 'Un saint de Maestricht rendu à l'histoire', *RB*, 8 (1891), 176-83. The Bollandists were not convinced by his arguments: see *Analecta Bollandiana*, 12 (1893), p.82. Morin himself acknowledged their doubts in idem, 'Un essai d'autocritique', *RB*, 12 (1895), 385-96, at 393.

<sup>59</sup> C.A. Jones, 'The Sermons Attributed to Candidus Wizo', in K. O'Keefe and A. Orchard (eds), *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge* (2 vols, Toronto, 2005), i, pp.260-83. On p.275 n.5 Jones notes that an edition is underway for the CCCM.

<sup>60</sup> *Sermo in sanctum Lucianum*, PL 124:1111D-1126A (BHL 5009).

<sup>61</sup> *Sermo de s. Switberto*, PL 132:547B-549C (BHL 7939); *Sermo de vita s. virginis Christi Amelbergae*, PL 132:549D-554C (BHL 0322); *Homilia de sancto Lebwino*, PL 132:554C-555A (BHL 4814); plus a *Sermo de sancto Servatio* in *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1 (1882), 104-111 (BHL 7614).

<sup>62</sup> *Sermo de vita et morte gloriosae virginis Maurae*, PL 115:1367D-1376A (BHL 5725). A sermon in an eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscript for saint Marsus penned by a canon of Essen shortly after the translation of the saint's relics there in 864 was also meant for an audience of religious: K. Honselmann, 'Eine Essener Predigt zum Feste des hl. Marsus aus dem 9. Jahrhundert', *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, 110 (1960), 199-221, at 200: 'Mag sie auch mehr für den Klerus und die Kanonissen des Stiftes Essen gehalten sein und so nicht gerade das Widerspiegeln, was dem einfachen Volk gepredigt wurde...'

<sup>63</sup> H. Barré, 'La fête mariale du 18 décembre à Bénévent au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Ephemerides Mariologicae*, 6 (1956), 451-61.



the author took part.<sup>64</sup> There are many more contemporary sermons for saints' anniversaries, most apparently composed to be preached to an audience including laymen and pilgrims.<sup>65</sup> This brief list of hagiographical sermons could, for sure, be vastly augmented.

Finally, there are several extant homiletic collections from the Continent thought to have been put together by Irish émigrés and more familiar to scholars of Hiberno-Latin.<sup>66</sup> Robert McNally published posthumously seven short and schematic sermon texts which he esteemed to be Irish in character, perhaps dating to the last decade of the eighth century and stemming from the Rhine valley.<sup>67</sup> In 1933 Dom André Wilmart made known a collection of sermon texts conserved in a late-ninth or tenth-century manuscript, to which he lent the appellation 'Catechesis Celtica'.<sup>68</sup> On its provenance Wilmart favoured Brittany, but claimed that it was copied from an eighth-century Cornish or Welsh archetype; he added that the intention of the compiler was to furnish priests with 'divers expositions' (*explications variées*) so that they could preach on the Gospel of the day. Soon after, Paul Grosjean adduced evidence and parallels that pointed more to an Irish origin, adding that they were a series of sermon plans for the

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<sup>64</sup> *Sermo de relatione corporis beati Vedasti*, in *MGH: SS XV*, pp.402-4 (BHL 8516). This sermon is a kind of novella, written ostensibly in the first place for the monastic community, but might have furnished material to be preached on the anniversary of the *relatio* to a mixed audience – the bishop was petitioned 'ut ab omnibus sublimiter et sollempniter haec festivitas observaretur'. The importance of relics to the *plebs* is shown by the crowds that gathered to welcome the monks and hear a sermon at the homecoming.

<sup>65</sup> E.g. *Sermo in natali sancti Vedasti*, PL 105:755C-758C (BHL 8511) by Haiminus, a monk of St Vaast; sermons on St Amand by Milo (809-871/2): *Sermo legendus in transitu sive depositione s. Amandi*, *MGH: SS rer. Merov. V*, pp.459-70 (BHL 0341b); *Sermo de translatione s. Amandi*, *MGH: SS rer. Merov. V*, pp.470-76 (also printed in PL 121:973A-978A) (BHL 0342) – note what Milo says in the exordium: 'Et quoniam plurimi in hac plebe huius penitus expertes adhuc exstant rationis, non otiosum duximus eis notitiam tantae ac tam gratae pandere celebritatis. Dignum igitur, immo necessarium credimus, ut qui ista celebrant, et quare celebrent, ignorant, cognitionem huius rei capiant, et qui hactenus minus nota festivo studio honorabant...'; *Sermo de elevatione s. Amandi*, *MGH: SS rer. Merov. V*, pp.476-81 (BHL 0343); F. Dolbeau, 'Un panégyrique anonyme, prononcé a Minden pour la fête de saint Gorgon', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 103 (1985), 35-59 (reprt. in idem, *Sanctorum societas. Récits latins de sainteté (III<sup>e</sup>-XII<sup>e</sup> siècles* (2 vols, Brussels, 2005), i, pp.343-69). The latter was undoubtedly preached in the vernacular at the cathedral of Minden in Saxony sometime after the translation of the saint's relics there 947-952 to an audience which consisted of layfolk: the sermon includes such phrases as, 'honores seculi', 'si quis est coniugatus', and, 'Quicumque...inter nos substancias mundi habent et seculo penitus abrenunciare non possunt'.

<sup>66</sup> For an overview see T. O'Loughlin, 'Irish Preaching Before the End of the Ninth Century: Assessing the Extent of our Evidence', in A.J. Fletcher and R. Gillespie (eds), *Irish Preaching, 700-1700* (Dublin, 2001), pp.18-39; M. McNamara, 'Irish Homilies A.D. 600-1100', in Hall, *Via Crucis*, pp.235-84.

<sup>67</sup> R.E. McNally, '"In nomine Dei summi": Seven Hiberno-Latin Sermons', *Traditio*, 35 (1979), 121-43.

<sup>68</sup> A. Wilmart, 'Catéchèses celtiques', in idem, *Analecta Reginensia: extraits des manuscrits latins de la Reine Christine conservés au Vatican*, Studi e Testi 59 (Vatican, 1933), pp.29-112. Wilmart subsequently published a notice setting out the sources of the first 'catechesis' in, 'Une source carolingienne des catéchèses celtiques', *RB*, 45 (1933), 350-1, viz. a treatise *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (831, revised 844) and a commentary on Matthew (written in stages, completed by early 850s?) by Paschasius Radbertus (†c.865), thus confirming the collection's redaction in the second half of the ninth century.



usage of preachers.<sup>69</sup> Recently, others have confirmed the strong Irish affiliations of this collection, which includes use made of Hiberno-Latin, but also Continental, sources.<sup>70</sup> The *Catechesis Veronensis* is a collection of eleven homilies on the portion of the liturgical year from Christmas to Pentecost preserved in a Verona manuscript from the early ninth century. The homilies contain certain characteristically Irish expressions, have parallels to other Hiberno-Latin works and are bound in a manuscript including insular pieces – all indicative of an Irish writer.<sup>71</sup> The homilies mostly on Matthew contained in a late-eighth or early-ninth century manuscript produced in Italy, today in Cracow, were adjudged by Pierre David to be ‘entretiens (*discussions*) sur l’Évangile’, not meant for Mass.<sup>72</sup> David posited an Irish author working in France (possibly Auxerre) in the first half of the eighth century to instruct a monastic community. However, these ‘catecheses’ are now known to have formed part of a larger collection of thirty-four pieces written between 750 and 800, possibly by a *magister* working in the circle of Virgil of Salzburg.<sup>73</sup> Amos re-evaluated the audience of the texts, suggesting that they were ‘types of sermons or recorded oral teachings, designed to

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<sup>69</sup> P. Grosjean, ‘A propos du manuscrit 49 de la reine Christine’, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 54 (1936), 113-36.

<sup>70</sup> M. McNamara, ‘The Irish Affiliations of the Catechesis Celtica’, *Celtica*, 21 (1990), 291-334; J. Rittmueller, ‘MS Vat. Reg. Lat. 49 Reviewed: A New Description and a Table of Textual Parallels with the *Liber questionum in euangeliiis*’, *Sacris Erudiri*, 33 (1992-3), 259-305; M. McNamara, ‘Sources and Affiliations of the Catechesis Celtica’, *Sacris Erudiri*, 34 (1994), 185-237; idem, ‘The Affiliations and Origins of the Catechesis Celtica: An Ongoing Quest’, in T. O’Loughlin (ed.), *The Scriptures in Early Medieval Ireland*, Instrumenta Patristica XXXI (Turnhout, 1999), pp.179-203. The foregoing reveal all the complexities of this collection: a non-Irish script written by a non-Irish scribe ‘Guilhelm’, insular abbreviations, a Breton or Cornish gloss, Latin words used with Irish meanings, Irish sources but also three direct borrowings from the Saint-Père homiliary! This could all add up to a Continental working in an insular centre, or an Irish-influenced centre on the Continent. McNamara, ‘Sources’, 200 concludes though that there is ‘enough evidence...to have us legitimately regard Reg. Lat. 49...as a major witness to Irish ecclesiastical learning...of the early Middle Ages.’ I have not seen M. McNamara, ‘*Catechesis Celtica* Homily on the Resurrection Narrative (Matt. 28:1-15): Some New Evidence’, *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association*, 23 (2000), 67-87.

<sup>71</sup> T.L. Martin, ‘The Catechesis Veronensis’, in O’Loughlin (ed.), *The Scriptures in Early Medieval Ireland*, pp.151-61; *Homiliarium Veronense*, ed. T.L. Martin, CCCM 186 (Turnhout, 2000), p.xxiii: ‘while it is not possible to say with certainty that the author of the Verona Homily Collection was Irish, his cast of mind shows clearly and unmistakably the dominance of the Irish element in his intellectual formation.’

<sup>72</sup> P. David, ‘Un recueil de conférences monastiques irlandaises du VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle’, *RB*, 49 (1937), 62-89. On the manuscript Cracow, *Cathedral Chapter Library*, 43 see CLA XI, no.1593, p.3. Written in early Caroline minuscule s.viii-ix, its origin is uncertain, but was ‘probably written in some borderline centre to judge from features pointing to Italy as well as south east Germany.’ On Paris, BN, lat. 13408, a s.ix¼ witness to this collection, see F.M. Biggs, ‘Comments on the Codicology of Two Paris Manuscripts (BN lat. 13,408 and 5574)’, in Hall, *Via Crucis*, pp.326-30.

<sup>73</sup> T.L. Amos, ‘The *Catechesis Cracoviensis* and Hiberno-Latin Exegesis on the *Pater Noster*’, *Proceedings of the Irish Biblical Association*, 13 (1990), 77-99. Amos stated on p.95 n.3 that he was working on an edition, having taken over from Robert McNally who died before his edition could be completed. Someone else will now have to assume the mantle if this collection is ever to be published.



serve multiple purposes in a *peregrini Domkloster* environment.’<sup>74</sup> That is, they could be used for didactic purposes, but also employed as schema for sermons to be preached to a lay audience. Other collections have not yet seen the light of day.<sup>75</sup>

Very few Latin sermons from this era have been translated into English. A selection can be found in the old book by the Reverend John Mason Neale.<sup>76</sup> Five of the popular sermons by Hrabanus and the sole extant sermon by Agobard of Lyons have also been translated.<sup>77</sup>

### Historiography

There is now an ever-increasing amount of secondary literature devoted to early medieval sermons and preaching.<sup>78</sup> However, there is no monograph on the subject in any European language,<sup>79</sup> and general works on preaching do not treat the Carolingian period in any great depth. One only has to pick up and browse through a copy of the *Medieval Sermon Studies* journal at random to see that the quantity of material devoted to the early Middle Ages pales in comparison to the later medieval period. This relative paucity can probably be attributed to a combination of factors.<sup>80</sup> For instance, for the early medieval period there is no such thing as Johann Baptist Schneyer’s *Repertorium der lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters für die Zeit von 1150-1350*, which lists incipits, manuscripts and editions, to guide researchers.<sup>81</sup> Furthermore, countless anonymous collections of Carolingian sermons languish unedited in manuscript form or, at best, have been described summarily in journals. The would-be researcher is therefore by necessity forced to go back to the manuscripts and is often hindered by inadequate descriptions in ancient manuscript catalogues. Those that have been published exist

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 77, 93.

<sup>75</sup> An edition of 12 Hiberno-Latin sermons to be found in Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 6233, s.viii, by J.E. Cross and D. Brearley, signalled by a notice in *Speculum*, 61 (1986), p.257, is, according to the *Corpus Christianorum Series Latina* website, still (!) in preparation.

<sup>76</sup> J.M. Neale, *Mediaeval Preachers and Mediaeval Preaching* (London, 1856)

<sup>77</sup> G.E. McCracken and A. Cabaniss (eds and trans.), *Early Medieval Theology*, The Library of Christian Classics vol. IX (London, 1957), pp.302-13 (Hrabanus sermons I, VII, XXII, XLV, LVII), 334-62 (Agobard).

<sup>78</sup> A useful way to approach the subject is to consult T.N. Hall, ‘A Basic Bibliography of Medieval Sermon Studies’, *Medieval Sermon Studies*, 36 (1995), 26-42.

<sup>79</sup> The premature death in 2005 of the doyen of early medieval sermon studies, Thomas Amos, who was working on such a monograph, has almost certainly precluded this desideratum at least for the immediate future.

<sup>80</sup> Although it is mostly concerned with a later period, for an excellent overview of the state of research see C. Muessig, ‘Sermon, Preacher and Society in the Middle Ages’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 28 (2002), 73-91.

<sup>81</sup> The nearest thing one gets is the unpublished Ph.D. thesis of the late Thomas Amos. See below.



mainly in centuries-old editions in Migne's Patrology.<sup>82</sup> Perhaps there is also a perception among non-specialists that popular preaching did not take place before the later medieval period, or still that Carolingian authors were merely unoriginal plagiarizers. In many ways this state of affairs mirrored the study of Carolingian biblical commentaries and related writings until recently: although exegetical works constitute in the region of a quarter of total Carolingian literary output, many remain unedited and scorned because of their seemingly derivative nature.<sup>83</sup>

Nonetheless, the investigation into sermons and preaching during the Carolingian period dates back at least to the latter part of the nineteenth century. A series of works in German, quite advanced for their time, paved the way for all subsequent scholars. Although now outdated in many respects, they still deserve to be read, for they established a methodology and set up the main lines of enquiry. First and foremost, in 1879 Rudolf Cruel characterized the sermons from the period 600 to 1200 as 'dependent' (*unselbständig*) in content, and 'inorganic' (*inorganisch*) in form, words which expressed his opinion that they did not arise from natural growth but were artificial, mere adaptations of patristic texts.<sup>84</sup> He offered a typology which attempted to distinguish between a homily and sermon, though he pointed out that contemporaries often used the word 'homily' for a sermon. Cruel looked at missionary preaching and focused his attention on the sermons of Boniface. He studiously identified the sermons' sources and vehemently rebutted a series of arguments against their authenticity, contending that they represent exemplars of simple catechetical addresses to the recently converted by Boniface.<sup>85</sup> The so-called homiliary of Burchard of Würzburg

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<sup>82</sup> Cf. Muessig, 'Sermon, Preacher and Society', 90: 'critical editions are perhaps the slowest area of growth...The unglamorous and time-consuming skill of editing is no doubt partially to blame.' I can well sympathize with these sentiments.

<sup>83</sup> See the remarks by C. Chazelle and B. van Name Edwards, 'Introduction: The Study of the Bible and Carolingian Culture', in eadem (eds), *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, Medieval Church Studies 3 (Turnhout, 2003), pp.1-16, esp. pp.6-7.

<sup>84</sup> R. Cruel, *Geschichte der deutschen Predigt im Mittelalter* (Detmold, 1879, repr. Darmstadt, 1966), p.1: 'Zwei Merkmale sind es, welche die erste Periode charakterisieren: der unselbständige Inhalt und die unorganische Form. In Beziehung auf jenen wiederholten die Prediger meistens nur, was sie in den ihnen zugänglichen lateinisch Vätern für ihren Zweck passendes vorfand; und ihre Thätigkeit bestand insofern hauptsächlich aus einer abkürzenden Uebersetzung und Bearbeitung oder wenigstens theilweisen Benutzung und Nachahmung patristischer Homilien und Sermone.' ('...the preachers usually only repeated what they found suitable for their purpose in the Latin Fathers accessible to them; and their activity consisted in this respect mainly of abbreviated translation and adaptation, or at least partial use and imitation of patristic homilies and sermons.')

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., pp.13-28. He concludes on p.28: 'Somit hätten wir ein unzweifelhaftes Recht, den h. Bonifacius nicht nur als Begründer der deutschen Kirche, sondern auch der homiletischen Literatur dieser Kirche anzusehen, gleichwie seine Sermone als Anfänge und Vorbild einer ganzen Reihenfolge von Predigten dieser ersten Periode...'



also came within his purview: he documented its sources, and remarked upon Burchard's judicious selection of texts which Cruel esteemed fit for the religious and moral state of the just-converted Germans, despite the fact they belonged to an earlier era.<sup>86</sup> Cruel examined the legislative background to sustained Sunday and feast-day preaching in the Carolingian period, driven by Charlemagne's concern for the Christian instruction of the people.<sup>87</sup> Until Charlemagne's time, preaching was pretty much regarded as the exclusive task of the bishop, above all in Rome: even though priests had the dispensation to preach, in practice this was but an 'idle wish' (*frommer Wunsch*). Charlemagne legally enforced regular preaching and church attendance, specifying what to put in sermons and ordering clergy to own homiliaries. Cruel astutely and clearly explained the purpose of Paul the Deacon's homiliary: it was 'a purely liturgical work' for use in monasteries and cathedral churches at the nocturnal service; it was too unwieldy, and its content 'not short, simple and popular enough' to have had any demonstrable influence outside these locales.<sup>88</sup> The problem with Charlemagne's decrees, in Cruel's opinion, was that the German clergy, as portrayed in the 'gloomy picture' (*trübes Bild*) of the capitularies, were incapable of delivering what he wanted. In spite of some eager and effective preachers, Cruel judged that only a faint beginning was made apropos of regular preaching: compared to other methods of evangelization, such as relic cults, 'the sermon, especially in feeble and untrained hands, appears as a blunt instrument upon which one could not rely, and which for that reason also earned only slight observance.'<sup>89</sup> Finally, Cruel considered the collections of Hrabanus Maurus and Haymo of Halberstadt as manifestations of the legislation, again outlining the sources used and bewailing their 'reverence' for earlier authorities – the main character trait of this period – 'whose drawback is a complete lack of intellectual productivity, of a desire and ability to think and create for oneself'.<sup>90</sup>

In 1886 Anton Linsenmayer branded the period c.800-1100 as one in which the content of preaching depended on the literature of the foregoing centuries, while the form suffered from a 'lack of organic training' (*Mangel organischer Ausbildung*).<sup>91</sup> He

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<sup>86</sup> Ibid., pp.30-1.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid., pp.38-56.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid., pp.47-51.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., p.56: '...die Predigt, zumal in schwachen und ungeübten Händen, nur als eine stumpfe Waffe erscheinen, auf die man sich wenig verlassen könne, und die daher auch nur geringe Beachtung verdiene.'

<sup>90</sup> Ibid., p.66: 'Diese Pietät, deren Kehrseite ein vollkommener Mangel an geistiger Productivität, an Lust und Kraft selbst zu denken und zu schaffen, ist'.

<sup>91</sup> A. Linsenmayer, *Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland von Karl dem Großen bis zum Ausgange des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1886, repr. Frankfurt, 1969), p.1.



emphasized the ‘handsome number’ (*hübsche Zahl*) of instances of church legislation which could be quoted to support the assertion that in this period great importance was bestowed on the sermon to transmit the Christian faith and ethics. The sermons were for the most part translations or replications of the homilies of the Church Fathers.<sup>92</sup> Both bishops and priests were expected to preach from the pulpit every Sunday and feast day, in cathedral churches and parish churches respectively. Sermons were also preached in monastic churches, heard by the people who came thither on feast days. Linsenmayer avowed that the legislation required preaching during Mass after the reading. He was also at pains to rebut any allegation that because we have few sermons in the vernacular, preaching must have taken place in Latin. Church regulations demanded that the common people should be able to understand the sermon. But why, he pondered, are the surviving texts almost all in Latin if sermons were preached in the *Volkssprache*? The Latin language was the *Büchersprache*: if something were to be written, it would be written in Latin. Another problem with writing in the Germanic vernacular was which dialect to choose: only Latin was universally understood by the clergy. The sermons which have come down to us are therefore either ‘exemplars and models’ (*Muster und Vorbild*), sources of material (*Stoffquelle*) which were not preached as is, or texts committed to parchment after the event.<sup>93</sup> Linsenmayer’s judicious discussion of this question is tremendously helpful for an understanding of the nature of the extant sermon evidence.

Felix Albert published a multi-volume work on the history of the sermon in Germany up to Luther between 1892 and 1896.<sup>94</sup> He reacted against the views of Cruel and Linsenmayer, whom, he said, recognized the ‘dependence of the sermon’ as a ‘distinguishing feature’ (*unterscheidendes Merkmal*) of this period. In a passage charged with metaphor, Albert likened the sermon to a stream: ‘Throughout the existence of the Christian Church it is undoubtedly certain that the vital inflow of God’s word never completely dried up.’ But, said he, one must guard against projecting an understanding of the ‘original, evangelical sermon’ onto different times and places where a ‘sermon’ might have been construed differently: ‘Many kinds of

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<sup>92</sup> Linsenmayer also took the crucial step of going back to the manuscripts themselves when considering the subject of the form and content of Carolingian sermons: he cites Clm 6233, 6293, 6340, 6342, 6426, 6430, and 6433.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid., pp.39-40: ‘Also die lateinisch auf uns gekommen Predigten sind meist entweder nur Musterpredigten, die überhaupt nicht gehalten wurden, oder sie sind nur vorher lateinisch concipiert oder auch erst nach ihrer Abhaltung lateinisch niedergeschrieben.’

<sup>94</sup> F.R. Albert, *Die Geschichte der Predigt in Deutschland bis Luther* (3 vols, Gütersloh, 1892-96)



misunderstandings are inevitable, if, for example, one wants to accept the word 'sermon' in the evangelical sense in the laws from the time of Charlemagne without further examination.'<sup>95</sup> As a case in point, Albert inveighed against seeing Paul the Deacon's homiliary as an aid to improve the sermon: it was rather a 'lectionary' for the vigils celebrated in monastic and cathedral churches. In his analysis of the legislation from the Carolingian period, Albert highlighted the efforts to raise the educational level of the clergy and the difficulties of implementing the diktats. He suggested that in certain *capitula* the reading 'praedicare' (*predigen* – to preach) might be confounded with 'praedicere' (*vorsagen* – to recite i.e. read out the Gospel); moreover, the proclamation of secular and Church law was also described as 'preaching'.<sup>96</sup> His discussion of, and sensitivity to, the multifarious meanings of *praedicare* is valuable, even if he has to admit that in certain cases liturgical preaching *was* meant. In general, Albert was cynical about the state of preaching activity among the clergy (except in cathedral churches),<sup>97</sup> and the efficacy of the legislation.<sup>98</sup> The form and content of the sermons contained in the homiliary of Burchard pointed, for Albert, to the time before the Carolingian legislation; he supposed that they were to educate the clergy so that they could instruct the people. Albert also regarded Pseudo-Boniface's sermons as models for preachers, drawn up in the diocese of Mainz or Cologne in concert with Charlemagne's demands (thus having nothing to do with Boniface). He reasoned from internal evidence that the sermons of Hrabanus were preached during Mass for a chiefly 'monastic circle';<sup>99</sup> besides, in his *De clericorum institutione* Hrabanus nowhere mentioned a sermon as a fixed feature of Mass, nor included any reference to vernacular

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<sup>95</sup> Ibid., i, pp.114-5: 'Durch den Bestand der christlichen Kirche ist es unzweifelhaft verbürgt, daß der lebenskräftige Zufluß aus dem göttlichen Worte niemals völlig versiegt ist. Aber doch ist die ursprüngliche, evangelische Predigt oft in dem nicht wieder zu erkennen, was man zu den verschiedenen Zeiten und an den verschiedenen Orten unter 'Predigen' verstanden hat. Vielerlei Mißverständnisse sind ganz unvermeidlich, wenn man etwa in den Gesetzen aus der Zeit Karls des Großen ohne weitere Prüfung das Wort 'Predigen' im evangelischen Sinne hinnehmne wollte.'

<sup>96</sup> Ibid., i, pp.121-3. This is a subject that has been taken up by T.M. Buck, *Admonitio et praedicatio: Zur religiös-pastoralen Dimension von Kapitularien und kapitulariennahen Texten (507-814)*, Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte Bd. 9 (Frankfurt am Main, 1997), esp. pp.157-238.

<sup>97</sup> E.g. ibid., ii, p.54: 'Es wird nun nirgends weder eine regelmäßige Sonntagspredigt für alle Kirchen gefordert, noch eine solche Leistung den Priestern angesonnen. Das Amt der Priester war vielmehr die Besorgung des gewöhnlichen regelmäßigen Gottesdienstes und die Unterweisung des Volkes in der Katechismuswahrheiten...'; ibid., ii, p.61: 'Die Predigt wurde nicht als eine allen Priestern obliegende Pflicht und dem entsprechend ihnen zustehendes Recht angesehen, nicht als das notwendige Mittel, das Christentum dem Volk zu erschließen.'

<sup>98</sup> E.g. ibid., i, p.172: 'Wenn man sich die Frage vorlegt, ob nach den vorhandenen Predigten auf eine regelmäßig geübte Volkspredigt geschlossen werden kann, muß die Antwort eine entschiedenes 'Nein!' sein.'

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., ii, p.68: 'Sie waren für einen klösterlichen Kreis berechnet gewesen, von dem ferne stehende Zuhörer nicht unbedingt ausgeschlossen waren...'



preaching (neither did Walafrid Strabo). Albert concluded that the Carolingians' desire to look after the *Volk* spiritually was an unfulfilled wish.

In modern German historiography the Carolingian period has been treated sketchily. Johann Baptist Schneyer, for example, devoted a mere two pages to popular preaching (*Die Volkspredigt*) under Charlemagne in his *Geschichte der katholischen Predigt*.<sup>100</sup> Schneyer saw Charlemagne's inauguration of regular preaching by priests as part of his labours to lay 'deeper foundations for the Christian faith and the unity of his realm'.<sup>101</sup> But he questioned whether this demand did not 'overtax' the educational capacity of the clergy which was 'extremely low' (*überaus niedrig*). Schneyer also remarked upon the propensity of Carolingian sermonists to incorporate homilies from late antiquity which resisted heathen customs: these were 'tailor-made' for contemporary conditions. Werner Schütz called attention to the 'great importance' of Charlemagne's legislative efforts for popular preaching in the vernacular, but decried the ability of the priesthood to translate patristic sermons or formulate their own.<sup>102</sup> Assistance came in the form of homiliaries, such as that of Paul the Deacon, which he thought was also used for liturgical preaching besides the night Office. The early medieval sermon was to him 'the translation of patristic homilies, the preservation and passing on of the heritage of the old church.'<sup>103</sup>

In a relatively recent article, Michael Menzel examined the 'fundamental structures' within which preaching activity unfolded.<sup>104</sup> Menzel distinguished three phases in the development of preaching and its organization, the Carolingian period forming the first. Church councils and capitularies, both royal and episcopal, gave instructions about the implementation of preaching and its legal status. Preaching to the entire diocese was part of a bishop's teaching office and an episcopal right, which by necessity had to be deputized to priests in order to reach the folk in rural areas.<sup>105</sup> As a rule, bishops preached only in their cathedral churches on Sundays and feast days;

<sup>100</sup> J.B. Schneyer, *Geschichte der katholischen Predigt* (Freiburg, 1969), pp.100-1.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., p.100: 'Er legte für den christlichen Glauben und die Einheit seines Reiches tiefere Fundamente. So führte er die regelmäßigen Sonn- und Festtagspredigten ein.'

<sup>102</sup> W. Schütz, *Geschichte der christlichen Predigt* (Berlin, 1972), pp.46-8.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., p.47: 'Noch jahrhundertlang ist die mittelalterliche Predigt die Übersetzung von Väterhomilien, Bewahrung und Weitergabe des Erbes der alten Kirche.'

<sup>104</sup> M. Menzel, 'Predigt und Predigtorganisation im Mittelalter', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 111 (1991), 337-84, esp. 337-50.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 342: 'In der Karolingerzeit stand die Predigt als bischöfliche Aufgabe gegenüber dem ganzen Volk seiner Diözese da. An seinem Sitz kam er dieser Pflicht selbst nach, in den übrigen Gebieten erfüllte er sie hauptsächlich dadurch, daß er die dort eingesetzten Priester instruierte und kontrollierte, wie sie ihrerseits dem predigten.' Like so many others, Menzel misconstrues Paul the Deacon's homiliary and that of Smaragdus as being intended for use by bishops to teach their flock.



priests were expected to do the same in their parishes. Bishops from the time of Caesarius onwards instructed their priests and controlled what was preached by putting together their own homiliaries or by recommending the use of prefabricated collections, such as that of Gregory the Great. The restrictive measures regarding content not only offered a guarantee of orthodoxy and safeguard against too much freedom, but also made it possible for the less gifted to preach too.<sup>106</sup> The inventories of parish churches show that the homilies of Gregory and Caesarius were used for the cure of souls. In sum, for Menzel preaching was a 'delegated task, [it] represented an authorized as well as controlled teaching', both legally and contentually derived from the bishop's preaching office.<sup>107</sup>

Moving to anglophone historiography, in his history of preaching from early Christianity to the Reformation, the American Baptist Edwin Charles Dargan opined ruefully that in the early Middle Ages,

'the character and quality of Western preaching...must be rated lower than at any previous time...The bishops preached but little, the common parochial clergy even less; what preaching there was came mostly from monks and missionaries. The sermons are largely imitations, adaptations, compilations, and in not a few cases direct copies of the older discourses...In form the sermons are still the structureless hortatory homilies...They are usually very short...There is no style to speak of at all, no strength, life, beauty, or eloquence.'<sup>108</sup>

For Dargan, contemporary society did not provide a propitious milieu for preaching: the clergy were immoral and ignorant. Nonetheless, earnest attempts were made to ameliorate the situation. Beginning in the late eighth century, regulations by Chrodegang of Metz and Charlemagne enjoined the duty of preaching and the material prescribed. Such efforts though, 'reveal how greatly preaching had fallen both as to frequency and quality'. Dargan was sceptical as to how much these enactments actually improved the provision of preaching: 'there was no great improvement. These efforts themselves reveal a bad state of affairs, for laws on morals are usually in advance of attainment. That the laws continued to be made shows that the evils were not remedied, but still that interest in the reform persevered.'<sup>109</sup> Dargan wrestled with the problem that the extant sermons from the period are in Latin, despite calls for preaching in the

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<sup>106</sup> Ibid., 347-9.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid., 349: '...sie nämlich eine delegierte Aufgabe war und eine autorisierte sowie schließlich kontrollierte Lehre darstellte.'

<sup>108</sup> E.C. Dargan, *A History of Preaching from the Apostolic Fathers to the Great Reformers AD 70-1572* (London, 1905), p.138. I purloined Dargan's chapter title, 'V. Voices in the Night, or Preaching During the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh Centuries' to provide the heading for this introduction.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid., p.162.



vernacular: he admitted that there was at least some missionary and popular preaching in the vernacular, although as a rule he maintained that in the cloister and in churches 'Latin was the prevalent language of preaching.'<sup>110</sup> He was dismissive of the sermons of Pseudo-Boniface (which he accepted as authentic), Pseudo-Eligius, Hrabanus Maurus and Haymo of Auxerre: valueless in themselves and wanting in originality of thought, they summed up his vision of preaching in these 'dark centuries' as 'weak imitation or straightout copying from the past.'<sup>111</sup>

The groundwork for studying the sermon as an 'instrument' of the Carolingian renaissance was laid by Walter Ullmann in his Birkbeck Lectures on 'The Carolingian Renaissance and the Idea of Kingship'.<sup>112</sup> Ullmann argued that the sermon was the 'vehicle' which was to effect the 'rebirth of Frankish society' by reaching 'all sections of the populace'. Sermons were to educate and instruct; they aimed to 'inculcate ethical precepts in the guise of religious principles'. The sermons preached by the parish priest, according to Ullmann, familiarized the populace with the Bible: a christocentric theme was driven home through the use of allegory and typology. Ullmann rehearsed some legislation to buttress his argument, but inexplicably, and rather deleteriously, did not cite any evidence from actual sermons. This is a problem that has blighted other studies of religious instruction in this period: Pierre Riché, for example, argues that the Sunday sermon was the 'primary means of religious teaching', but likewise does not make any direct reference to contemporary sermons!<sup>113</sup>

Very much cast from the same mould as Ullmann, Rosamond McKitterick devoted a chapter to preaching in her seminal study of the Carolingian reforms, published in 1977.<sup>114</sup> McKitterick divided up the sources for the reforms and studied them in turn, genre by genre. She considered how the 'basic tenets of the Christian faith were imparted to the Frankish people' and the 'methods by which this faith was presented to them.' This was done primarily by preaching the Gospel to the 'mass of the

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid., pp.165-166.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., p.172.

<sup>112</sup> Ullmann, *Carolingian Renaissance*, pp.35-42. Cf. Contreni, 'Carolingian Renaissance', p.70: '...it is doubtful whether the sermons that have come down to us were originally addressed to the lowest levels of society, as Walter Ullmann would have it.'

<sup>113</sup> P. Riché, 'La pastorale populaire en Occident, VI<sup>e</sup>-XI<sup>e</sup> siècles', in J. Delumeau (ed.), *Histoire vécue du peuple chrétien* (Toulouse, 1979), pp.195-221, at p.206: 'Dans une civilisation de l'oral, l'homélie faite chaque dimanche est le premier moyen de l'enseignement religieux.' Cf. idem, *Education and Culture in the Barbarian West*, trans. J.J. Contreni (Columbia, 1976), pp.477-494, where he identifies Christian initiation (baptism), preaching and images/song as the three constituents of Christian instruction up to the mid-eighth century.

<sup>114</sup> McKitterick, *Frankish Church*, pp.80-114.



population'. She points out that preaching was distinctive in the Carolingian period because it was institutionalized by royal and episcopal legislation 'for the implementation of the Carolingian reform programme.' Moreover, McKitterick emphasized that legislation called for sermons to be delivered in the vernacular to maximise their efficacy. This impinges on the broader issues of when spoken Latin ceased to be understood, and the interrelationship of the sermon text to oral delivery, although obviously in the Germanic areas Latin was always a second language. Somewhat confusingly, McKitterick distinguished two sorts of homiliary: those for private devotion, and those for the Office. The latter she regarded rather strangely as 'an important means of instructing the people', but was rightly cautious about how much of the extant material was intended for a lay audience: the homiliaries of the 'Auxerre school' and similar, she maintained rightly, were for private study. The collections composed by Hrabanus Maurus, Lantperhtus of Mondsee, Paul the Deacon, and the Saint-Père sermonary were those that 'reached a wider audience than a monastic community'. McKitterick attempted to generalize about the chronological and geographical distribution of the homiliaries, as well as their content, but she was hamstrung by the lack of proper editions and studies. Wallace-Hadrill also spoke positively about the sermon in his tome on the Frankish Church.<sup>115</sup> Ninth-century sermon collections show 'one way in which they [the laity] were meant to be instructed.' He stressed that preaching 'had the sanction of law', and that sermons were to be delivered in the vernacular, which 'afforded the chance to simplify and to stress essentials.' The items in Hrabanus's collection, he suggested, could have been preached as they stand, without paraphrasing; other collections provided models.

Following on from the work of McKitterick, the American scholar Thomas Amos (†) assumed the mantle and made the first exhaustive study of sermons and preaching from Caesarius of Arles to the tenth century in his 1983 doctoral thesis.<sup>116</sup> He broadcast his ideas in several subsequent spin-off journal articles.<sup>117</sup> Amos traced the

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<sup>115</sup> J.M. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Frankish Church* (Oxford, 1983), pp.280-2.

<sup>116</sup> Cited in n.39.

<sup>117</sup> T.L. Amos, 'Caesarius of Arles, the Medieval Sermon, and Orthodoxy', *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly*, 35 (1982), 11-20; idem, 'Preaching and the Sermon in the Carolingian World', in idem *et al.* (eds), *De Ore Domini: Preacher and Word in the Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo, 1989), pp.41-60; idem, 'The Audience of the Early Medieval Sermon', in J. Hamesse and X. Hermand (eds), *De l'homélie au sermon. Histoire de la prédication médiévale* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1993), pp. 1-14; idem, 'Augustine and the Education of the Early Medieval Preacher', in English, *Reading and Wisdom*, pp.23-40; idem, 'Early Medieval Sermons and the Holy', in B.M. Kienzle (ed.), *Models of Holiness in Medieval Sermons* (Louvain-la-Neuve, 1996), pp.23-34.



origin of Carolingian sermons and identified two contexts for preaching: against a background of church reform in which the sermon could be a valuable teaching device, and in a missionary milieu. Both situations were subsumed within the programmatic reform of religious life under Charlemagne. In agreement with Ullmann and McKitterick, Amos subscribed to the view that the sermon was a means to communicate a programme of spiritual reform to the laity.<sup>118</sup> The legislation promulgated under Charlemagne and his bishops 'provided a framework for shaping the production and content of sermons', but ultimately Amos was pessimistic about the impact of the reforms, drawing a line about the year 825: 'the sermons failed to achieve their purpose of improving religious knowledge and moral conduct...[because of the] course of events during the reign of Louis the Pious which saw the ending of the reform movement'.<sup>119</sup> The point to reinforce here – somewhat overlooked by Amos – is that it is wellnigh impossible to gauge the effects of preaching on the masses. The preconditions for regular preaching included schools to educate clergy to preach in the vernacular, access to a library to furnish sources for sermons or prepared sermonaries, and scriptoria to copy manuscripts. Monk-priests, he contended, provided some of the preaching manpower to make up for the shortfall of educated priests in parishes around the great monasteries.<sup>120</sup> Amos refuted the view that there are no sources for popular preaching since the reforms called for vernacular preaching while the extant sermons are in Latin: the royal and episcopal legislation, enforced by the *missi*, provides a context for popular sermons, and the content, not the language, reveals the intended audience of a particular collection or text. All clergy would have been able to translate sermons into the vernacular because, whatever their native tongue, Latin was their second language. Using this methodology, he was able to identify some 970 sermons from this period which he thought were intended for a popular audience. Of this number, only 235 had been edited at that time.<sup>121</sup> Amos also argued that the sermons could be mined to reveal aspects of social and religious life, thus reflecting as well as shaping society.<sup>122</sup> One must tread especially carefully here though (perhaps more than Amos did), being ever alert to the recycling of older material. Amos's thesis marked a

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<sup>118</sup> Amos, *Origin and Nature*, pp.139-176.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p.140.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.263-7.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.193-224.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, pp.300-39.



watershed in the study of early medieval preaching, primarily due to his identification, for the first time, of a considerable corpus of unstudied popular sermon material.

Shortly after Amos's landmark thesis, Michael Frassetto charted the contours of political theory as they appear in the sermons of Agobard of Lyons, Alcuin, Hrabanus Maurus and Theodulph of Orléans.<sup>123</sup> Sermons, he suggests, were used as a medium to define a theocratic political system modelled on the Old Testament kings to the Frankish people and 'offer important testimony to the Carolingian understanding of political thought'.<sup>124</sup> In particular, the preachers hoped to instil a sense of responsibility to the king and delineate the task of the community in helping to create Charlemagne's earthly 'City of God' by outlining salutary ethical behaviour, thereby earning salvation. The keystone to his argument is that, to the Franks, the temporal order was a reflection of the spiritual: God governed his heavenly kingdom as an omnipotent king, just as the Carolingian king did on earth in God's stead.<sup>125</sup> By broadening the boundaries of what we understand by 'political theory' in this manner, Frassetto was able to show that, although direct references to earthly rulers and government are few and far between, the sermons' exhortations to Christian conduct and obedience to God imply a like obedience to the Carolingian monarch and conformity with his attempt to correct God's chosen people, thus ensuring worldly harmony. References to the king of heaven, *mutatis mutandis*, could also be applicable to the earthly king and inspire loyalty to him among a community united by the practice of a common faith. He concludes that the sermons offer a view of kingship that is 'divinely-inspired in both origin and nature', and that, 'the state was the community of the faithful...the responsibilities of the members of society were also political and religious...to obey the law of the king and to live as a good Christian.'<sup>126</sup> His nuanced view of what constitutes Carolingian political ideology is a valuable interpretive tool for understanding the sermons. The lack of explicit mentions of worldly governance in other sermons stands in stark contrast to the Sermonary of Salzburg, which contains a series of texts explicitly aimed at *potentiores* (see ch.VII).

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<sup>123</sup> M.S. Frassetto, *The Role of the Sermon in Carolingian Political Theory and Renovatio* (Unpublished MA thesis, Michigan, 1986)

<sup>124</sup> Ibid., p.2. Cf. Wallace-Hadrill, *Frankish Church*, p.282: 'all this homiletic material...cannot be called a vehicle for propaganda or polemic. Sermons...were straightforward exhortations to virtue, together with rudimentary instruction.'

<sup>125</sup> Frassetto, *Role of the Sermon*, esp. pp.21-5, 36ff.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid., pp.76-7.



Most recently, Hughes Oliphant Old has treated this period in his multi-volume work on the preaching of Scripture.<sup>127</sup> He characterized the early medieval period as one in which the outstanding preachers were all Benedictine monks; it was they to whom Charlemagne resorted to lay the spiritual foundations of his new European civilization. Inherent to Benedictine monasticism was reading, interpreting and preaching the Word, not only within the cloister but in a missionary context too. Old branded Benedictine preaching as primarily expository: rigorously following the order of the lectionary, it aimed to expound the Word of God, thereby serving His glory. Charlemagne understood the importance of preaching as a way to unite the Continent under a common Christian culture. Thus he made regular catechetical preaching ‘an important plank’ in his policy of Church reform. ‘Laudable’ and ‘farsighted’ they may have been, but Charlemagne’s goals were constrained by the lack of competent parish priests. Old identified the necessary steps to ensure both festal and Sunday preaching as the provision of both a lectionary to establish the scriptural pericopes, and a homiliary to furnish the sermons that could be preached and serve as guides for the more adventurous preachers. He adjudged that Paul the Deacon had more in mind than simply providing patristic readings for nocturns: Paul produced a ‘fabulous treasure chest filled with homiletical heirlooms of the past’ that met Charlemagne’s aim of providing examples of sermons for popular preaching on every Sunday and feast day.<sup>128</sup> Old proceeds to look at the collection compiled by Hrabanus Maurus for Haistulf of Mainz, that of Haimo of Auxerre, and Abbo of St Germain. These sermons, he sagely argues, explain Scripture as found in its liturgical context with the accent firmly on asceticism: by following the penitential disciplines of the Church through the solemnities of the year one can follow in Christ’s footsteps and attain salvation. Old rightly sees the sermon texts from this period as primarily drafts of what should be preached, that is, ‘briefs of sermons’ or ‘sermon helps’, as he puts it, which could be developed during delivery. They are most definitely not ‘reports of sermons’ actually preached, as he tentatively and rather incongruously suggests in relation to Hrabanus’s collection.<sup>129</sup> Old further makes a valid and useful point that applies more generally: these sermonists were uninterested in developing original interpretations of Scripture, they were more concerned to impart the collective wisdom of the past. Good preaching material was

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<sup>127</sup> H.O. Old, *The Reading and Preaching of the Scriptures in the Worship of the Christian Church* vol. III: *The Medieval Church* (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, 1999), pp.185-226.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., p.199.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Ibid., p.202 n.23.



part of the patrimony of the Church, not any individual; it was rightful to reuse it and pass it on.<sup>130</sup> He leaves unresolved the question of the authenticity of the Pseudo-Boniface collection, but leaning to the affirmative, contends that they reflect conditions in the missionary and evangelistic fields.<sup>131</sup> Finally, he concludes on a pessimistic note: Charlemagne's efforts led to a revival of preaching in the ninth century, but this soon tailed off in the tenth and eleventh century.

In opposition to the views of McKitterick, Amos and Old, who might be termed 'maximalists' in regard to the question of popular preaching,<sup>132</sup> Milton McC. Gatch is very much a 'minimalist'. Gatch analysed Carolingian sermons and preaching as a result of his focus on Anglo-Saxon vernacular sermons of the tenth and eleventh centuries because Anglo-Saxon homilists utilised and adapted Carolingian Latin sermons.<sup>133</sup> Gatch first of all traced the history of the homiliary as a devotional book organized according to the liturgical calendar, but which could also be used for the monastic night Office.<sup>134</sup> He correctly stressed that homiliaries were not intended for use at Mass in secular churches, though he allows that they might have provided materials for public preaching. Next Gatch examined the devolution of the preaching office from episcopate to presbyterate and the 'extraordinary attention given the matters of preaching and teaching under Charles the Great',<sup>135</sup> although he reiterated that the surviving homiliaries are largely irrelevant to the problem of popular preaching, save for the collections of Hrabanus and Abbo of St-Germain-des-Prés. Moreover, the liturgist Amalarius of Metz does not mention a homily as part of the Mass – a 'striking

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<sup>130</sup> Ibid., pp.200, 219.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., pp.127-137. He argues that the sermons could be genuine sermons of Boniface taken down by a disciple in 'rather stiff Latin'. Their barbaric Latinity could either be an argument for, or indeed against, their authenticity. Incidentally, he relies at this point on the aged work of Rudolf Cruel.

<sup>132</sup> For the division of scholarship into 'maximalists' and 'minimalists' I borrow from D.L. d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris Before 1300* (Oxford, 1985), p.18 n.1, and idem, *Medieval Marriage: Symbolism and Society* (Oxford, 2005), pp.21-37. I would like to thank Professor d'Avray for sending me the proofs of the latter book before publication.

<sup>133</sup> M. McC. Gatch, *Preaching and Theology in Anglo-Saxon England: Aelfric and Wulfstan* (Toronto, 1977), pp.25-39; M. McC. Gatch, 'The Unknowable Audience of the Blickling Homilies', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 18 (1989), 99-115, in which he fails to find convincing evidence that this collection was intended for a lay audience because the anthologizers did not adapt the Latin text; although, as he admits, it is not necessarily the case that authors tailor their discourse to a specific audience. On the question of the fairly unique place of the Old English homilies in the context of European vernacular literature see M. McC. Gatch, 'The Achievement of Aelfric and His Colleagues in European Perspective', in P.E. Szarmach and B.F. Huppé (eds), *The Old English Homily and its Backgrounds* (New York, 1978), pp.43-73. M. Clayton, 'Homiliaries and Preaching in Anglo-Saxon England', *Peritia*, 4 (1985), 207-42, at 207-17 provides a review of the works by Gatch and McKitterick as a prolegomenon to her study of the use and audience of Anglo-Saxon homiliaries.

<sup>134</sup> Gatch, *Preaching*, pp.27-30.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid., p.33.



omission' – yet, Gatch himself mentions that in adapting the Roman liturgy to the needs of the Gallican Church the reformers dispensed with references to the homily.<sup>136</sup> Gatch concluded that the practice of exegetical preaching at Mass fell into desuetude in the Carolingian period due to this Romanization. As an alternative, Gatch contends that an office in the vernacular called a 'Prone' developed in the Carolingian period after the Gospel consisting of catechetical preaching, that is, basic instruction in the faith and an explanation of the liturgy.<sup>137</sup> This explains the silence of liturgists and the fact that the reformers had instructional rather than exegetical preaching in mind, the latter reserved for the monastic night Office.

However, Amos has countered Gatch's hypothesis, contending that the traditional view of the sermon being preached during Mass after the Gospel is still valid: this is backed up by Carolingian legislation and the internal evidence of the sermons themselves which sometimes commence with an allusion to a Gospel reading.<sup>138</sup> Moreover, there are no allusions to Gatch's enigmatic 'Prone' in contemporary documents. Indeed, Amalarius was concerned with allegorizing the monastic Mass based on the Roman liturgy which had no proviso for sermons.<sup>139</sup> It should also be noted that Hrabanus Maurus in his *De clericorum institutione*, written in 819 and dedicated to Archbishop Haistulf of Mainz, does not mention any preaching after the Gospel either;<sup>140</sup> yet in this work Hrabanus lists the *officium praedicandi* as a task incumbent on bishops and priests,<sup>141</sup> discusses oratorical strategies and the deportment of the ideal preacher, and even composed a popular sermon collection for Haistulf – a paradox indeed! Students of the liturgy have long recognized that there is no provision in the ancient Roman *Ordines* for preaching, but these only record the divine service of the major stational churches.<sup>142</sup> The works of Leo the Great and

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid., pp.25, 35-6.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., pp.37-9.

<sup>138</sup> Amos, *Origin and Nature*, pp.276-83; idem, 'Preaching and the Sermon', 49-50.

<sup>139</sup> Nor do the commentaries by Walafrid Strabo (PL 114:919A-966B), Florus of Lyons (PL 119:15A-72C) or Remigius of Auxerre (PL 101:1173D-1286C) mention a sermon/homily.

<sup>140</sup> Hrabanus Maurus, *De institutione clericorum libri tres*, ed. D. Zimpel, Freiburger Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte Bd. 7 (Frankfurt am Main, 1996), I.33, pp.241-2: 'Deinde a diacono cum summa auctoritate in auribus populi recitatur evangelium, ut ipsius ibidem audiatur doctrina, ad quem fervet intentio tota, ipsiusque virtus intelligatur per evangelium, cuius tunc corporis sacrosanctum celebratur mysterium. Post haec oblationes...'

<sup>141</sup> Ibid., I.5, p.299: 'verbum Dei praedicat'; I.6, p.301: 'in officio praedicandi' (the latter borrowing from Isidore of Seville's *De ecclesiasticis officiis*).

<sup>142</sup> E.g. J.A. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, trans. F.A. Brunner (2 vols, New York, 1951-55), i, pp.456-61; T. Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy: An Account and Some Reflections*, trans. J. Halliburton (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Oxford, 1979), p.64: 'It looks as if on account of the dimensions of the stational churches, and equally by reason of the length of



Gregory the Great do testify to preaching activity in Rome. What is more, a precious commentary on the Gallican Mass preserved in a manuscript from the early ninth century, Autun, *Bibliothèque municipale*, ms. 184, does actually have the sermon follow the Gospel in the ordinary course of the service.<sup>143</sup> This exposition reveals that a homily could be read in place of a sermon, via which a ‘doctor or pastor of the Church might preach to the people’ about the reading. In regard to sermons, it was up to the preacher to reach an accommodation in terms of his rhetorical style, ‘so that its rusticity should not offend the wise, nor its distinguished loquacity be unintelligible to the unsophisticated.’ This little discourse was probably written to instruct the clergy in how to perform the Mass and what it signified. Granted that it dates from the Merovingian period, but the fact that it was copied in the ninth century inclusive of the section on preaching suggests that there was still an interest in the old rite (unless of course it was replicated purely as an antiquarian curiosity). One should remember that the liturgy is an extremely flexible thing – as Yitzhak Hen has pointed out, despite the Carolingian rhetoric of Romanization, liturgical diversity continued to be the norm. A sermon or homily could effortlessly be slipped into a service. Gatch’s focus on the liturgy and unawareness of the many popular sermon collections from this period fundamentally undermine his argument.

R. Emmet McLaughlin has also propounded a highly sceptical view of preaching in the Carolingian era.<sup>144</sup> He dubbed the period from the sixth to the twelfth century ‘an inhospitable landscape’ to the historian of preaching, denigrating the

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the service, which was already excessive without a sermon, the Pope had given up the practice of having a liturgical address at every eucharist. Was there nevertheless still a sermon in the titular churches of Rome? We cannot tell.’ In answer to this last point, the evidence of ninth-century Popes presenting books of sermons to *tituli* (i.e. parish churches serving the local community) around Rome would suggest there was. See below.

<sup>143</sup> *Expositio antiquae liturgiae Gallicanae*, ed. E.C. Ratcliff, Henry Bradshaw Society 98 (London, 1971), p.8: ‘DE OMELIAS; Homelias autem sanctorum <patrum> que leguntur pro sola praedicatione ponuntur ut quicquid Propheta Apostolus uel Euangelium monuit hoc doctor uel pastor ecclesiae apercione sermone populo praedicet. Ita arte temperans ut nec rusticitas sapientes offendat nec [h]onesta loquacitas obscura rusticis fiat.’ This exposition masquerades as the work of St Germanus of Paris (†576), but this has engendered fierce debate: some commentators have argued for verbal parallels and therefore a dependence on Isidore’s *De ecclesiasticis officiis* (c.620); others have denied this and uphold the traditional attribution, e.g. A van der Mensbrugghe, ‘Pseudo-Germanus Reconsidered’, in F.L. Cross (ed.), *Papers Presented to the Third International Conference on Patristic Studies 1959. Studia Patristica* 5 (Berlin, 1962), pp.172-84. A. Ekenberg, ‘Germanus oder Pseudo-Germanus? Pseudo-Problem um eine Verfasserschaft’, *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft*, 35-6 (1993/94), 135-9 argues from the work’s preface that it was not drawn up by Germanus, but someone else working outside the Paris region during the time of his episcopate or shortly after. See also Y. Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald (877)*, Henry Bradshaw Society, Subsidia III (London, 2001), p.7.

<sup>144</sup> R.E. McLaughlin, ‘The Word Eclipsed? Preaching in the Early Middle Ages’, *Traditio*, 46 (1991), 77-122.



surviving homiliaries as unoriginal regurgitations of patristic texts.<sup>145</sup> McLaughlin was perturbed by the ‘apparent infrequency of preaching’: drawing on episcopal sermon collections and legislation, McLaughlin argued that preaching was sporadic and bishops preached only on important feast days.<sup>146</sup> Furthermore, priests did not normally preach and the ‘insignificant’ amount of space devoted to preaching in the capitularies, which had no real impact anyway, reflects the ‘relative disinterest [*sic*]’ of the episcopate. He also casts doubt on the ability of the Carolingian clergy to compose sermons and translate the contents of Latin homiliaries into the vernacular for the laity; indeed, he argues that homiliaries were for the sole use of the clergy for private study. To buttress his argument that homiliaries ‘were of doubtful usefulness for popular instruction’ he cites Carl Hammer’s work on clerical inventories from Bavaria, highlighting the fact that at parish level only four out of the eleven churches listed owned homiliaries, and these comprise patristic compilations.<sup>147</sup> McLaughlin then moves on to the crux of his argument.<sup>148</sup> Since late antiquity, Christianity had been a ‘non-reflective religion based on oral performance and ritual, i.e. liturgy’. Through a comparative study of Judaism and by borrowing anthropological theories he argues that Christian doctrine was transmitted in the same way as all oral cultures: via ‘recitation, repetition, and memorization’.<sup>149</sup> The desire to maintain the episcopal prerogative and the ‘increasing elaboration of the liturgy’ curtailed preaching in the early Middle Ages. In fact, ‘to preach’ meant intoning the ritual word in a cultic context, merely reading aloud or reciting from memory.<sup>150</sup> Thus the lack of preaching was because the early medieval Church ‘had a different agenda’: instruction was conveyed through catechesis, imitation and ritual observance.

McLaughlin’s argument might seem persuasive but it fails to convince on several significant points. Firstly, although he correctly assumes that homiliaries such as that of Paul the Deacon were primarily intended for the private edification of monks and clergy, he appears to be ignorant of the scores of sermonaries presumed to be for

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<sup>145</sup> Ibid., 77-8.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid., 78-85.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid., 85-6. See C.I. Hammer, ‘Country Churches, Clerical Inventories and the Carolingian Renaissance in Bavaria’, *Church History*, 49 (1980), 5-17. McLaughlin errs when he says that ‘only one of six churches’ in the survey of the church of St Remigius of Reims owned homiliaries – the correct figure is two. In fact, he even cites the editor (Buérard instead of Guérard) and date of the edition (1953 instead of 1853) wrongly! Strange that he did not use the more recent edition by J.-P. Devroey. On all of this, see below chapter II.

<sup>148</sup> McLaughlin, ‘The Word Eclipsed’, 87ff.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid., 108.

<sup>150</sup> Ibid., 112-4.



popular consumption, aside from those of Burchard of Würzburg, Hrabanus Maurus and Abbo.<sup>151</sup> Moreover, he misconstrues the nature of the extant 'episcopal' collections: their intention was not to supply a comprehensive index of sermons for every possible occasion, only to serve as guidebooks. It might be objected, of course, that the composition of such texts is no guarantee that they were ever preached to the people, which leads on to the next point. As innumerable scholars have emphasized, Carolingian lawmakers consistently decreed that priests should preach regularly, and even elucidated the required subject matter. Admittedly, compared to other areas of Church business, the theme of preaching does not preponderate, but there is no reason why it should: once promulgated, the capitularies had the force of law; the frequent reiteration of comparable legislation can also be interpreted as a frustrated sign that it was not being put into practice. In regard to the inventories, much more will be said below. Suffice it to say here that it is very much a question of personal opinion whether one views the ownership by four out of eleven churches of a homiliary negatively or positively; to put it another way, does one see the glass as half-full or half-empty? Further, like photographs, inventories only provide a snapshot of the situation at a given time and do not preclude the later acquisition of homiliaries nor, as Hammer points out, do they take into account a priests' own possessions. Finally, McLaughlin's use of anthropological theories about communication in a primarily oral society are interesting, and of course are valid to a certain extent, but he downplays too much the historical evidence of the sermons.

An interesting attempt to take a new direction in early medieval sermon studies and apply a new methodology to the texts themselves was taken by Martine de Reu.<sup>152</sup> The advent of electronic databases of texts, such as the CLCLT and Patrologia Latina, has made it child's play to identify citations and search for occurrences of certain words, even to attribute anonymous texts to authors. De Reu applied statistical analysis to computerized texts on the CLCLT-4 database to investigate what virtues and vices were most frequently mentioned, and whether certain virtues and vices were more prominent in some periods than others. In the Merovingian period sermons form 12% of the total number of words, in the Carolingian, 23%. De Reu found that in the Carolingian period *fides* was especially emphasized at the expense of other virtues; *ira*

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid., 79 n.8, 82 n.27.

<sup>152</sup> M. de Reu, 'A Statistical Treatment of Sin and Holiness in Sermons from the Early Middle Ages (500-1100)', in G. Donavin, C.J. Nederman and R. Utz (eds), *Speculum sermonis: Interdisciplinary Reflections on the Medieval Sermon* (Turnhout, 2004), pp.335-61.



out of all the vices took pride of place in the Carolingian epoch, compared to *superbia* in the Merovingian and later periods. The upshot of the research was that de Reu identified a ‘clearly distinct identity’ for Carolingian sermons, with Merovingian and post-Carolingian texts exhibiting close similarities.<sup>153</sup> She argues that the Carolingian rulers’ legislation lay emphasis upon *fides* both in the sense of the Christian faith and loyalty to a lord; *ira* threatened the divine order. Although one must bear in mind the quotation from Disraeli in Mark Twain’s *Autobiography* about ‘lies, damned lies, and statistics’, de Reu is sensitive to the problems of her methodology (e.g. the lack of a definitive corpus of electronic sermon texts), and her work does give the impression that it exposes some genuine preoccupations of the Carolingian era.

Finally, a question raised by the work of Tom Amos is how far the surviving sermons can be taken as a reflection of actual contemporary beliefs or practices, or the work of clerics reworking extraneous, stereotyped sources. A recent book by Bernadette Filotas on early medieval popular culture seeks to answer this very question.<sup>154</sup> She undertook to analyse all the pastoral literature c.500-c.1000, that is, the written remnants in which are recorded ‘measures taken under the aegis of the Church for the spiritual, moral and even physical welfare and doctrinal orthodoxy of the faithful.’<sup>155</sup> In the particular case of sermons, she argued that they occupied the middle ground between conciliar legislation which dealt with regional behaviour, and penitentials which concentrated on the ‘most private thoughts and actions of individuals’. Sermons, however, concerned themselves with ‘the needs of the parish... [and] one might expect to find the beliefs and practices prevailing in the community.’<sup>156</sup> However, Filotas judged this period to be a ‘low point’ in terms of preaching: sermons were ‘rare’ even after the Carolingian reforms. Here one can see the strong influence of R. Emmet McLaughlin on her thinking. Like him, she reasons that most of the extant material was for a clerical audience or private devotion. Their Latin form would have been ‘incomprehensible to the laity’ (though she fails to register the point sufficiently that

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid., pp.355ff.

<sup>154</sup> B. Filotas, *Pagan Survivals, Superstitions and Popular Cultures in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature* (Toronto, 2005). A handy annotated bibliography of sermons used in the book is on pp.378-82. Cf. Y. Hen, ‘Martin of Braga’s *De correctione rusticorum* and its Uses in Frankish Gaul’, in E. Cohen and M. de Jong (eds), *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power, and Gifts in Context* (Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 2001), pp.35-49, who takes the line that this sermon at least is *not* a reflection of rural customs: it was later recycled because it contained a simplified catalogue of Christian practices and counter-practices i.e. what churchmen *thought* should be proscribed.

<sup>155</sup> Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, p.42.

<sup>156</sup> Ibid., p.57.



legislation called for vernacular preaching – aside from one footnote to the work of the nineteenth-century historian A. Lecoy de la Marche which only has a couple of pages on the early Middle Ages!); their subject matter was ‘of scant interest to the ordinary church-goer. The majority of sermons, therefore, contain little material, or none, about popular culture.’<sup>157</sup> She does admit, though, that at least some laypeople heard sermons, though the number of surviving examples germane to popular culture is small (about forty, excluding Caesarius). But so long as these examples contain material which is original or independent of their models, they ‘must be accepted as providing authentic evidence’ of contemporary customs. Certainly, the description of cultural phenomena in language from a different epoch and locale should not automatically lead to rejecting the evidence, provided that, for example, there is corroboration of the custom in other sources.

### Conclusion

The foregoing, then, is pretty much the sum total of secondary literature in the major European languages on sermons and preaching in the Carolingian period.<sup>158</sup> To sum up, the historiography can be roughly divided into two opposing camps: ‘maximalists’ and ‘minimalists’. In a nutshell, the ‘maximalists’ are those historians who argue that bishops and priests regularly preached to their lay flocks, and that this was the chosen means of communicating a reform ethos to the Frankish people. Preaching was institutionalized by Carolingian legislators, and took place during Mass on Sundays and feast days in the vernacular. Thus, in the sizeable extant corpus of Latin sermons we possess a useful resource to study the ways in which the laity were instructed in matters of religious belief and practices. Occasionally, the sermons can offer a window onto the

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<sup>157</sup> Ibid., pp.58-9.

<sup>158</sup> There is also a paper in Spanish by G.M. Verd, ‘La predicación carolingia (751-910)’, *Miscelánea Comillas*, 35 (1977), 297-344. Guesswork and elementary Spanish reveals that this article provides a thorough list of all the ‘abundant and repeated’ legislation which led to ‘frequent’ Sunday preaching, agrees that preaching was in the vernacular, surveys the surviving homiliaries using loosely the ‘patristic’ and ‘Carolingian’ division, and considers individual preachers – though his classifications of ‘pastoral’ and ‘monastic’ preachers do not always make sense (e.g. John Scotus Eriugena (†877) in the ‘predicadores pastorales’ section?). Verd concludes that the oral preaching of the Carolingian period is lost because there were no stenographers (p.343) – ‘Sin duda casi todo lo que tenemos es oratoria “de gabinete”’ (‘Without a doubt almost everything that we have is oratory “of the study”’), that pastoral preaching, ‘was very elementary, limited to the teaching of the creed, the Lord’s Prayer and the rudiments of the faith and morals, besides censure of pagan superstitions’ (p.344) – ‘ready-made’ (‘hechos’) catechetical-type sermons ‘abounded’ for this need, but originality was ‘scarce’. My linguistic deficiencies have prevented me from looking at any Italian literature. Finally, despite my best efforts I have not been able to get hold of M. Lawers, ‘Parole de l’Église et ordre social: la prédication aux VIII-IX siècles’, in F. Bougard (ed.), *Le christianisme en Occident du début du VII<sup>ème</sup> siècle au milieu du XI<sup>ème</sup> siècle* (Paris, 1997).



customs of the laity too. The sermons were written in Latin since this was the *lingua franca* of the clergy. The historiography of sermons and preaching fits into the more general debate over the impact of the Carolingian reforms on the populace at large. Although it is impossible to establish church attendance,<sup>159</sup> work on holy days was banned and hagiography attests to the popularity of saints' feast days. Christian values would be infused into the psyche of the hearers of cyclical liturgical sermons by a process of osmosis, year after year after year: these values may or may not have been manifested in outward behaviour, we can never know, but the point is that the Carolingian Church endeavoured to influence lay conduct.

On the other hand, the 'minimalists' claim that the surviving Latin sermons were mainly intended for clerical and monastic consumption: preaching to the laity was atypical. The legislation of the epoch demanding regular preaching had little effect at a local level, and the greater part of the parish clergy were too ignorant to render sermons into the vernacular anyhow.<sup>160</sup> The sermon material that still exists today from this era is for the most part a banal rehashing or straight plagiarism of the work of patristic writers; unsuitable for contemporary audiences, it demonstrates a lack of originality and zeal to provide effectual pastoral care. It is hoped that this thesis will go some way towards disproving the conjectures of the latter faction irretrievably through an in-depth scrutiny of one particular sermon collection from the Carolingian era and its wider context.

### Thesis Outline

The previous diachronic review of the historiography has raised multifarious questions and methodological problems in relation to early medieval sermons and preaching, many of which I will grapple with in what follows. The aim of this thesis is modest: to provide a critical edition of certain of the previously unpublished sermon texts contained in the 'Sermonary of Salzburg' and offer a detailed commentary upon them. The next chapter will therefore introduce the sermonary, discussing such essential issues as the manuscripts which transmit the collection, date and place of compilation,

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<sup>159</sup> Indeed, one sermon in Mercier's collection admits that although everyone should strive to attend church, one or two should remain to guard the house! See *XIV homélies*, ed. Mercier, VII, pp.190-3: 'Moneo etiam ut qui iuxta ecclesiam est, et occurrere potest, quotidie audiat missam; et qui potest omni nocte ad matutinum officium veniat. Qui vero longe ab ecclesia manent, omni dominica studeant ad matutinas venire, id est viri et feminae et iuvenes et senes, praeter infirmos. Unus tantum aut duo remaneant, qui domum custodiant.'

<sup>160</sup> Cf. e.g. d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, p.20: 'The sketchy Latin culture of the lower clergy must be kept in mind when we are making guesses about the impact of Latin homiliaries.'



projected audience, and manner of composition. Drawing on the evidence of contemporary Bavarian legislation, inventories and other manuscripts, I attempt to reinforce the case for the ‘maximalist’ interpretation of preaching during this period, and situate the sermonary firmly within this context. The following chapters each treat a different cluster of sermons in some depth, focusing on the rewriting of source material where sources can be identified, and possible patristic and early medieval parallels when they cannot. Throughout, I attempt to connect the content and themes of the sermons to the legislation supporting preaching, and consider what type of audience the substance of the sermons best suits. There are chapters on the exegetical method of the sermons; the sermons on confession and penance – something with which the compiler seems to be besotted; sermons XII-XV, principally concerned with the Christian duty of almsgiving, and which, as I argue, seem to stem from the same original late antique author; the sermons on the Resurrection; and finally, sermons XLVI-LX on the virtues and vices, clearly meant for lay potentates. The Latin text of the sermons themselves follows at the end of this thesis in a separate section. The following chapter begins, then, by introducing the discovery and subsequent reconstruction of the ‘Sermonary of Salzburg’.



## II. The Sermonary of Salzburg and its Context

### Introduction

The rest of this thesis will focus on a selection of sermons from a Carolingian sermonary originally discovered in 1974 by Jean-Paul Bouhot.<sup>1</sup> Bouhot realized that the seventy-nine sermons contained in the third section of the manuscript Munich, Clm 14445 (E), which dates to around 1100, were in fact much older. The sermons covered the first half of the liturgical year (Christmas to Easter) and seemed to have been composed by a single anonymous author who characteristically (and helpfully!) indicated in the rubrics the sources utilized in each sermon, and employed similar expressions and themes throughout. Bouhot identified many of the sources specifically and remarked that the author might have been working from a florilegium to glean his ascetic and moral material. For the sermons on the solemnities of the liturgical year the author drew on Alan of Farfa's homiliary and another unknown collection. The most recent of the author's sources which was reproduced copiously and faithfully, Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*, allowed Bouhot to determine a *terminus a quo* for the collection of c.804. Bouhot concluded that there was a strong Alcuinian influence on the compiler and tentatively suggested that, based on the geographical diffusion of the manuscripts, the sermonary was composed by a cleric or monk in the entourage of Archbishop Arn of Salzburg (785-821) to furnish preachers with model sermons.<sup>2</sup>

The historiographical story continued a few years later with the publication of an article by Georges Folliet.<sup>3</sup> Folliet's research on the sources of Robert of Bardi's fourteenth-century *Collectorium* and the compilation on which it depends, Bartholomew of Urbino's *Milleloquium*, led him to the discovery that many of the sermons contained

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<sup>1</sup> J.-P. Bouhot, 'Un sermonnaire carolingien', *Revue d'histoire des textes*, 4 (1974), 181-223. The collection was first christened 'The Sermonary of Salzburg' by Hall, 'Early Medieval Sermon', p.224.

<sup>2</sup> Bouhot, 'Un sermonnaire', 218-9: 'Ce recueil...fut composé dans la première moitié du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle plutôt vers le début de cette période, par un moine ou un clerc, qui avait à sa disposition une bibliothèque assez riche. Cet ouvrage avait un but pratique: fournir des modèles aux prédicateurs tout en mettant en évidence les points de doctrine et surtout de morale, sur lesquels il convenait d'insister, pour se conformer aux prescriptions des synodes et des conciles...les recueils que nous avons cités nous orientent vers l'Allemagne du Sud et l'Italie du Nord. Aussi cherchons-nous dans l'entourage d'Arno de Salzbourg (785-821), disciple ou du moins ami d'Alcuin, abbé avant d'être évêque, le clerc ou le moine, qui en rédigeant sur un modèle uniforme ces modestes sermons a cependant transmis quelques richesses de la tradition ancienne aux peuples de l'empire nouveau.' See also 183.

<sup>3</sup> G. Folliet, 'Deux nouveaux témoins du sermonnaire carolingien récemment reconstitué', *Revue des études augustinienes*, 23 (1977), 155-198.



in the manuscript Würzburg, *Universitätsbibliothek*, M.p.th.q.15 matched those which Bouhot discovered. This manuscript consists of two sections. The first contains eighty-five sermons on the liturgical year from Christmas to the day before the Ascension. The second contains sixty sermons: four liturgical sermons covering the feasts of Ascension and Pentecost; forty-one hagiographical sermons; and fifteen sermons on the virtues and vices. Folliet contended that this manuscript was the sermonary on which all the others depended directly or indirectly, although it was not the original copy. In turn, this resulted in Folliet unearthing another important mid-ninth-century witness to the second part of the sermonary: Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 14418. This manuscript was owned by an archpriest who gave it to Saint Emmeram, and like W, it also incorporated a table of *capitula* enabling the reconstruction of the original sequence. Folliet concluded that although manuscripts P and E were copied at Regensburg, the archetype was not composed there and manuscript P was more faithful to the lost original than W, copied at Freising. This was because firstly, although the title of sermon thirty-two, which celebrates saint Rupert of Salzburg, is the same in the tables of W and P, the actual sermon in W substitutes saint Corbinian but maladroitly copies the date of Rupert's feast (24 September) instead of Corbinian's (8 or 9 September); secondly, the collection includes a sermon on saint Amand but none for saint Emmeram (the patron saint of Regensburg).

Thus, in its original state this sermonary comprised one hundred and forty-five sermons, eighty-five for the first half of the liturgical year and sixty for the second. From the outset it looks as if the two sections were transmitted as separate volumes. Several sermons from the first part have already been edited.<sup>4</sup> Amongst these are seventeen sermons by Cardinal Angelo Mai, erroneously attributed to Augustine;<sup>5</sup> one by Morin in his edition of the sermons of Caesarius of Arles;<sup>6</sup> and one sermon on the Resurrection by Wilmart.<sup>7</sup> Two sermons from the second part have also been edited in the *Patrologia latina* by B. Bruni, who wrongly attributed them to Maximus of Turin.<sup>8</sup> Most recently, the compilation has been exploited to shed light on the transmission and

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<sup>4</sup> For a complete list, see appendix I.

<sup>5</sup> A. Mai, *Nova Patrum bibliotheca* (10 vols, Rome, 1852-1905), i, nos. 115, 140-146, 155-156, 186-187, 189-193; all reprt. in PLS 4.

<sup>6</sup> Caesarius Arelatensis, *Sermones*, ed. G. Morin, CCSL 103-104 (Turnhout, 1953), serm. 191, CCSL 104, pp.777-9.

<sup>7</sup> A. Wilmart, 'Un sermon sur la résurrection corporelle emprunté à saint Grégoire, passé sous le nom de saint Augustin', *RB*, 47 (1935), 3-7 (reprt. in PLS 4:1585-6).

<sup>8</sup> PL 57:649-654.



rewriting of hagiology: Joseph Lemarié re-edited a sermon on the Holy Innocents (no.V) which had previously appeared in Mai; Catherine Saliou edited and studied two sermons, LVIII and LIX, which include extracts from the *Passio Sebastiani*; and Max Diesenberger has looked at the process of *réécriture* of hagiographic texts for inclusion in the sermonary.<sup>9</sup>

Although the scholarly groundwork of reconstructing the convoluted saga of the sermonary was done admirably by Bouhot and Folliet, for reasons of space neither could provide editions of the many unedited texts nor attempt to put the collection into its wider context. Attempting to make sense of a sermon collection from the bare bones of incipits, explicits and a list of sources is woefully inadequate. A proper edition will allow for a consideration of the author's manner of composition, and the intended audience. An edition assumes even greater importance since so few sermonaries from this period have received the attention that they deserve, and a comprehensive investigation will allow comparisons with other contemporary collections. It is also essential to establish how the content of the sermons complied with contemporary royal and episcopal legislation on preaching. The advent of electronic databases of texts, unavailable in the 1970s, has made it child's play to identify sources quickly and easily. The editing of certain texts, and research on others, has made it possible to discover more sources which, at least at the level of unembellished borrowing, escaped the notice of Bouhot and Folliet.<sup>10</sup>

### Manuscripts

The only manuscript which transmits the collection in its entirety is (W) Würzburg, *Universitätsbibliothek*, M.p.th.q.15. It comprises 211 folios, measures 22.5x16.5cm, and has 23 lines per page. According to Bischoff, the codex was written by several scribes from Freising in the time of Bishop Hitto (811/2-836), among them one named Cozroh

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<sup>9</sup> J. Lemarié, 'Le sermon Mai 193 et l'origine de la fête des saints Innocents en occident', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 99 (1981), 139-50; C. Saliou, 'Du légendier au sermonnaire: avatars de la *Passio Sebastiani*', *Revue des études augustiniennes*, 36 (1990), 285-297; M. Diesenberger, 'How Collections Shape the Texts: Rewriting and Rearranging *Passions* in Carolingian Bavaria', in M. Heinzelmann (ed.), *Livrets, collections et texts. Études de la tradition hagiographique latine*, Beihefte der Francia 63 (forthcoming). I am indebted to Max Diesenberger for sending me a copy of the latter before publication.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Bouhot, 'Un sermonnaire', 202: 'Une étude plus poussée du style – assez terne – du compilateur permettrait peut-être de reconnaître que quelques-uns des soixante-dix-neuf sermons sont entièrement son œuvre; pour dix-sept d'entre eux, en effet, nous n'avons pas décelé d'emprunt littéral à des écrits antérieurs, mais, probablement, plusieurs rapprochements nous ont encore échappé; aussi serait-il imprudent de fonder actuellement des conclusions trop précises sur ces dix-sept sermons.' Étaix, 'Le sermonnaire carolingien de Beaune', 132-3 also ventured the identification of a few more sources.



who first appears as a notary in the Freising charters in 820.<sup>11</sup> Its provenance is Freising cathedral: folio 2<sup>r</sup> has the thirteenth-century note, 'Liber scī Kyliani'. As mentioned, the original collection contains one hundred and forty-five sermons in two sections. The first section includes eighty-five sermons on the liturgical year from Christmas to the day before the Ascension. The second contains sixty sermons: four liturgical sermons covering the feast of the Ascension and Pentecost; forty-one hagiographical sermons; and fifteen sermons on the virtues and vices. Unfortunately though this manuscript is defective: the lower third has been gnawed away by mice, resulting in a loss of between one and six lines per page – the mice were obviously eager to consume the word of God! When this happened it is impossible to tell, but probably in the late medieval period. This codex is also missing several folios at the end, but these lacunae can be filled by recourse to other manuscripts which contain the missing parts. Folios 204-211 comprise later thirteenth and fourteenth century extracts.

The next manuscript in order of importance is (P) Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 14418.<sup>12</sup> It is a witness to almost the entire second part of the collection, which includes the sermons for saints' feast days and the section on the virtues and vices. The codex has 102 folios, measures 25x17.5cm, and has 23 lines per page. In Bischoff's estimation, it was written by a single 'broad and steady' hand in Caroline minuscule, 'perhaps' from the middle of the ninth century, 'possibly' in Regensburg. A ninth-century supplement (100<sup>r</sup>-102<sup>v</sup>) contains a sermon *De virtutibus sanctae crucis* by two later hands. Its provenance is St Emmeram, Regensburg. It also incorporates a full table of contents enabling the reconstruction of the original sequence. This manuscript is interesting in another respect because folio 2<sup>v</sup> has the note, 'Istum librum dedit sandarat presbyter ad sanctum emmerammum'. An archpriest named Sandarat (or Sandrat) is named in three documents dating to the end of the ninth century. In the earliest, dated to c.875-882, a certain 'Sandrat' *canonicus* appears as a witness to a land transaction enacted at St Emmeram and recorded in a charter under the

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<sup>11</sup> A. Poncelet, 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Wirzburgensis', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 32 (1913), 408-438, at 421-424; Bischoff and Hofmann, *Libri sancti Kyliani*, pp.54, 125; Bischoff, *Schreibschulen I*, pp.104-5; Folliet, 'Deux nouveaux témoins', 157-9; Thurn, *Die Pergamenthandschriften der ehemaligen Dombibliothek*, pp.94-8.

<sup>12</sup> Bischoff, *Schreibschulen I*, pp.241-2, 257; Folliet, 'Deux nouveaux témoins', 159-60; K. Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek* (Wiesbaden, 1990), pp.97-8.



episcopacy of bishop Ambricho (864-891).<sup>13</sup> In the next document, dated c.878-885, a 'Sandrat' appears again as a witness to a deacon named Altolt transferring land to the monastery, this time designated an *archipresbyter*. Lastly, in the most interesting document dated 889-891, the 'archipresbyter Sandratus' hands over ownership of land and ten slaves in benefice to named persons which will revert 'ad sanctum Petrum et sanctum Emmerammum' after their deaths. There is no further record of Sandarat; perhaps this transaction was carried out shortly before he died to settle his affairs. Evidently though, he was a reasonably affluent man and doubtless able to afford to own books. It seems highly likely that this man was the one who later bequeathed this manuscript to St Emmeram: I can find no other man with the same name in the charters or in the MGH necrology volumes. It was the job of an archpriest as the first in rank among priests attached to a baptismal church or a cathedral to administer and supervise the clergy on the bishop's behalf.<sup>14</sup> An archpriest's duties included attending synods, keeping a record of bishops' *capitula* and transmitting the decrees to the lower orders, looking into and bringing to the bishop's attention superstitious practices, investigating and examining the clergy as well as watching over them paternally, and finally, putting up a bishop on his peregrinations. His office was thus a pastoral one. Perhaps Sandarat used this manuscript for preaching to or teaching his clerical charges: it may be significant that the sermons on the virtues and vices of judges are absent in this manuscript (LIII-LX).

Amongst the other near-contemporary manuscripts which transmit a good part of the sermons contained in the original collection is (M) Udine, *Biblioteca arcivescovile*, 4.<sup>15</sup> This manuscript comprises 197 folios, and measures 15x11cm with 13 lines per page. Bischoff placed its origin in southern Bavaria or the Salzburg region, dating its script to the first quarter of the ninth century, making it one of the oldest witnesses to the collection. Its provenance is the Benedictine abbey of Moggio, situated

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<sup>13</sup> J. Widemann (ed.), *Die Traditionen des Hochstifts Regensburg und des Klosters S. Emmeram*, Quellen und Erörterungen zur bayerischen und deutschen Geschichte, Neue Folge, vol. 8 (Munich, 1913), n. 78, pp.71-3; n.89, p.81; n.147, pp.115-6.

<sup>14</sup> See the Encyclica Arnonis (798), *MGH: Conc. I*, p.196; Concilia Rispacense, Frisingense, Salisburgense (800), *MGH: Conc. I*, c.XV, p.209, c.XXXVIII, p.212; Capitula Frisingensia tertia (840s), *MGH: Capit. episc. III*, c.VIII, pp.223-4, c.XIII, p.226, cc.XXXV, XXXVII, p.230. See also F.S. Hoyt, *The Carolingian Episcopate: Concepts of Pastoral Care as Set Forth in the Capitularies of Charlemagne and His Bishops (789-822)* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale, 1975), pp.57-60; R.E. Reynolds, 'The Organisation, Law and Liturgy of the Western Church, 700-900', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History vol. II, c.700-c.900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.587-621, at p.607.

<sup>15</sup> Bouhot, 'Un sermonnaire', 215; Folliet, 'Deux nouveaux témoins', 170-178; Bischoff, *Schreibschulen II*, p.148; C. Scalon, *La biblioteca arcivescovile di Udine* (Padova, 1979), pp.70-76.



in the north-east corner of Italy. It has twenty-five sermons in common with our sermonary, plus other borrowings from the 'Bavarian homiliary'. It is most noteworthy, however, in respect of its diminutive size: it has almost exactly the same dimensions as a modern minidictionary. As a result, it qualifies for inclusion in the 'pocket-sized' category of manuscripts. Whilst I would not like to carry the analogy too far, one is reminded here of the little pocket-books described by David d'Avray as 'typical instruments of the mendicant preaching movement', which contained skeleton sermons or schematic summaries.<sup>16</sup> Though the small size does not necessarily imply that the book was created to be portable, the content does suggest that the codex might have been designed for a churchman who had to travel around a diocese and preach (a bishop, perhaps, or a monk-priest): items 1-27 are a rag-bag of hortatory sermons on the virtues and vices, while items 28-45 are homilies proper, arranged in liturgical order and taken in the main from the 'Bavarian homiliary'. Tom Amos suggested that a comparable ninth-century manuscript from Corbie, Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale*, lat. 13378, was used by a monk-priest to carry out his pastoral duties – it measures just 93x140mm and contains twenty-eight patristic sermons arranged according to the principal feasts of the liturgical year.<sup>17</sup> However, the Udine codex does not have any tell-tale signs of wear and tear, and if that interpretation seems too fanciful, an alternative possibility is that this little book was intended for private devotion. In her study of the mid- to late-fifth-century 'Eusebius Gallicanus' collection from south-east Gaul, Bailey espoused the notion that one of her manuscripts (Q<sup>0</sup>), measuring just 137x78mm, was 'an easily portable devotional text, ill-suited to reading in a public context.'<sup>18</sup> Library catalogues do sometimes include incidental detail about the size of books. For example, the St Gall catalogue which dates to the middle of the ninth century refers to 'two small volumes of homilies of bishop Caesarius'.<sup>19</sup> Other volumes are listed as 'modicus': middle-sized. Perhaps there is an analogy here between these two

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<sup>16</sup> See d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, esp. pp.57-62.

<sup>17</sup> Amos, *Origin and Nature*, p.266; idem, 'Monks and Pastoral Care', p.175.

<sup>18</sup> L.K. Bailey, *Preaching and Pastoral Care in Late Antique Gaul: The Eusebius Gallicanus Sermon Collection* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Princeton, 2004), p.53. See also P. McGurk, 'The Irish Pocket Gospel Book', *Sacris Erudiri*, 8 (1956), 249-70. McGurk analyses eight Gospel books written between the seventh and ninth centuries, and ranging in size from 125x112mm to 175x142mm, which 'were carried by the Irish monks in satchels'. He argues that the form is 'indisputably Irish', and was based on a desire to economise. Although he admits it is difficult to establish what purpose they served, he suggests that their main use was in a private setting as personal copies. I thank David D'Avray for mentioning this to me.

<sup>19</sup> *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz I. Bd. Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur*, ed. P. Lehmann (Munich, 1918), pp.66-82: 'Item omeliae Cesarii episcopi volumina II parva, unum aliquod, alter nihil'.



small volumes and the Udine manuscript. If so, one would be forced to abandon the whimsical notion of a preacher's *vade-mecum*.

Another important manuscript witness to forty-eight of the sermons is (F) Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 6310.<sup>20</sup> This manuscript has 113 folios, and measures 24x15cm with 20 lines per page. It was written in Bavaria, around Freising, in a script mainly by a single 'coarse and angular hand', dated by Bischoff to the first half of the ninth century. Four hands frequently, but only briefly, interrupt the main scribe. Its provenance is Freising cathedral.

One other ninth-century manuscript containing almost all of the first part of the collection came to light in the wake of Bouhot and Folliet's articles. In his palaeographical catalogue of Carolingian manuscripts from the Austrian dioceses of south-east Germany, Bischoff indicated that the collection of sermons contained in Prague, *Knihovna pražské kapituly*, A 156 (K) 'stimmt größtenteils überein mit dem karolingischen Homiliar des Clm 14445'.<sup>21</sup> This manuscript is now in the archive of Prague Castle.<sup>22</sup> It is missing a quire at the beginning, and as a result, commences in the middle of sermon VI. Otherwise, the manuscript contains all the sermons from the first part of the sermonary up to sermon LXXX, with the exception of sermon LXVI which is inexplicably overlooked: the subsequent numeration is as a consequence out of sync. A rectangular section has been removed from f.65 which contains sermon XLVIII, obliterating the top three lines and partly obscuring the fourth. In addition, there are some missing folios after f.118, since f.119<sup>r</sup> does not continue the text of sermon LXXX from the bottom of f.118<sup>v</sup>. The manuscript measures 245x187mm, has twenty lines per page, and was written by some ten different hands,<sup>23</sup> the first of which was responsible for most of ff.1<sup>r</sup>-70<sup>r</sup>. In Bischoff's opinion, it was written in the first quarter of the ninth century in south-east Bavaria, thus making it one of the oldest witnesses. A possession note dating to the mid-fourteenth century testifies that the manuscript belonged to the Benedictine monastery of Břevnov in Prague, and may perhaps have been brought there by bishop Adalbert when the monastery was founded in 992. Finally, in addition to this

<sup>20</sup> Bouhot, 'Un sermonnaire', 209; Bischoff, *Schreibschulen I*, p.143; Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften*, pp.96-7; G. Glauche, *Katalog der lateinischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München: Die Pergamenthandschriften aus dem Domkapitel Freising: Bd. I. Clm 6201-6316* (Wiesbaden, 2000), pp.189-90.

<sup>21</sup> Bischoff, *Schreibschulen II*, p.257. See also Z. Hledíková, 'Nejstarší břevnovský rukopis', in I. Hlaváček and M. Bláhová (eds), *Milénium břevnovského kláštera (993-1993)* (Prague, 1993), pp.41-49. Although in Czech, there is fortunately a résumé in German on p.49.

<sup>22</sup> *Archiv Pražského hradu*, A 156.

<sup>23</sup> Though Hledíková, 'Nejstarší břevnovský rukopis', 49 speaks of only 'six identifiable hands'.



Prague codex, another manuscript witness of the collection consisting of fragments dispersed in three libraries has been identified.<sup>24</sup>

The influence of this sermonary is attested by continued borrowing from it in the later medieval period. Most of the sermons from the first half of the collection are transmitted in (E) Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 14445.<sup>25</sup> It was this manuscript which initially led Jean-Paul Bouhot to the discovery of the original sermonary. This codex has 203 folios, and measures 25x17.5/18cm. It originated in south Germany around 1100, and emanates from St Emmeram, Regensburg. At least three or four hands contributed to its script. This codex is comprised of four parts, probably bound together from three different contemporary sources. As mentioned already, it is the third part which contains the Carolingian sermons (ff.128<sup>r</sup>-200<sup>v</sup>). Another later manuscript which incorporates 24 items from our collection is (H) Berlin, *Staatsbibliothek*, Hamilton 56.<sup>26</sup> This manuscript, comprising 182 folios and measuring 26x15cm, probably originated in north Italy (Piedmont?) in the first half of the twelfth century. It was written in Roman book script by various hands. On folio 1<sup>r</sup> there is a partially legible possession note (of the twelfth century?), 'Iste liber est...thebani conventus', possibly the Benedictine monastery of saints Octavius, Adventor and Solutor (the Theban Legion) founded by bishop Gezone (1000) in Turin. As we shall see in chapter V, Robert of Bardi included many pseudo-Augustinian items common to our collection when he drew up his enormous compendium of Augustinian sermons in the mid-fourteenth century.

### Date of Composition

In regard to the date of composition, the palaeographical evidence suggests that the collection was in existence by 825 at the latest. Manuscripts K and M were both dated to the first quarter of the ninth century by the incomparable Bernhard Bischoff. The

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<sup>24</sup> Lambach, Ccl 480a; New Haven, *Yale University, Beinecke Library*, Ms. 3; Vienna, *Österreichische Nationalbibliothek*, Ser. nov. 3620. See Bischoff, *Schreibschulen II*, p.42. On the Vienna fragment see *Katalog der abendländischen Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek 'Series Nova' (Neuerwerbungen) Teil 3 Cod. Ser. N. 3201-4000*, eds O. Mazal and F. Unterkircher (Vienna, 1967), p.206. From the extracts printed it seems this fragment preserves part of sermon LVII from the second part of the collection.

<sup>25</sup> Bouhot, 'Un sermonnaire', 184-7; E. Klemm, *Die romanischen Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek. Teil I: Die Bistümer Regensburg, Passau und Salzburg* (Wiesbaden, 1980), p.19.

<sup>26</sup> Bouhot, 'Un sermonnaire', 215-6; H. Boese, *Die lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin* (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp.28-30; A. Fingernagel, *Die illuminierten lateinischen Handschriften süd, west- und nordeuropäischer Provenienz der Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin Pk: 4.-12. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden, 1999), p.35.



internal evidence shows that the most recent securely datable sources upon which the compiler draws are firstly, Alcuin's letter no. 131, written originally, according to Bullough, in 789 or 793/5 to the pupils of the monastic school of St Martin's on the subject of penance, and sent to Arn as part of a *liber manualis* in 802;<sup>27</sup> and secondly, Alcuin's treatise on the virtues and vices, written between 801 and 804 for Guy, count of the Breton march.<sup>28</sup> In the course of his article on the sermonary of Beaune, Raymond Étaix noted a total of twenty-four borrowings, or items in common, between Beaune and the 'sermonnaire de Würzburg' – the francophone appellation for our collection, derived from the provenance of the most complete manuscript witness.<sup>29</sup> Étaix dated the sermonary of Beaune to 'shortly after the year 802', since one of the sermons relies on Alcuin's *De fide s. Trinitatis*, composed in that year (although he admitted that Alcuin and the compiler of Beaune could have had recourse to a common source). Not having been able to consult the sole manuscript in which the sermonary of Beaune is transmitted (Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale*, lat. 3794),<sup>30</sup> it is impossible to comment further on the nature of the relationship between the two, but this provides a *terminus a quo* for our collection.

It may be possible to narrow this time frame further based on some, admittedly tenuous, internal textual evidence. A previously unedited sermon entitled 'LX. De pace et concordia', which appears at the very end of the collection, is listed in the table of contents in both manuscripts P (f.2<sup>v</sup>) and W (f.84<sup>v</sup>), proving incontrovertibly that it formed part of the sermonary when it was originally devised. However, the text of this sermon is missing from both of these manuscripts due to damage and missing folios. The sermon is, though, preserved in Clm 6310 (F). In addition, as Jean-Paul Bouhot

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<sup>27</sup> MGH: *Epp. IV*, no. 131, pp.193-8; M.S. Driscoll, 'Ad pueros sancti Martini: A Critical Edition, English Translation, and Study of the Manuscript Transmission', *Traditio*, 53 (1998), 37-61; D. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden and Boston, 2004), pp.66-7. On p.66 n.160 Bullough decries Driscoll's article for its numerous factual errors (see further chapter IV).

<sup>28</sup> This work has traditionally been dated to 799 or 800. However, D. Bullough, 'Alcuin and Lay Virtue', in L. Gaffuri and R. Quinto (eds), *Predicazione e società nel medioevo: riflessioni etica, valori e modelli di comportamento* (Padova, 2002), pp.71-91, at pp.82-3 n.46 and pp.88-9 refutes Liutpold Wallach's earlier argument that Alcuin's *De rhetorica*, not composed earlier than 801, borrows from *De virtutibus*. Instead he argues that chapter 35 of *De virtutibus* is a 'considerably abbreviated version of his earlier account in the *De rhetorica*', putting the composition of *De virtutibus* posterior to 801 but before Alcuin's death in 804. A. Dubreucq, 'Autour du *De virtutibus et vitiis* d'Alcuin', in P. Depreux and B. Judic (eds), *Alcuin, de York à Tours: Écriture, pouvoir et réseaux dans l'Europe du haut Moyen Âge*, Annales de Bretagne et des Pays de l'Ouest, tome 111, n.3 (Rennes, 2004), pp.269-87, at pp.269-70 follows Bullough in considering that the work 'peut être placé entre 801 et 804'.

<sup>29</sup> Étaix, 'Le sermonnaire carolingien de Beaune', 132-5. Bouhot in fact pointed out that our sermonary shared some items in common with Paris, BN, lat. 3794, but of course, at the time when he wrote he did not know the full extent of our collection nor had Étaix's article on this manuscript been published.

<sup>30</sup> *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins, t. VII, nos 3776 à 3835* (Paris, 1988), pp.155-66.



first pointed out, it also features in another early-ninth-century Bavarian manuscript, Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 14410 (A), on folios 93<sup>r</sup>-97<sup>v</sup>. This interesting sermon received very little attention from Bouhot and Folliet; it was examined in brief by J.M. Heer in his study of the manuscript, although he did not edit it.<sup>31</sup> The first part of Clm 14410 contains the collection of homilies on the Epistles known as Pseudo-Bede (ff.1-77<sup>v</sup>). The second part includes two penitential sermons *De execrandis vitiis* (ff.77<sup>v</sup>-83<sup>v</sup>); fifteen canons from a Bavarian church council ('Capitula Bavarica') held probably in Regensburg in the time of Adalwin (792-816/17) concerning pastoral matters, which can be dated between 800 and 813 (ff.83<sup>v</sup>-85<sup>v</sup>);<sup>32</sup> a series of six sermons with the title *Ratio de catechizandis rudibus* (ff.85-92) for the instruction of those about to receive baptism – in this context most probably Avars;<sup>33</sup> a short discourse on the eight vices from Cassian (ff.92<sup>v</sup>-93); our sermon (ff.93-97<sup>v</sup>); Maxentius of Aquileia's response to a circulatory letter from Charlemagne on baptism, uniquely preserved in this manuscript (ff.98<sup>r</sup>-99<sup>v</sup>);<sup>34</sup> texts drawn from Isidore of Seville's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* entitled *De catecuminis*, *De competentibus*, *De symbolo* and, finally, another baptismal explication which relies on the pre-Carolingian commentary *Primo paganus*, contained for example in Alcuin's letters 134 and 137 (c.798) (ff.99<sup>v</sup>-102<sup>v</sup>).<sup>35</sup> The tracts written in reply to Charlemagne's enquiry supply a *terminus a quo* for the compilation of the manuscript itself of c.812. Our sermon nestles amongst these texts following Cassian's scheme of

<sup>31</sup> Heer, *Ein Karolingischer Missions-Katechismus*, pp.38, 48, 64, 66.

<sup>32</sup> *MGH: Capit. episc. III*, pp.189-98. This council incorporates details about almsgiving (c.X, p.197) drawn from a chapter of the councils of Reisbach, Freising and Salzburg held in the year 800 (*MGH: Conc. I*, no.24, c.III, pp.207-8). These regulations were superseded by those of the council of Mainz in 813 (*MGH: Conc. I*, no.36, c.XXXIII, p.269), thus giving a window of time in which the meeting that produced the 'Capitula Bavarica' must have taken place.

<sup>33</sup> Heer, *Ein Karolingischer Missions-Katechismus*, pp.42-9, remarked that these catechetical sermons, possibly written up around 800 by a monk of St Emmeram, were most likely for the mission to the Avars. See also L.E. von Padberg, *Die Inszenierung religiöser Konfrontationen: Theorie und Praxis der Missionspredigt im frühen Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 2003), pp.203-4, who notes on p.204 n.349: 'Da der Anonymus die einschlägigen Alkuin-Briefe benutzt hat, liegt eine Verwendung bei den Avaren im Umkreis von Arn von Salzburg nahe.'

<sup>34</sup> On the date of this circulatory letter see J.-P. Bouhot, 'Explications du rituel baptismal à l'époque carolingienne', *Revue des études augustiniennes*, 24 (1978), 278-301, at 285, 287-8; S.A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire* (2 vols, Notre Dame, 2002), i, p.88, where she links it to the reform councils of 813. A *terminus a quo* of 811 for the letter is provided by the fact that Maxentius became Archbishop of Aquileia in that year; a *terminus ante quem* of 813 is given by Amalarius of Metz's departure for Constantinople around March 813. Keefe discusses Maxentius' reply on pp.107-11, and edits the text from Clm 14410 on pp.462-6 of vol. II. See further S.A. Keefe, 'An Unknown Response from the Archiepiscopal Province of Sens to Charlemagne's Circulatory Inquiry on Baptism', *RB*, 96 (1986), 48-93. For the details of Amalarius' mission, see M. McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300-900* (Cambridge, 2001), pp.138-43.

<sup>35</sup> Alcuin's letters 134 and 137. Bouhot, 'Explications', 296 contends that, *pace* Heer, nothing indicates this latter exposition was composed in response to the encyclical of c.812.



the eight vices, and forms a suitable counterpart to it. Keefe has classified this manuscript as a 'bishop's pastoral manual from northern Italy or Bavaria', since the baptismal instructions show distinctive northern Italian features.<sup>36</sup>

Heer contended that the subject matter of sermon LX could be linked to the prescriptions of three interrelated Bavarian church assemblies.<sup>37</sup> The first canon of the councils held in 800 at Reisbach, Freising and Salzburg is entitled 'De unitate et concordia sacerdotum Christi et populi Christiani'.<sup>38</sup> This council speaks of a 'concord of peace...which it is fitting for the whole Christian people to maintain ceaselessly'. Moreover, the first chapter of the aforementioned 'Capitula Bavarica' contains the admonition 'that there should be one concord of the priests and lay subjects, whose faith is one in God, and there should be charity and devotion together.'<sup>39</sup> Lastly, and most compellingly, the fifth article from the council of Mainz, one of the five great reform councils held in 813, is entitled 'De pace et concordia et unanimitate' and contains similar prescriptions to the two Bavarian councils already quoted. Now, one particular section in sermon LX states that it is impossible to love God unless you love your neighbours, because all are brothers 'in unity of the faith in the holy Church'; all are sons of God, with one God the Father, one mother Church, one baptism, and all look towards 'one inheritance'. Let us compare this part of the sermon to the fifth chapter of the Council of Mainz:

Council of Mainz, 9 June 813 (Facta est haec synodus...V. Idus Iunii...):<sup>40</sup> Sermon LX:

<p>De pace et concordia et unanimitate. V. Ut pax et concordia sit atque unanimitas in populo Christiano, quia <i>unum Deum patrem</i> habemus in caelis et <i>unam matrem ecclesiam</i>, unam fidem, <i>unum baptisma</i>.</p>	<p>...Quis est amicus noster nisi qui in unitate fidei nobiscum permanet in sancta ecclesia? Qui est filius Dei sicut et nos, qui est frater Christi sicut et nos, qui habet <i>unum Deum</i> et <i>unum Deum patrem</i> sicut et</p>
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<sup>36</sup> Keefe, *Water and the Word*, p.136. See also p.27: 'perhaps the catechetical material...indicates its user was a bishop'. Bouhot, 'Explications', 296, states that Clm 14410 'paraît avoir été composé à l'usage des prédicateurs'.

<sup>37</sup> Heer, *Ein Karolingischer Missions-Katechismus*, pp.38, 63ff.

<sup>38</sup> *MGH: Conc. I*, no.24, p.207: 'Ideoque convenit supradictam congregationem sanctam domini Dei omnipotentis auxilio statuere in invicem indissolubili vinculo caritatis, ut unanimes uno ore honorifice Deum patrem in celis et concordiam pacis inter se perpetuo iure firmare, quod universo populo Christiano indesinenter conservare oportet, maxime tamen his, qui ecclesiastici ordinis officio manciantur, qui pro se et pro totius christianitatis salute immaculatas hostias domino Christo debent offerre.' On the Bavarian church councils held under Arn see W. Hartmann, *Die Synoden der Karolingerzeit im Frankreich und in Italien* (Paderborn, 1989), pp.141-151, esp. p.143.

<sup>39</sup> *MGH: Capit. episc. III*, c.1, pp.194-5: '...et ut una sit concordia sacerdotum et subiectorum laicorum; et quorum una est fides in deum, una sit et caritas et devotio...' Notably, this chapter also encompasses some textual similarities with the councils of 800. See p.195, n.7.

<sup>40</sup> *MGH: Conc. I*, no.36, p.261.



Ideo in una pace et unanimitate concorditer vivere debemus, si *ad unam et veram hereditatem* regni caelestis cupimus pervenire...

nos, et *unam matrem ecclesiam* sicut et nos, *unum baptisma* sicut et nos, *ad unam spectat hereditatem*, id est ad regnum caelorum, sicut et nos? Qua igitur praesumptione odimus eum qui haec nobiscum habet sicut et nos, qui et frater noster et proximus est?

Thus there are several matching idioms between the sermon and the Mainz chapter. Although Heer did not unequivocally say so, his insinuation was that the Council of Mainz in some way influenced the make-up of this sermon.<sup>41</sup> It seems feasible, then, to conjecture that this sermon was written in the wake of this council. However, a note of caution must be sounded at this point because these precepts are scattered throughout other Carolingian capitularies,<sup>42</sup> and, of course, could have been derived independently from patristic authors, creeds, or directly from the Bible. In addition, it is difficult to assess the impact of the Council of Mainz because its decrees do not survive in any contemporary or near-contemporary manuscript. It is preserved principally in only three manuscripts dating to the tenth century, with several other later manuscripts transmitting a few chapters.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, there exist no congruencies as close as this. Archbishop Arn co-held the presidency of this council along with two other archbishops, and a considerable number of their clerical entourages would have also been present.<sup>44</sup> Is it too fanciful to suggest that an ecclesiastic who was present at this council, or had read the decree in a manuscript containing the proceedings, composed this sermon and perhaps unconsciously included this textual echo?

In addition, there are three sermons in the collection (LXXXIII-LXXXV *De letania maiore*) which commemorate three pre-Ascension litany days.<sup>45</sup> It is interesting to note that this three-day observance on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday

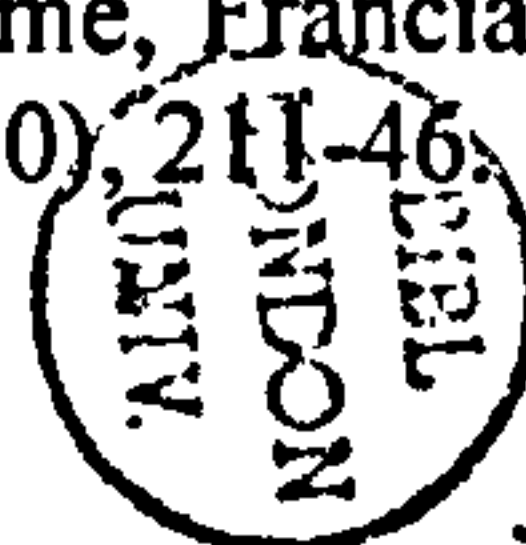
<sup>41</sup> Heer, *Ein Karolingischer Missions-Katechismus*, p.66: '...noch eine grosse Predigt *De pace et concordia* aufgenommen hat, deren Titel so sehr an den Mainzer can. 5 v.J. 813 erinnert, der *De pace et concordia et unanimitate* handelt.'

<sup>42</sup> Cf. *Admonitio generalis*, *MGH: Capit. I*, no.22, c.62, p.58; Council of Arles (813), *MGH: Conc. I*, no.34, c.XII, p.251; Council of Chalon-sur-Saône (813), *ibid.*, no.37, c.XX, p.277; Council of Tours (813), *ibid.*, no.38, c.XXXII, p.290; *Capitula e canonibus excerpta*, *ibid.*, c.VIII, p.295; *Concordia episcoporum*, *ibid.*, c.II, p.297.

<sup>43</sup> *MGH: Conc. I*, no.36, pp.247, 258.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p.259: 'Almifice reverentiae vestrae patefacimus nos humillimi famuli ac missi vestri, Hildibaldus [Cologne (c.791-819)] scilicet sacri palatii archiepiscopus, Rihholfus [Mainz (d.813 Aug 9)] et Arno archiepiscopi seu Bernharius [bishop of Worms (- c.825)], una cum reliquis coepiscopis atque abbatibus et caetero clero... Incipientes igitur in nomine Domini communi consensu et voluntate tractare pariter de statu verae religionis ac de utilitate et profectu Christianae plebis, convenit in nobis de nostro communi collegio clericorum seu laicorum tres facere turmas, sicut et fecimus.'

<sup>45</sup> See further J. Hill, 'The *Litaniae maiores* and *minores* in Rome, Francia and Anglo-Saxon England: terminology, texts and traditions', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9 (2000), 211-46.





preceding Ascension Day is a fifth-century Gallican tradition: the Roman custom (at the very least by the time of Gregory the Great) was to celebrate the ‘Major Litany’ on 25 April. The Gallican practice was approved, according to the *Liber pontificalis*, for Roman usage in the time of Pope Leo (795-816), during 802-3.<sup>46</sup> The Council of Mainz also contains a chapter on this subject, ruling that the ‘Major Litany’ should be observed by all Christians on these three days.<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, sermon LXXXIV claims that ‘omnis catholica ecclesia’ celebrates these pre-Ascension litany days ‘communiter in toto mundo ieiunando’. The source text here mirrors sixth-century Arlesian conditions, but there is no reason to suspect that it does not also genuinely reflect contemporary Bavarian custom and what the compiler believed was universal.<sup>48</sup> Is this another indication of a post-813 date? Just possibly, although the Council of Mainz might in this case only have been codifying an existing practice.<sup>49</sup> Plus, the sermonary of Beaune, which antedates our collection and most likely the reform councils, includes four items (nos.79-82) *In letania maiore* before Ascension. To sum up, we can say with certainty that the sermonary of Salzburg was assembled sometime posterior to 802 because of its reliance on the sermonary of Beaune and its inclusion of Alcuin’s letter 131 (from the *liber manualis*). The questionable internal evidence referred to above hints obliquely at a connection to the reform councils of 813; even if not, the collection could have come into being after 813 anyway, but was definitely in existence before 825.

### Place of Origin

Pinning down a place of origin is equally tricky. Bouhot and Folliet tentatively suggested that the collection may have been drawn up by a monk or cleric from the entourage of Arn of Salzburg, basing their conjectures on the strong Alcuinian influence, the localization of the manuscripts, and the fact that sermons are included for St Rupert of Salzburg and St Amand. To deal with the first point, the friendship between Arn of Salzburg and Alcuin is well-known. Arn must have first encountered Alcuin at court sometime after 786 – the revised date put forward by Bullough for when

<sup>46</sup> *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis)*, trans. R. Davis, Translated Texts for Historians vol. 13 (Liverpool, 1992), p.199.

<sup>47</sup> *MGH: Conc. I*, no.36, c.XXIII, p.269: ‘Placuit nobis, ut laetania maior observanda sit a cunctis Christianis diebus tribus.’ Note though that in one eleventh-century manuscript (M3) ‘diebus tribus’ is replaced by ‘in uno die, id est VII. kal. Maii’ (25 April), a return to the traditional Roman custom.

<sup>48</sup> The source for this sermon is Caesarius, *Sermones*, CCSL 104, serm. 207.2, p.829: ‘Quae licet nobis omni tempore necessaria esse probentur, praecipue in istis tribus diebus, quos regulariter in toto mundo celebrat ecclesia...’

<sup>49</sup> Cf. *Capitula ecclesiastica a.810-813*, *MGH: Capit. I*, no.81, c.19, p.179: ‘Hae sunt festivitates in anno quae per omnia venerari debent...letania maior, ascensa Domini...’



the latter moved to Francia (instead of the traditional 781/2).<sup>50</sup> About forty letters written by Alcuin to Arn from 790 onwards survive, almost all of which were assiduously preserved by Arn in two important letter collections (Vienna ÖNB 795 and 808).<sup>51</sup> In contrast, we possess none of Arn's replies. Letters in this period were rarely confidential, but rather 'quasi-public literary documents written with an eye to further publication', often little didactic treatises in themselves.<sup>52</sup> The amount of sermons filched from Alcuin is certainly very suggestive, viz., his letter 131 and his tract *De virtutibus et vitiis*, but by no means decisive: all Carolingian sermonaries quarried Alcuin's *œuvre* for sermonic material.

Apropos of the manuscript diffusion, it has to be admitted that not one manuscript witness to the sermonary can be proved conclusively to emanate from Salzburg. Arn's twelfth-century obituary records that 'among other innumerable and praiseworthy deeds he ordered more than 150 volumes to be written here'.<sup>53</sup> The codicological remnants from his episcopacy suggest that the majority of the books he procured were copied at St Amand.<sup>54</sup> In his analysis of Salzburg's library, Mazal listed seventy-two manuscripts proven to have originated there in the time of Arn.<sup>55</sup> Since there is no reason to suppose that the figure quoted in the obituary is wildly inaccurate, it means that the survival rate of manuscripts from Arn's incumbency is fairly good, and

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<sup>50</sup> Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp.331-46.

<sup>51</sup> On their correspondence see M.D. Garrison, *Alcuin's World Through his Letters and Verse* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge, 1995); M. Diesenberger and H. Wolfram, 'Arn und Alcuin 790 bis 804: Zwei Freunde und ihre Schriften', in M. Niederkorn-Bruck and A. Scharer (eds), *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg* (Vienna, 2004), pp.81-106; M.D. Garrison, 'Praesagum nomen tibi: The Significance of Name-Wordplay in Alcuin's Letters to Arn', in *ibid.*, pp.107-27.

<sup>52</sup> G. Constable, *Letters and Letter Collections*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 17 (Turnhout, 1976), p.11ff.

<sup>53</sup> The twelfth-century necrology of St Rupert, Salzburg records his obituary thus: '9. Kal. Arn archiep. ob. x. as. Ruperto, primus archiepiscopus, decus et honor huius ecclesie, qui inter alia innumera et laudabilia opera plus quam 150 volumina iussit hic conscribi, cuius vitam Albinus magister Karoli per sua scripta plurima, que hic apud nos sunt, multum collaudat et extollit.' *MGH: Necr. II*, p.98.

<sup>54</sup> These include, for instance, CLA X, no.1462, Salzburg, *Stiftsarchiv St Peter*, a.IX.16, s.VIII<sup>ex</sup> (785-98?), Libri Salomonis, written in Salzburg, at the end the scribe wrote 'EPISC[OPUS] ARN' CONSTITVIT LIBRV[M] ISTV[M] IN SVIS TEMPORIBVS'; CLA IX n.1354 Stuttgart, *Landesbibl.*, Theol. et Philos. fol. 208, s.VIII-IX, Hieronymus in Mattheum, written presumably at St Amand, f.157 'A[RNO] EPCS FIERI IVSSIT'; see also K. Gamber, 'Das Salzburger Arno-Sakramentar', *Scriptorium*, 14 (1960), 106-108, who shows that Clm 29164, fragments of a sacramentary and lectionary, were written by the same St Amand scribe who wrote ff.9-15, 28-43 of its close textual counterpart Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale*, lat. 2296. The 'Arno sacramentary' was probably written in St Amand and taken to Salzburg by Arn along with one or more scribes from there. See further R. Babcock, 'New Fragments of the Arno Sacramentary and Lectionary', *Archiv für Liturgie-Wissenschaft*, 32 (1990), 297-306. On the scriptorium at Salzburg in Arn's time see further Bischoff, *Schreibschulen II*, pp.52-83; K. Forstner, 'Die Schreibschule von St. Peter in der Karolingerzeit', in H. Dopsch and R. Juffinger (eds), *St. Peter in Salzburg. Das älteste Kloster in deutschen Sprachraum* (Salzburg, 1982), pp.182-6, at pp.183-4.

<sup>55</sup> See O. Mazal, 'Die Salzburger Dom- und Klosterbibliothek in karolingischer Zeit', *Codices Manuscripti*, 3 (1977), 44-64, at 47-56.



hence it is even more striking that there is no extant trace of this sermonary, not even a fragment. However, due to the vagaries of manuscript preservation, it would be extremely rash to argue that because no Salzburg manuscript survives the collection cannot have been composed there.<sup>56</sup>

In the sanctoral of the sermonary there is a sermon which celebrates saint Rupert, the evangelizer of Bavaria and first bishop of Salzburg. However, it is nothing more than an adaptation of sermons by Eusebius 'Gallicanus' and Leo I: unlike the majority of the others it is not an abridgement of a saint's life.<sup>57</sup> Now, this sermon on saint Rupert in manuscript W contains a significant mistake: its title reads 'XXXII. In natale sancti Corbiniani VIII K. Octobris' and, consistent with this, the first line of text runs 'Sancti ac beatissimi patris nostri Corbiniani...'. Yet, the entry for this sermon in the table of contents (f.83<sup>v</sup>) is: 'XXXII. In natale sancti Hrodperhti episcopi VIII K. Octobris'. On the other hand, both the entry in the table of contents and the sermon itself in manuscript P bear the name Rupert. Georges Folliet pointed out that the copyist of manuscript W had maladroitly blundered twice: in failing to alter the name and date in the table of contents to 'Corbiniani V/VI. ID. Sept. (8 or 9 September)', and neglecting to change the feast date in the sermon title from Rupert's (24 September) to Corbinian's.<sup>58</sup> The first error is understandable if the scribe only subsequently conceived the idea to adjust the sermon to commemorate Corbinian and overlooked the necessity to amend the table of contents, but the second mistake can only be ascribed to carelessness (or a different copyist!). Folliet deduced logically therefore that manuscript W was only a copy of the sermonary made at Freising where saint Corbinian was venerated as the first bishop. In addition, although manuscript P, written in Regensburg, was a more faithful and closer witness to the original than W, Regensburg was on balance not the most likely place of composition for the original sermonary because

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<sup>56</sup> Bischoff's new *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts* lists approximately 7,000 manuscripts and fragments copied on the Continent in the ninth century, but out of a total of how many? 50,000? This was Bischoff's own estimate (cited by J.J. Contreni, 'The Carolingian Renaissance: Education and Literary Culture', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History vol. 2, c.700-c.900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.709-57, at p.711), and if anyone was entitled to hazard an educated guess it was him. Personally, I think the number was higher. M. Gorman, 'The Carolingian Miscellany of Exegetical Texts in Albi 39 and Paris Lat. 2175', *Scriptorium*, 51 (1997), 336-354, at 336 mentions a 'customary rule...that about 5-10% of the manuscripts written in the ninth century have survived...' which would give a figure in excess of 100,000. Any figure must necessarily be an arbitrary one.

<sup>57</sup> Eusebius 'Gallicanus', *Collectio homiliarum*, ed. F. Glorie, CCSL 101A (Turnhout, 1971), hom. 51, pp.593-603 – on this collection see Bailey, *Preaching and Pastoral Care*, pp.36-61; 'Sancti – uanis' = Leo Magnus, *Tractatus septem et nonaginta*, ed. A Chavasse, CCSL 138A (Turnhout, 1973), tract. 94.2, p.579. The lines in the conclusion, 'nos quandoque – peculiare' revert back to Eusebius.

<sup>58</sup> Folliet, 'Deux nouveaux témoins', 163-6.



there is no sermon celebrating saint Emmeram. There is also another point in the sermon for Rupert where P preserves a reading closer to the archetype. This occurs in the course of the following passage:

Sermon XXXII:<sup>59</sup>

Source:<sup>60</sup>

Quantorum animas iam quasi mortuas in peccatis per exortationem confessionis et paenitentiae, ad emendationem [emendationem *W*] tamquam ad lucem reuocando, Deo [*add sup. l. W*] resuscitauit, et Domini sui admirandus imitator, iam mortuas, Deo animas ad uitae statum reparauit.

Quantorum animas, uiuentes in corpore iam defunctas et delictorum mole obrutas ac sepultas, ad aemulationem tamquam ad lucem uocando, deo resuscitauit, ut, domini sui admirandus imitator, iam mortuas, deo e contrario mortificet uitali morte peccato!

Instead of 'ad uitae statum reparauit', P reads '~~e-contrario-mortificet-uitale-forte peccato~~'; the corrector adds 'ad uite statu [sic] reparauit' above the line struck through – apparently the original reading, which makes much more sense. W, on the other hand, reads after 'animas': 'contrario mortificet uitale forte peccato'.

The key question that must be addressed in relation to the content of this sermon is: if the sermonary originated in Salzburg, then why did the author not choose to abridge a *vita* of Rupert, like the majority of other sermons in this section, instead of reworking a general sermon which has nothing to do with Rupert? Surely a Salzburg author would want out of all the saints celebrated in this section to furnish his audience with some historical details on the local patron saint? This issue hinges, of course, on whether a hagiographical composition was available to the author at the time of composition of the sermonary to provide the necessary source material. If not, then the reason for modifying a general sermon to celebrate Rupert is obvious. However, if at the time of composition a *vita* of Rupert can be shown to be extant, then an alternative explanation must be sought for this incongruity.

To answer this question, it is necessary for a short excursus on the textual history of sources pertaining to this saint. There are several interdependent sources available on Rupert, none contemporary. In 1882 Franz Martin Mayer discovered the earliest extant recension of a life of saint Rupert in a Graz manuscript which he dated to the tenth century,<sup>61</sup> but the manuscript was subsequently proved by Wilhelm Levison to

<sup>59</sup> P (f.59<sup>v</sup>); W (f.161<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>60</sup> Eusebius 'Gallicanus', *Collectio Homiliarum*, CCSL 101A, hom. 51, p.597.

<sup>61</sup> F.M. Mayer, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte des Erzbistums Salzburg 3. Die Vita S. Hrodberti in älterer Gestalt', *Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte*, 63 (1882), 597-609. The manuscript is Graz,



date rather to the mid-ninth century.<sup>62</sup> Previously, the main source for Rupert's life was the first section of the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*, an account of the conversion of the Bavarians and Carantanian Slavs, drawn up in 870 to bolster the claim of the church of Salzburg to Pannonia against the apostle Methodius, and only preserved in manuscripts dating from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Two other documents known as the *Notitia Arnonis* (788-90) and *Breves Notitiae* (798-800), essentially registers of land grants, also transmit similar details. The historical details of Rupert's life, as portrayed by the *vita*, are that he was born to a noble Frankish family and was bishop of Worms before decamping sometime after 696, at the invitation of the Bavarian duke Theodo, to the court at Regensburg.<sup>63</sup> Rupert successfully preached the Gospel and converted many people, so the duke granted Rupert license to preach and restore churches wherever he wanted throughout Bavaria. Rupert and his companions made their way along the Danube to Lorch and Wallersee. However, he got to hear of a place called Iuvavum, a then derelict Roman site. Theodo bestowed gifts of money and land there upon Rupert, who built a church dedicated to St Peter. After some of his companions saw premonitions of his death, Rupert returned to Worms and died on Easter Day (27 March) probably after 716. Miracles took place later above his tomb.

Mayer compared the text in the Graz manuscript to the first part of the *Conversio* and arrived at the conclusion that they were drawn up by different authors, with the Graz version forming the basis of the *Conversio*. Mayer also suggested that, because of certain interpolations in the *Conversio*, the Graz version was the older, possibly drawn up on the occasion of the translation of Rupert's remains to Salzburg on

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*Universitätsbibliothek*, 790. Mayer edited the text on pp.606-8 and also printed a facsimile of a manuscript leaf. Despite my best efforts, I have not been able to see I. Friedrich, 'Über die Vita s. Ruperti der Handschrift 790 der Grazer Universitätsbibliothek', *Sitzungsberichte - königlich bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-philologische Classe* (1883), 509-547, which, according to Folliet, mentions the sermon on Rupert.

<sup>62</sup> W. Levison, 'Die älteste Lebensbeschreibung Ruperts von Salzburg', *Neues Archiv*, 28 (1903), 285-321. This essay formed a precursor to his critical edition in the MGH. Cf. B. Krusch, 'Die Gesta Hrodberti', *Neues Archiv*, 28 (1903), 611-7.

<sup>63</sup> *Vita Hrodberti episcopi Salisburgensis*, ed. W. Levison, *MGH: SS rer. Merov. VI* (Hannover, 1913), pp.157-62. See further H. Wolfram, 'Der heilige Rupert und die antikarolingische Adelsopposition', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 80 (1972), 4-34; K. Forstner, 'Neue quellenkritische Erkenntnisse zur Rupertfrage', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 99 (1991), 317-46 questions the traditional dates for Rupert's activity (696 departure for Bavaria, founding of the Maximilianszelle in 711/12 etc.), basing his arguments on the neglected chronological evidence of the confraternity-book from St Peter's, Salzburg. He re-dates Rupert's arrival in Salzburg to post-714 but before 716/17 (the date of duke Theodo's death), since the redactor of the confraternity book (Virgil?) places Rupert contemporary with Charles Martel, the first named ruler. Virgil had stayed at Pippin III's court and was sent by him to Salzburg; there he learned about Rupert. I do not find his argument convincing.



24 September 774 when the new cathedral was consecrated. Levison also agreed that the Graz recension was the older, although it was only a copy, not the archetype. Levison also established a *terminus post quem* of 790 for the Graz version because of textual congruencies with a document of that year, but thought it more likely to date from between 816 and the mid-ninth century, due to textual similarities with the *Institutio canonicorum* (816) and the *Translatio Hermetis* (851-55), also composed in Salzburg by an author whom Levison thought might have also penned the *Gesta Hrodberti*. Levison countered the argument that a version of the *vita* dated back to the eighth century by postulating that the account in the *Breves Notitiae*, whose oldest manuscript dates only from the thirteenth century anyway, was a supplement added later.

Modern scholars however now agree that although the *Gesta Hrodberti* as critically edited by Levison does date to around 790 because of the addition of the text from the diploma (793?), the author of this work and the author of the *Conversio* are independent derivatives of an even older lost source, which undoubtedly dates back to the time of bishop Virgil (749-784).<sup>64</sup> The textual agreements that Levison detected with other dateable texts from the ninth century have been rejected as too trivial, and the priority of the *Gesta* compared to the *Breves* has also been reasserted. The *Gesta* might have been written to pay homage to Salzburg's elevation to metropolitan status in 798. The *causa scribendi* of the lost life, however, as already suggested by Mayer, could have been as a commission by Virgil for the translation of Rupert's relics in 774. Another possibility is that because the *Gesta* makes no mention of Rupert's translation, or his involvement in the foundation of Maximilianszelle, which formed the centrepiece of a dispute between Virgil and duke Tassilo in 746/7, it might even predate this.<sup>65</sup> Virgil's conflict with Tassilo led to him questioning Rupert's companions and pupils and writing a dossier entitled the *Libellus Virgilii* in 746/7, which might plausibly also have furnished the material for a *vita*. Such a *vita* would, in turn, have stressed the existence of a vibrant ecclesiastical tradition in Bavaria before Boniface's reforms and hence have strengthened Virgil's position with regard to Boniface, with whom Virgil is

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<sup>64</sup> See especially H. Beumann, 'Zur Textgeschichte der Vita Ruperti', in *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel* (3 vols, Göttingen, 1971-2), iii, pp.166-196. This article provides a useful summary of work done up to the date of publication on pp.166-70.

<sup>65</sup> See H. Dopsch, 'Schriftliche Quellen zur Geschichte des Heiligen Rupert', in P.P. Eder and J. Kronbichler (eds), *Hl. Rupert von Salzburg 696-1996: Katalog der Ausstellung im Dommuseum zu Salzburg und in der Erzabtei St. Peter 16. Mai 1996-27 Oktober 1996* (Salzburg, 1996), pp.39-65, esp. pp.39-46; Wood, *Missionary Life*, pp.146-50.



known to have quarrelled intermittently from 746. It has also been rightly pointed out that Virgil was unlikely to have asked bishop Arbeo of Freising (723-784) to write the lives of Emmeram and Corbinian between 769 and 772 if no *vita* existed for Rupert. Thus, whichever of these theories one accepts, on the basis of the foregoing evidence it seems probable that when the sermonary was put together in its final form there *was* an extant life of saint Rupert which an author working in Salzburg could have adapted for preaching, such as he had done for a large proportion of the other sermons.

So why did the author of the sermonary choose to ignore the *Urfassung*? As a noble saint (*Adelsheilige*) Rupert embodied an attainable model of piety and virtue to which an audience could strive, and moreover, such a sermon would have indirectly emphasized the primacy of Salzburg. A clue to the likeliest explanation, it seems to me, lies in the fact that the scribe who copied out the sermon in manuscript W chose to alter the name in the rubric and text to celebrate saint Corbinian. What this suggests is that our scatterbrained scribe felt able to change the name of the saint celebrated *because* the sermon was so ambiguous. It is a reasonable assumption therefore that whoever instigated the assemblage of this sermonary was aiming at a compilation which could be disseminated widely and used in the different regions of Bavaria with the minimum of adjustment: note that the name of saint Rupert appears solely in the first line and nowhere else in the sermon. The inclusion of an all-purpose sermon which might be adapted easily to celebrate a local patron saint, if a copyist chose, would facilitate this aim. In his study of the Italian homiliary, Martin noted the 'flexibility/adaptability' of the sanctoral cycle: 'some of the sermons either mention the saint only at the very end of the sermon or sometimes not at all...[this makes] the collection even more adaptable for the needs of the community to whom it was preached.'<sup>66</sup> Nor should it be thought so strange, as Folliet did, that manuscript P, from Regensburg, includes this sermon for Rupert but none for saint Emmeram. For Rupert also worked in Regensburg at the ducal court and it is not surprising his memory should also be honoured there.<sup>67</sup>

It is conspicuous that in contemporary or near-contemporary Bavarian martyrologies, including Clm 15818, dating to the mid- or late-ninth century,<sup>68</sup> the date

<sup>66</sup> Martin, *Italian Homiliary*, p.86. See also pp.93-4 on the substitution of other sanctoral sermons.

<sup>67</sup> The St Emmeram annals, for instance, faithfully record Rupert's translation in 774. See *Annales sancti Emmerammi Ratisponensis maiores*, ed. G.H. Pertz, *MGH: SS I* (Hannover, 1836), p.92, s.a.774: 'Sanctus Hrodpertus translatus est.'

<sup>68</sup> H. Quentin, *Les martyrologes historiques du moyen âge: étude sur la formation du martyrologe Romain* (Paris, 1908, reprinted Spoleto, 2002), pp.30-1; idem, 'Les extraits du martyrologe hiéronymien



of Rupert's 'depositio' (i.e. death) accords with that given in his *vita* of 27 March.<sup>69</sup> These martyrologies moreover, plus Clm 210, dating to 818,<sup>70</sup> list the 'dedicatio basilicae' on 24 September, the date on which in 774 Virgil translated Rupert's relics from Worms.<sup>71</sup> Yet, our sermon portrays 24 September as the 'dies natalis', something which is also attested in a ninth- or tenth-century calendar from St Maximinus, Trier, a sacramentary from Regensburg, now in Verona,<sup>72</sup> and a sermon from the 'Bavarian homiliary'.<sup>73</sup> Levison refuted the suggestion that the saint's death was originally celebrated on 24 September and took this as further evidence that the sermons antedated the *vita*, which he thought was composed in the mid-ninth century. Now that Levison's theory on the date of composition of the *vita* has been discredited, perhaps this aberration supports the theory advanced above that the sermons in both our sermonary and the 'Bavarian homiliary' were intended as 'generic' compositions.<sup>74</sup>

The presence of a sermon for St Amand also provides a hint as to the milieu in which the original sermonary may have originated. The link between Bavaria and St Amand is of course Arn, bishop from 785, and later archbishop of Salzburg (798-3 Jan 821). Arn was born in the early 740s in Isengau, the son of noble parents.<sup>75</sup> He was

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du manuscrit 15818 de Munich et leurs notices historiques', *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*, 1 (1924-5), 123-39.

<sup>69</sup> For other calendars see A. Lechner, *Mittelalterliche Kirchenfeste und Kalendarien in Bayern* (Freiburg im Bresgau, 1891).

<sup>70</sup> Levison, 'Die älteste Lebensbeschreibung', 319-21.

<sup>71</sup> This is also the case in the eleventh and twelfth century calendars published by G. Swarzenski, *Die Salzburger Malerei von den ersten Anfängen bis zur Blütezeit des romanischen Stils*, Studien zur Geschichte der Deutschen Malerei und Handschriftenkunde des Mittelalters (2 vols, Leipzig, 1908-13), ii, pp.167-181.

<sup>72</sup> On both see *Vita Hrodberti*, ed. Levison, p.145. Neither say anything about the character of the feast celebrated though.

<sup>73</sup> 'Die VIII Kal. Oct. IN NATALI SANCTI RUODBERTI EPISCOPI ET CONFESSORIS'. But crucially, as Barré, 'L'homélaire carolingien', 89 n.2 points out: 'ce sermon n'est qu'une transposition abrégée de l'*Adhortatio ad imitandas virtutes sancti Vedasti* d'Alcuin (PL 101, cols 678C-679B)'. This homiliary has as one of its manuscript witnesses Clm 3833 (from Augsburg), and is the 'altera homilia e sermone Alcvini in honorem sancti Vedastis conscripto ad verbum excerpta est neque magis ad gesta Hrodberti cognoscenda facit' of which Levison, *Vita Hrodberti*, p.147 speaks, although he wrongly dates it to the tenth century. On the manuscript see Bischoff, *Schreibschulen I*, pp.13-14; Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften*, p.103. Clm 3833, *Homiliarium*, or. Lake Constance area, s.ix<sup>1/3</sup>, prov. Augsburg Cathedral, parchment, 192ff., 33.5x24.5cm, writing area 26.5x18.5cm, 34 lines per page, Caroline minuscule from several hands.

<sup>74</sup> Barré, 'L'homélaire carolingien', 90 hesitated to ascribe the 'Bavarian homiliary' to Salzburg, even though it includes a sermon for Rupert, because his cult 'était répandu un peu dans toute la Bavière'.

<sup>75</sup> For biographical details see H. Platelle, *Le temporel de l'abbaye de Saint-Amand des origines à 1340* (Paris, 1962), pp.53-5; J. Semmler, 'Zu den bayrisch-westfränkischen Beziehungen', *Zeitschrift für bayrische Geschichte*, 29 (1966), 344-424, at 391-7; H. Dopsch, 'Die Zeit der Karolinger und Ottonen', in H. Dopsch and H. Spatzenegger (gen. eds), *Geschichte Salzburgs: Stadt und Land. Band I. Vorgeschichte, Altertum, Mittelalter. Teil I.* (Salzburg, 1981), pp.157-228, esp. pp.157-73; H. Wolfram, 'Arn von Salzburg (785/98-821). Salzburgs erster Erzbischof', in P.F. Kramml and A.S. Weiss (eds), *Lebensbilder Salzburger Erzbischöfe aus zwölf Jahrhunderten: 1200 Jahre Erzbistum Salzburg* (Salzburg, 1998), pp.9-



handed over to the church of Freising as an oblate in 758 by his father Haholt, who was worried about the future of his soul after being seriously wounded by an enemy, and Arn there received his education. In the 760s and 770s Arn's name regularly appears in documents written at Freising and he became a close confidant of both bishop Arbeo and Tassilo III. Arn became a deacon in 765, a priest in 776, and was mentioned for the last time at Freising in 778. Local tradition reports that he then entered the important royal monastery of St Amand as a monk, although he actually lived as a canon. The reasons for his departure are uncertain: Platelle suggested that he left to further his education.<sup>76</sup> On 26 May 782 he became the abbot of St Amand, probably as the royal nominee; he carried out substantial building works there, for example, constructing a chapel dedicated to saints Michael, Peter and Amand.<sup>77</sup> Arn retained the abbacy upon his elevation to the see of Salzburg in 785, but appears to have resigned it in 808, probably due to his old age and other commitments. He convoked a series of synods at Freising, Reisbach and Salzburg in 799, and along with the two other east Frankish archbishops held the presidency of the council of Mainz in 813. Palaeographers have long since noted the fact that Arn brought scribes and manuscripts with him to the scriptorium in Salzburg.<sup>78</sup>

In contrast to the Rupert sermon, this time the text is actually a reduction and simplification of the *Vita sancti Amandi* into a length and format suitable for preaching.<sup>79</sup> Again, several scholars have debated the age of the *vita*. Its editor, Bruno Krusch, attributed it to the second half of the eighth century and suggested Gislebert, the monk and abbot of Elnone, and later bishop of Noyon-Tournai (769-782), as a possible author. De Moreau, however, argued that it was composed by an anonymous cleric from Noyon and dated from the period 700-50 on the basis of its use of other

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22; W. Störmer, 'Der junge Arn in Freising', in M. Niederkorn-Bruck and A. Scharer (eds), *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg* (Vienna and Munich, 2004), pp.9-26; Bullough, 'Charlemagne's "Men of God"', pp.146-8.

<sup>76</sup> Platelle, *Saint-Amand*, p.54: '...venu ensuite à Saint-Amand, peut-être attiré par la réputation des écoles, il y fit profession monastique.'

<sup>77</sup> Dopsch, 'Die Zeit der Karolinger', 158: 'Als Abt ließ Arn die Kirche erweitern und das Grab des hl. Amandus renovieren, dessen Kult er später nach Salzburg verpflanzte.'

<sup>78</sup> On the palaeographical links between St Amand and Salzburg see CLA X, pp.viii-xviii; Bischoff, *Schreibschulen II*, pp.61-73; A. Boutémy, 'Le scriptorium et la bibliothèque de Saint-Amand', *Scriptorium*, 1 (1946), 6-16, at 7; R. McKitterick, 'Carolingian Book Production: Some Problems', *The Library*, 12 (1990), 1-33, at 14-29; Mazal, 'Die Salzburger Dom- und Klosterbibliothek', 47-56.

<sup>79</sup> Cf. *Vita sancti Amandi*, ed. B. Krusch, *MGH: SS rer. Merov. V* (Hannover, 1910), pp.431-49.



hagiographical sources.<sup>80</sup> Notably, only three manuscripts and two fragments of the *vita* survive from the ninth century.<sup>81</sup> However, in 1976 a fragment of a late-eighth-century manuscript was discovered which contained an earlier recension of the *vita* to that edited by Krusch.<sup>82</sup> This seems to have vindicated Krusch's theory of a date for this text of post-750, but it is now thought that both *vitae* were composed in the Midi, rather than the north of France.<sup>83</sup> Krusch had previously noted the existence of this sermon, or 'breviarium quoddam rerum gestarum Amandi' as he terms it, in several other later manuscripts.<sup>84</sup> He also remarked that the author of the sermon seems to have used as a model a codex which depends on the third family of manuscripts that transmit the *vita* (A3). A comparison with the fragmentary text printed by Riedmann and the sermon shows that the sermon did indeed use the newer recension of the *vita*, as a sample of a few lines demonstrates:

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<sup>80</sup> É de Moreau, 'Étude critique sur la plus ancienne biographie de saint Amand', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 29 (1910), 27-67. I have not been able to see É. de Moreau, *Saint Amand. Apôtre de la Belgique et du nord de la France* (Louvain, 1927).

<sup>81</sup> Gand, *Bibl. de l'Univ.*, 224, s.ix<sup>2</sup>; Vatican, *Reg. lat.*, 339, s.ix<sup>med</sup>; *Codex Sangall.*, 563, s.ix<sup>med</sup>. The fragments are Valenciennes, *Bibl. Mun.*, 399 (palimpsest) s.ix<sup>in</sup>; *Codex Sangall.*, 1396E, s.ix.

<sup>82</sup> J. Riedmann, 'Unbekannte frühkarolingische Handschriftenfragmente in der Bibliothek des Tiroler Landesmuseums Ferdinandeum', *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 84 (1976), 262-89, at 281-9. I have not seen Riedmann's other article, 'Die ältesten Handschriftenfragmente in der Bibliothek des Museum Ferdinandeum', *Veröffentlichungen des Tiroler Landesmuseum Ferdinandeum*, 56 (1976), 129-39. See also Wood, *Missionary Life*, pp.39-42.

<sup>83</sup> A. Verhulst and G. DeClercq, 'L'action et le souvenir de saint Amand en Europe centrale. À propos de la découverte d'une *Vita Amandi antiqua*', in M. Van Uytvanghe and R. Demeulenaere (eds), *Aevum inter utrumque: Mélanges offerts à Gabriel Sanders* (Steenbrugis, 1991), pp.503-26, at pp.513-5. I have not been able to see M. Barth, 'Zum Kult der hl. Bischöfe Amandus von Strassburg, Maastricht und Worms im deutschen Sprachraum', *Freiburger Diözesan-Archiv*, 91 (1971), 5-64.

<sup>84</sup> *Vita s. Amandi*, ed. Krusch, pp.418-9: 'Breviarium quoddam rerum gestarum Amandi...in legendario illo pervetusto originis Bavaricae repperi, quod etiam textum Passionis Floriani contractum exhibet, atque ex eodem, ubi c.36. facit, postea etiam in alia legendaria transiit. Auctor codicem quendam classis A3 excerptisse videtur, nam aliquot ipsius lectiones in libris nullis repperi nisi in A 3d.g....' The other manuscripts are: Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 18955, s.xi (which notably contains a variant reading preserved in Clm 14418 – *Augiae* for *Ogiae*); Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 22242/22244, s.xii; Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 9506, s.xii; *Codex civitatis Foroiuliensis* XXII, s.xi/xii. The other three manuscripts listed are all s.xv.



Sermon:	Vita s. Amandi:	Innsbruck fragment: <sup>85</sup>
Illo autem quasi in extasi sedente in foribus ecclesiae subito ei sanctus apparuit Petrus, qui blande et leniter ei dixit ut in Galliam ad exercendam praedicationem rediret. De qua uisione sanctus uir hilaris factus accepta benedictione feliciter remeauit in Galliam.	Sedente autem eo in extasi mentis in gradibus ante fores ecclesiae, subito ei sanctus apparuit Petrus, blande leniterque eum adloquitur et, ut in Galliis ad praedicationem exercendam reverti deberet, admonuit. De qua uisione sanctus vir Amandus hilarior redditus, accepta benedictione apostoli atque patrocinia, feliciter remeauit in Galliis.	Sedente eo in gradibus ecclesiae in extasi mentis sanctus Petrus ei apparuit sereno uultu et blando sermone illum transiens appelauit. Gaudebundus de uisione uir Dei Amandus cognouit, quod inuenit gratiam Dei quam quesuit. Deinde accepta sanctorum patrocinia Galleas remeauit.

Since the older redaction only survives in a single fragment, it appears that it was superseded by the improved Carolingian version, and this was the only recension to which our sermon author had access, or desired to use.

The appearance of a sermon on saint Amand truncated from a manuscript which contained the full newer *vita* circulating in Bavaria can therefore justifiably point to Arn or someone from his entourage in Salzburg as the instigators of this sermonary, perhaps even somebody brought from the monastery of St Amand. Nevertheless, there is also evidence from martyrologies, church dedications and manuscript catalogues to imply that a cult of Amand existed independently of Arn's influence from the late-eighth century around Saint-Gall, Chur and Reichenau, probably due to his missionary activity between the Alps and the Danube.<sup>86</sup> It has even been suggested as a corollary that Arn's move to St Amand in 778 was inspired by the memory of this saint as a great evangelizer in Bavaria. Dopsch argued that the title of Alcuin's poem (penned for the visit of Charlemagne to Salzburg in 803?) 'In cimiterio sancti Amandi' testifies to the existence of a cemetery and church dedicated to St Amand in Salzburg before Arn rebuilt it and rededicated it to saints Michael, Peter and Amand.<sup>87</sup> However, Riedmann thinks that the manuscript fragment of the *vita antiqua* is, after all, due to in some way to Arn's influence.<sup>88</sup> Maybe it was Arn who was responsible for spreading the newer recension of the *vita* at the expense of the old, which may have been circulating

<sup>85</sup> Riedmann, 'Unbekannte', 282.

<sup>86</sup> Verhulst and DeClercq, 'L'action et le souvenir de saint Amand', pp.515ff.

<sup>87</sup> H. Dopsch, 'Salzburg zur Zeit Erzbischof Arns', in Niederkorn-Bruck and Scharer, *Arn von Salzburg*, pp.27-55, at p.27 n.3, pp.40-1 and p.40 n.87.

<sup>88</sup> Riedmann, 'Unbekannte Handschriftenfragmente', 288-9.



independently there. This would account for its meagre preservation. At any rate, Amand's subsequent widespread veneration in Bavaria must be ascribed to a large extent to Arn.

The veneration of certain saints in a sermonary, besides those universally celebrated,<sup>89</sup> can provide one means of localizing a collection. Is there a correlation between the saints celebrated in our sermonary with those of contemporary Bavarian martyrologies?<sup>90</sup> Georges Folliet made a start on this, indicating for example, the manuscript Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 15818, written in the ninth century. This is a Bedan martyrology with local additions, which allowed Quentin to ascribe Salzburg as its place of origin.<sup>91</sup> It belonged to the Cathedral Chapter there before coming into the possession of the library at Munich. This martyrology however includes only sixteen of the feast days as celebrated by the sermons. A missal and Bedan martyrology from Freising (Clm 6421) dating to c.990 is a much better match, containing all the saints celebrated in the sanctoral on their respective feast days.<sup>92</sup> In addition, Wolfgang Haubrichs has remarked on the presence of certain Gallic saints in the sermonary, but these saints were commonly venerated in the Church and it seems rather sanguine to attribute this 'west Frankish influence' to Arn.<sup>93</sup>

While on the whole the saints honoured follow the prescriptions laid down in both Bavarian and imperial legislation, there are a couple of anomalies to note: first, there are sermons for the Purification, Assumption and Nativity, but none for the

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<sup>89</sup> Cf. G. Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 24-5 (Turnhout, 1977), p.75: 'Les indices de provenance du codex...On écarterait d'abord les saints "universels" dont la patrie est à coup sûr sans signification pour la provenance du manuscrit: la Passion de S. Cyprien, celle de S. Vincent, celle de S<sup>te</sup> Euphémie ou celle de S. Laurent n'indiquent en aucune façon que le légendier pourrait être de Carthage, Saragosse, Chalcédoine ou Rome.'

<sup>90</sup> For a useful introduction to the genre of martyrologies, catalogues of saints arranged in the chronological order of their anniversaries, see J. Dubois, *Les martyrologes du moyen âge latin*, Typologie des sources du moyen du moyen âge occidental 26 (Turnhout, 1978).

<sup>91</sup> See above, n.68.

<sup>92</sup> With the exception of the feast of St Juliana. See Lechner, *Mittelalterliche Kirchenfeste*, pp.7-74.

<sup>93</sup> W. Haubrichs, *Georgeslied und Georgslegende im frühen Mittelalter: Text und Rekonstruktion* (Königstein, 1979), p.260: '...in einem Legendar römischen Typs erscheint, das allerdings durch gallische Heilige (Mauricius, Symphorianus, Dionisius, Amandus, Martin, Briccius) erweitert wurde...Salzburgs erster Erzbischof Arn kam aus St. Amand in Flandern und so mag sich der westfränkische Einfluß im Legendar, vor allem die Verehrung des heiligen Amandus, erklären.' For a full list of the sanctoral see appendix II. For some more comments on legendaries and manuscript W, see C. Pilsworth, 'Dating the *Gesta martyrum*: A Manuscript-Based Approach', *Early Medieval Europe*, 9 (2000), 309-24, at 318-20. In classifying W as a legendary alone Pilsworth (and Haubrichs for that matter) misses the significance of this section in the context of the sermonary as a whole.



Conception as there should be;<sup>94</sup> second, there is no sermon for saint Remigius as the council of Mainz prescribes.<sup>95</sup> Furthermore, it is perhaps a little incongruous, if one wants to accept the link to Arn, that there is no sermon for All Saints' Day (1 November). In a letter to Arn, written sometime before 19 March 800, Alcuin mentions that Arn has 'appointed the solemnity of all the saints, just as we said'.<sup>96</sup> Alcuin encourages Arn not to desist from honouring this feast. Other sermonaries like that of Saint-Père do have sermons for All Saints' Day.<sup>97</sup> The omission of all these feasts is a touch strange, but probably not that significant. Finally, another singularity in the sanctoral of the sermonary is that the feast day for the virgin martyr Juliana of 8 November is incorrect according to other contemporary Bavarian martyrologies: all agree on the 16 February.<sup>98</sup> An explanation for this error was put forward by Geith, who found that the November date was transmitted only in the oldest examples of his Corbie 'C-family' of manuscripts, which all came from northern Francia or Belgium.<sup>99</sup> He suggested that an entry in the Hieronymian martyrology 'VII idus Nov. In Nicomedia, natalis...Juliae' could have caused the mix-up.<sup>100</sup> An exemplar from this C-family was used by our author and the mistake thus compounded.

To recap, the origin and provenance of the manuscript witnesses to the sermonary confirm that it was composed somewhere in Bavaria, within the archdiocese of Salzburg. The presence of sermons for saints Rupert and Amand is indicative of a

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<sup>94</sup> *Concilia Rispacense, Frisingense, Salisburgense a. 800*, MGH: *Conc. I*, no.24, c.XLI, p.212: 'Ut missa sanctae Dei genetricis Mariae quater in anno sollempniter celebretur, id est purificatio IIII. Non. Febr. [February 2] et conceptio, quod est VIII. Kalendarum Aprilium [March 25], et assumptio, quod est XVIII. Kal. Septembris [August 15], et nativitas, quod est VI. Id. Septemb. [September 8]'; *Capitula ecclesiastica a.810-813*, MGH: *Capit. I*, no.89, c.19, p.179: 'Hae sunt festivitates in anno quae per omni venerari debent...purificatio sanctae Mariae...De adsumptione sanctae Mariae interrogandum reliquimus'; *Concilium Moguntinense a.813*, MGH: *Conc. I*, no.36, c.XXXVI, pp.269-70: 'De festivitibus anni. XXXVI. Festos dies in anno celebrare sancimus...adsumptionem sanctae Mariae...natalem sancti Remigii...purificationem sanctae Mariae...'

<sup>95</sup> MGH: *Conc. I*, no.36, c.XXXVI, p.270: 'natalem sancti Remigii'

<sup>96</sup> MGH: *Epp. IV*, no.193, p.321: 'Kalendis Novembris solemnitas omnium sanctorum. Ecce, venerande pater Arne, habes designatam solemnitatem omnium sanctorum, sicut diximus. Quam continue in mente retineas et semper anniversario tempore colere non desistas'.

<sup>97</sup> Cross, *Cambridge Pembroke College Ms. 25*, nos.56-65, pp.38-9.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Clm 15818; Lechner, *Mittelalterlich Kirchenfeste*, *passim*; Jerome's martyrology in PL 30:433-86; Gallican martyrology in PL 72:607-18; Bede's martyrology in PL 94:799-1148; Hrabanus Maurus's martyrology in PL 110:1121-88; Roman martyrology in PL 123:143-77.

<sup>99</sup> K.-E. Geith, *Priester Arnolts Legende von der Heiligen Juliana: Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Juliana-Legende und zum Text des deutschen Gedichtes* (Freiburg, 1965), p.53 n.1. Geith claimed that manuscript R (our P) was copied from F (our W), which in turn relied on a French exemplar. I owe this reference to Max Diesenberger. E. Brunöhler, *Über einige lateinische, englische, französische und deutsche Fassungen der Julianenlegende mit einem Abdruck des lateinischen Textes dreier Münchener Handschriften* (Bonn, 1912), pp.11-35 edited the text of the legend from Clm 2570, Clm 332 and Clm 14418 (manuscript P).

<sup>100</sup> PL 30:481C.



connection to the church of Salzburg itself, but no manuscript witness can be positively assigned to the scriptorium there. Salzburg as a place of origin would also tally with two fundamental requirements for the compilation of such a collection: a well-stocked library, and a Church leader with a keen pastoral sense. The inclusion of a versatile, non-specific sermon, along with the fact that all the other saints in the sanctoral were universally celebrated, further supports the theory of a sermonary intended for general use throughout Bavaria, and perhaps even further afield.

### Format and Putative Usage

Two fundamental questions we must now consider are firstly, what are these texts? and secondly, how might they have been used? It is a shame that there is no dedication or preface to this sermonary (such a preface could easily get lost), but the extant preambles from other contemporary collections can shed light on these questions.<sup>101</sup> The sermons are quite obviously not notes of sermons actually preached, either jotted down by stenographers in church or written up subsequently by the preacher or someone with a vested interest in keeping a record. This was the practice in late antiquity: Deferrari has demonstrated convincingly that Augustine did not write nor painstakingly prepare and memorize his sermons before he preached them. Instead he spoke largely extemporaneously, perhaps after some meditation on the subject, his discourses being recorded by unofficial stenographers present in the church in shorthand and transcribed afterwards.<sup>102</sup> Deferrari argues that Augustine never had a chance to revise his sermons once they were transcribed, and this, combined with their spontaneous delivery, means that we have a vivid record of what was spoken, often incorporating other incidental material such as the audience's reaction. However, the doyenne of Christian Latin,

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<sup>101</sup> There is a dedication by abbot Lantperhtus of Mondsee to Hildebald of Cologne in the so-called Mondsee homiliary (Vienna, ÖNB, 1014), but infuriatingly, the rather ancient manuscript catalogue gives only the beginning, 'Hildebaldi archiepiscopi Co. Lantperhtus abbas hunc librum rogabat scribere...'. See *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter graecos et orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum vol. I. Cod. 1-2000* (Vienna, 1864), p.176. Barré does not print the dedication either. Is there more which describes why Hildebald wanted it, and how he intended it to be used?

<sup>102</sup> R.J. Deferrari, 'Verbatim Reports of Augustine's Unwritten Sermons', *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, 46 (1915), 35-45; idem, 'St. Augustine's Method of Composing and Delivering Sermons', *American Journal of Philology*, 43 (1922), 97-123 and 193-219. See further the interesting paper by H. Marti, 'Lateinische Predigten zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit', *Museum Helveticum*, 62 (2005), 105-25. Marti uses a threefold division to classify late antique sermons: those orally contrived and performed extemporaneously, recorded by stenographers (O-O); those prepared beforehand in writing and reproduced orally (L-O); and those prepared in writing for readers (L-L), though even the first type could be reworked by a corrector of the transcript (O-O-L). In his statistical analysis, Marti finds that (somewhat unsurprisingly) true 'oral texts' contain shorter words, employ a smaller vocabulary, use forms of personal address, and have shorter sentences. Our texts are Marti's L-O type.



Christine Mohrmann, thinks it more likely that the unusually conscientious Augustine did retouch a few sermons which he managed to obtain from notaries.<sup>103</sup> Possidius tells us in relation to Augustine's sermons that 'whoever wished and was able to do so brought reporters to take down what was said'.<sup>104</sup>

Nor are our sermons, for the most part, ready-made texts written to be read out as they stand. Caesarius of Arles composed his sermons for this very purpose, and was anxious that they be duplicated and circulated, as he suggests:

'I beg and exhort with great humility that whoever receives this little book in his hands should both read it frequently himself and instil it into others, as well as giving it to them to read and transcribe...I mention this fact, because many people, and perhaps pious ones, want to keep their numerous books shining and beautifully bound; they keep them locked up in chests, so that they may not read them themselves or give them to others to read...'<sup>105</sup>

Caesarius continues in his prologue proper to say that 'we have written in this little book simple admonitions that are necessary for parishes. These the holy presbyters or deacons should read on the major feasts to the people entrusted to them...it is necessary, and very much so, that not only the clergy but also the laity know the Catholic faith well...This we should both read frequently ourselves and impress upon others.'<sup>106</sup> The priests and deacons will have to answer with him at Christ's tribunal, adds Caesarius, if they neglect to declaim his sermons. Hrabanus Maurus appended a similar preface to his collection prepared for Haistulf of Mainz:

'Obeying your orders, most blessed Father, I have composed a sermonary for preaching to the people, with regard to all the things which I believed necessary for them...I implore you in return, o Father, to instruct whomsoever you entrust this little work for

<sup>103</sup> C. Mohrmann, *Die altchristliche Sondersprache in den Sermones des Hl. Augustin. Erster Teil: Einführung, Lexikologie, Wortbildung* (Nijmegen, 1932, reprt. Amsterdam, 1965), pp.21-4.

<sup>104</sup> '...et quisquis, ut voluit, et potuit, notarios adhibens, etiam ea quae dicebantur excepta descripsit.' PL 32:39; *Early Christian Biographies*, trans. Muller and Deferrari, pp.80-1. John Chrysostom's sermons too were taken down by stenographers as he preached, sometimes extemporaneously. John may sometimes have had a hand in the editorial and publication process, but often it was left to others. See W. Mayer and P. Allen, *John Chrysostom, The Early Church Fathers* (London and New York, 2000), pp.30-1.

<sup>105</sup> Caesarius, *Sermones*, CCSL 103, serm. 2, p.18: 'In cuiuscumque manibus libellus iste venerit, rogo et cum grandi humilitate supplico, ut eum et ipse frequentius legat, et aliis ad legendum et ad transscribendum non solum tradat, sed etiam ingerat...Hoc ideo suggero, quia multi sunt, et forte aliqui religiosi, qui plures libros et satis nitidos et pulchre ligatos habere volunt, et eos ita armariis clausos tenent, ut illos nec ipsi legant, nec aliis ad legendum tribuant...' *Saint Caesarius of Arles. Sermons. Vol. I (1-80)*, trans. Sister M.M. Muller, *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* vol. 31 (Washington D.C., 1956), pp.24-5.

<sup>106</sup> Caesarius, *Sermones*, CCSL 103, serm. 2, pp.18-19: '...admonitiones simplices parochiis necessarias in hoc libello conscripsimus, quas in festivitibus maioribus sancti presbyteri vel diacones debeant commissis sibi populis recitare...Et quia necesse est, et satis oportet, ut fidem catholicam omnes non solum clerici sed etiam laici notam habeant...quam et ipsi frequenter legere, et aliis insinuare debemus.'; *Saint Caesarius of Arles. Sermons. Vol. I (1-80)*, trans. Muller, p.25.



reading or for preaching to abet my frailty in the presence of the most just judge by their prayers...'<sup>107</sup>

Thus Hrabanus envisaged that his sermons might be preached straight off the page, as it were, or alternatively, used for private rumination. It was expressly for the latter purpose that in 854 or 855 the Emperor Lothar requested Hrabanus to compose a homiliary; it was intended to be read aloud to him during mealtimes.<sup>108</sup> Incidentally, there is also an mention by Lothar in this letter to the reading of sermons 'to the Catholic people', and Hrabanus himself alludes to the fact that Lothar 'did not have a suitable exposition of the divine readings and chapters of the Gospel which are read in the churches of God throughout the whole year during the celebrations of the Mass'.<sup>109</sup>

Now, while many sermons from our collection could well be preached, or rather read out, as is, the brevity, laconic style and general character of others mitigate against this possibility. Instead, the collection can perhaps be best categorized as a preaching resource, an anthology that would offer model texts from which ideas for a prospective sermon could be drawn and elaborated upon. The sermons are deliberately succinct and synoptic to allow the user licence to add any extra spin off the cuff. In a manner akin to later medieval or even modern sermon outlines or manuals,<sup>110</sup> a ninth-century preacher might dip into the collection to ascertain what earlier authorities had to say about a particular topic or occasion, and subsequently canalize that teaching to the parishioners in their own preaching. The mélange of texts offered on individual themes (e.g. penance, sermons XLI-LII) would afford a preacher maximum choice and allow him to

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<sup>107</sup> 'Jussionibus tuis obtemperans, beatissime Pater, sermonem confeci ad praedicandum populo, de omnibus quae necessaria eis credidi...Hoc quoque maxime, vice remunerationis, obsecro, Pater, ut meae parvitati impendas, ut quibuscunque de subjectis, sive devotis, hoc opusculum ad legendum vel ad praedicandum committes, meam fragilitatem apud justissimum Judicem orationibus suis adjuvare praecipias...' PL 110: 9-10A

<sup>108</sup> '...refectionis nobis tempore recitandas...ut nobis in uno volumine omnium memoratarum lectionum expositiones colligens diregas, ita ut precedentibus semper epistolis vel lectionibus, quae earum loco congruis temporibus ex quacumque historia recitantur, semper evangelia subsequantur iuxta ordinem huic epistole subnexus...vos, quesumus, sollicita cura uberius adhibeatis iunctis omeliis vel sermonibus diversorum temporum et ieiuniorum seu festivitatum a sanctis patribus in ecclesia ad populum habitis, ut nulla omnino in toto lectionario possit repperiri lectio, cuius in memorato codice a vobis colligendo plena non inveniatur expositio et omeliaticus sermo.' *MGH: Epp. III*, no.49, pp.503-4. See *ibid.*, nos.50-51, pp.504-6 for the letters accompanying Hrabanus's dispatch of first two parts of the homiliary.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, no.49, p.503, '...presertim cum memorati sancti patres illarum tantum expositiones ex magnorum inlustrumque virorum tractatibus collegerint, quae diebus dominicis vel precipuis tantum festivitibus catholico in unum populo confluente leguntur...'; *Ibid.*, no.50, p.504, 'Epistola vestra, quam mihi misistis conquerentes, quod non haberetis idoneam expositionem lectionum divinarum atque evangelicorum capitulorum, quae per totum annum in missarum celebrationibus in ecclesiis Dei leguntur...'

<sup>110</sup> One is reminded of the 'mere skeleton outlines' or schematic summaries, sometimes consisting of just headings, used by the friars in the thirteenth century as preaching aids, but these represent a further stage in development. See d'Avray, *Preaching of the Friars*, esp. pp.57-62.



vary his sermon from one year to the next; the table of contents further serves to increase the collection's functional utility.

An instructive parallel for this type of collection is that of Abbo of St Germain. In the foreword to his collection, Abbo explains that his little book has been composed unadorned for those wanting in Latin who do not understand the 'obscure commentaries and homilies of the learned'.<sup>111</sup> He promises that at least in his book everything will lie open 'for your salvation, and will be revealed for that of others'. As for the content of his collection, it comprises 'expositions and very apt little discourses for events and seasons'.<sup>112</sup> He furthermore reveals that bishops Froterius of Poitiers and Fulradus of Paris compelled him to compose his work in a 'low style' for the benefit of simple clerics in order that 'they may drain the drink of preaching to their subjects'.<sup>113</sup> This he dutifully did: his sermons are in Latin a child could understand. While the Latinity of our collection is not quite so straightforward, there are signs that the compiler was at pains to simplify the more difficult of his sources (see below). Recent studies of comparable popular collections, such as the Italian and Saint-Père sermonaries, have also confirmed that the immediate recipients of these collections were the priests themselves.<sup>114</sup> But unlike the latter, in our collection I can find no passages directed overtly at priestly readers or hearers.

It is also feasible that the collection was exploited to instruct clerics in a more formal setting: the archpriest Sandarat who owned Clm 14418 may have made use of his copy for this purpose. A master of the cathedral school of Laon, Martin Hiberniensis (819-875), used a composite manuscript containing many sermons on matters of doctrine, plus pastoral texts on marriage, baptism, and priestly duties, to teach his pupils.<sup>115</sup> A gathering of patristic texts, conciliar material and sermons collected by

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<sup>111</sup> Abbo, 22 *Predigten*, ed. Önnersfors, p.63, 'Noueris lector siue auditor quicumque es mediocris loquacitatis diues sed latinitatis indiges hoc opusculum tibi nudo nuditer factum ut, qui per obscura doctorum commenta et omelias non intellegis euangelia, saltem huic libello ab illis mutuato intendas uel legendo uel audiendo. In hoc quippe codicello omnia quecumque legeris inuenies patefacta tue saluti aliorumque hominum quibus reuelabitur...'

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., p.63, 'expositiones simulque sermunculos rebus temporibusque aptissimos'

<sup>113</sup> Ibid., p.63, 'Me reuera, Abbonem scilicet monachum et miserabiliorem cunctis mortalibus, coegerunt episcopi Froterius uidelicet Pictauae sedis et maxime Fulradus Parisiacae istud tenui stilo cudere negotium ad utilitatem simplicium clericorum, quatinus...hauriant potum predicandi subiectis.'

<sup>114</sup> Cross, *Cambridge Pembroke College Ms. 25*, pp.57-60; Martin, *Italian Homiliary*, pp.466-80.

<sup>115</sup> Laon, *Bibliothèque municipale*, 265, ff.191, 240x130mm, s.ix<sup>1</sup>. Martin's notes appear throughout this manuscript, and there is a table of contents in his hand on f.1<sup>v</sup> proving that the ensemble was deliberately gathered together. One of the sermons is Scherer's 'Musterpredigt'. This manuscript was one of many donated to the school by Bernard and Aldhelm, the former a one-time canon and dean of the chapter, the latter a priest and Bernard's successor as dean. Both taught in the cathedral school. Their books they inherited from previous masters. See J.J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its*



Florus of Lyons (†c.860) between about 825 and 830 was also no doubt partly aimed at helping Bishop Agobard (†840) train his clergy.<sup>116</sup> The manuscript Salzburg, *Stiftsbibliothek St Peter*, a VIII 32, which dates 821-36, was described by Bischoff as ‘ein Handbuch über den Priesterstand und die Seelsorge’.<sup>117</sup> It is full of sermons by Augustine, Jerome and Ambrose on the dignity and duties of the sacerdotal order, plus extracts from Augustine’s *De doctrina Christiana* and Julianus Pomerius’ *De vita contemplativa* on oratory (see below).<sup>118</sup> This manuscript must have been intended for the training of clerics. Thus, although in the first instance a sermonary might be put together for the education of the priesthood, that is, to teach them about the origin of the liturgical seasons, Christian virtues, and interpretation of Scripture, it still offers valuable testimony to lay instruction because the ideas contained in the sermons would ultimately have been mediated through the clergy to their flocks. A particular collection might have served multifarious purposes in the early medieval period depending on the context in which it was used. For example, it may have been used for private cogitation, either read silently by, or aloud to, an individual; items from it could have been recited straight off the page to a congregation; or, and this is probably what the original aim of our collection was, it might be exploited by priests to generate ideas for their own preaching/teaching.

Before we depart from the subject of dedicatory notices, it is perhaps pertinent to re-emphasize the nature of the task that Charlemagne set for Paul the Deacon between 786 and 800:

‘We have discovered that the readings at the nocturnal Office, pillaged from the vain labour of certain people, though well-meaning, are less than satisfactory; for indeed, there were some which were both without the names of their authors and were swarming with never-ending whorls of defects...Therefore we have enjoined Paul the Deacon to complete the task, so that, studiously running through the sayings of the Catholic Fathers, he might gather trustworthy flowerets as though from the broadest meadows, and he would fit together whichever were useful as if in one garland...[and] reading through the tractates and sermons of the different Catholic Fathers and plucking

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*Manuscripts and Masters* (Munich, 1978), pp.130-4; idem, ‘The Formation of Laon’s Cathedral Library in the Ninth Century’, *Studi Medievali*, 13 (1972), 919-39, at 927-31 (reprt. in idem, *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts* (Aldershot, 1992), ch.XIII). The Laon school also owned manuscripts containing the sermons of Augustine, Pseudo-Augustine, Gregory, John Chrysostom, Ephraem the Syrian, and Origen (mss. 131, 136, 168, 239, 240, 272-78).

<sup>116</sup> Dom C. Charlier, ‘Une oeuvre inconnue de Florus de Lyon: la collection “De fide” de Montpellier’, *Traditio*, 8 (1952), 81-110.

<sup>117</sup> Bischoff, *Schreibschulen II*, p.146.

<sup>118</sup> K. Forstner, *Die karolingischen Handschriften und Fragmente in den Salzburger Bibliotheken (Ende des 8. Jh. bis Ende des 9. Jh.)* (Salzburg, 1962), no.15, pp.40-2.



out whatever best, he might present to us the readings without faults in two volumes according to the cycle of the whole year and each feast day.’<sup>119</sup>

Accordingly, a new homiliary was one element in Charlemagne’s efforts to reform the Frankish Church, along with a textual revision of the Bible and the promulgation of Roman chant. In a verselet accompanying his work, Paul mentions that now it ‘can be read throughout the sacred dwellings of Christ’.<sup>120</sup> The important point to underscore is that Paul’s labours were intended for monks at the night Office. Whilst one cannot completely preclude the possibility of some lay attendance at this Office – indeed, Einhard informs us that the pious Charlemagne ‘went to church morning and evening with great regularity, and also for early-morning Mass, and the late-night hours’<sup>121</sup> – nor is it realistic to rule out entirely the use of some of these homilies by priests for their flock (e.g. through the inclusion of items in other ‘popular’ collections), it is simply not correct to classify Paul the Deacon’s homiliary amongst those used for popular preaching.<sup>122</sup>

### Audience

So far it has been taken for granted that the material in our collection did indeed befit a lay audience and was intended to reach the laity at some remove. What evidence is there for this in the sermons themselves? This evidence is at its most compelling when the compiler of the sermonary changes words or phrases in his source text to reflect the

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<sup>119</sup> ‘Denique quia ad nocturnale officium compilatas quorundam casso labore, licet recto intuitu, minus tamen idonee repperimus lectiones, quippe quae et sine auctorum suorum vocabulis essent positae et infinitis vitiorum anfractibus scaterent...Idque opus Paulo diacono, familiari clientulo nostro, elimandum iniunximus, scilicet ut, studiose catholicorum patrum dicta percurrens, veluti e latissimis eorum pratis certos quosque flosculos legeret, et in unum quaeque essent utilia quasi sertum aptaret. Qui nostrae celsitudini devote parere desiderans, tractatus atque sermones diversorum catholicorum patrum perlegens et optima quaeque decerpens, in duobus voluminibus per totius anni circulum congruentes cuique festivitati distincte et absque vitiis nobis obtulit lectiones.’ *MGH: Capit. I*, pp.80-81; Grégoire, *Homéliaires*, pp.423-4. An alternative translation can be found in King, *Charlemagne*, pp.208-9.

<sup>120</sup> Grégoire, *Homéliaires*, p.424: ‘Utque legi per sacra queat domicilia Christi’

<sup>121</sup> ‘Ecclesiam et mane et vespere, item nocturnis horis et sacrificii tempore, quoad eum valitudo permiserat, impigre frequentabat...’ *MGH: SS II*, c.26, p.457; translated in L. Thorpe, *Einhard and Notker the Stammerer: Two Lives of Charlemagne* (London, 1969), pp.79-80. Furthermore, although the homilies of the Venerable Bede were primarily intended to be delivered to his fellow monastic brethren, there are a few indications that on certain occasions (e.g. Easter and Pentecost) layfolk were also present in the monastery church. See A.G.P. van der Walt, *The Homiliary of the Venerable Bede and Early Medieval Preaching* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London, 1980), pp.52-8.

<sup>122</sup> Many historians have been guilty of this, as we saw in chapter one, e.g. McKitterick, *Frankish Church*, p.102: ‘It is, however, unlikely that the Frankish clergy failed to make full use of this collection’. Cf. also A. Dall, ‘Notes on the Vocabulary of the Homiliary of Paul the Deacon’, *Bulletin du Cange: Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, 6 (1931), 160-175, at 161: ‘[Paul’s task was] to prepare a collection of homilies grouped after the festivals of the Christian Year, which should be read by the clergy to their congregations on the appropriate days.’



make-up of the anticipated contemporary audience. For example, in sermon LII, extracted from a letter addressed to the boys of St Martin at Tours, Alcuin's original words 'Agite nunc iuvenes adolescentes et pueri' are changed to 'Agite nunc diuites et pauperes, senes et iuuenes'. This indicates that the sermon was conceived as being destined for a wide-ranging lay audience, including the rich and the poor, the young and the old of either sex. In sermon XLIX Alcuin's 'o iuuenis' is altered to 'o homo', in this context not just meant for males but folk in general; sermon XLVII equally modifies Alcuin's 'adolescentulos' to 'homines', and 'ceteris adolescentiae vitiis' to 'ceteris humanae fragilitatis vitiis'. In addition, sermon XIV opens with the line 'Audi ergo homo qui huius saeculi substantiam habes', an unequivocal allusion to an audience comprising of lay men and women. Further confirmation of the status of the expected audience is provided by this sermon's mention of the listeners' children: decidedly inappropriate for professed religious. In sermon IX, the source text 'multo magis monachus omnibus modis debet placere' becomes 'multo magis christianus omnino contendat ut Christo placeat suo creatori': a substitution unnecessary if the author had a monkish audience in mind. Moreover, the sermonary incorporates a catena of texts explicitly addressed to *iudices* and *principes*. A sermon for the pre-Ascension litany days (LXXXIII), which borrows from Caesarius, implores the listeners to maintain a sombre and contrite frame of mind in fast and repentance at this time, not to guffaw or joke: better to endure dire straits and attain eternal beatitude, than to enjoy life briefly and suffer eternal damnation.<sup>123</sup> Nor should anyone engage in such employment which may keep them from gathering in church on these days – hardly fitting for religious!<sup>124</sup> An original addition to the text in the sermon celebrating the feast of saint Rupert shows that our author imagined an audience comprised of both 'those serving God' (i.e. clergy), *and* 'the Faithful' (i.e. laity) would gather in church to hear the sermon on his feast day.<sup>125</sup> Into the bargain, there are a couple of sermons (XXXI and LX) which imply a community who have heathen (liable to be Avars) living on their doorstep.<sup>126</sup>

<sup>123</sup> 'Scire debemus, fr. k., quia dies ieiunii et paenitentiae celebramus, et ideo non nos oportet nimio risu aut incauto aliquo ioco uel cachinno dissolui...' (E f.196<sup>r</sup>; F f.30<sup>r</sup>; W f.118<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>124</sup> 'Nemo sibi tales occupationes istis diebus quaerat, per quas se a conuentu ecclesiae subducatur.' (E f.196<sup>r</sup>; F ff.31<sup>r</sup>-31<sup>v</sup>; W f.119<sup>r</sup>) Compare also sermon LXXXIV (drawn from Caesarius sermon 207.1-2): '...praecipue tamen his diebus, quos communiter in toto mundo omnis catholica ieiunando celebrat ecclesia. Oportet denique, ut nullus se ab hoc sancto subducatur conuentu, nullusque tantum sit terrestribus necessitatibus occupatus, ut castra caelestia deserat.' (E f.198<sup>r</sup>; F f.33<sup>v</sup>; W f.80<sup>r</sup>)

<sup>125</sup> 'ut cottidie fideles et Deo seruientes in hanc sanctam ecclesiam congregentur' (P f.58<sup>r</sup>; W f.159<sup>v</sup>)

<sup>126</sup> See further below, chapter VII.



Two sermons to be preached during Lent incorporate references to the regulation of the auditors' sexual conduct – another seemingly unambiguous sign that the author had a lay audience in mind. Sermon XXIV, for which no source has been identified, urges the audience to abstain sexually 'not only from foreign women (*mulieribus extraneis*), which it is necessary to observe at all times, but even from your own wives (*de propriis*) in these days of Lent until Easter has completely passed: likewise from concubines, also from all fornication and adultery.' This passage is particularly interesting because it distinguishes various categories of women with whom the author imagines his audience might have sexual relations: lawful wives; 'foreign women', that is, women not of one's family or household;<sup>127</sup> and mistresses (*concubinae*). Here 'concubine' should be understood as meaning a long-term relationship between cohabiting men and women, usually of unequal social status. Unlike legitimate wives, concubines were not married in public with the attendant formal commitments to contract a lawful permanent union and have children, consummation being the binding seal. The offspring of concubines could furthermore claim no inheritance rights.<sup>128</sup> In a similar vein, sermon XXVIII, an abridgement of pseudo-Augustine sermon 205, cautions the listeners that 'during these days [of Lent] it is ordered to abstain even from [your] own wives (*propriis coniugiis*)'.<sup>129</sup>

Sermon XXIV explains the reason for continence: the days of Lent precede 'the most holy Easter day', and, 'like messengers running on ahead they carry the salvific gift of the Lord's passion'. The whole sermon is built around a passage from the prophet Joel: 'sanctify a fast'. During Lent, it is important not only to abstain from sex, but also to perform other penitential exercises such as fasting, prayers, and living piously 'with untainted mind and devotion'. Whoever celebrates these holy days in such a manner, concludes the sermon, deserves to come to the holy Easter of the Lord with spiritual joy, and secures the consecrated body and blood of the Lord for the cure of his soul. All the ascetic activities this sermon and others recommend are thus purificatory and preparatory to receiving the Eucharist. Various strands combined to form a doctrine

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<sup>127</sup> Cf. Prov 7:5.

<sup>128</sup> On concubinage and marital sexual relations see J.A. Brundage, 'Concubinage and Marriage in Medieval Canon Law', *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975), 1-17; P.J. Payer, 'Early Medieval Regulations Concerning Marital Sexual Relations', *Journal of Medieval History*, 6 (1980), 353-376; J.E. Salisbury, 'The Latin Doctors of the Church on Sexuality', *Journal of Medieval History*, 12 (1986), 279-289; J.A. Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society in Medieval Europe* (Chicago and London, 1987), esp. pp.129-130, 145, 150-151.

<sup>129</sup> 'Per alios autem dicitur nobis adulteria et fornicationes omnesque inlicitas corruptelas nolite contingere; per hos autem dies praecipitur et a propriis coniugiis abstinere.' (W f.36')



of abstinence: the Old Testament conception of pollution, the notion of the sacred versus the profane, and the superiority of the spirit over the flesh.<sup>130</sup> A regime of abstemiousness oriented the spirit exclusively to God, as well as purifying oneself in readiness to participate in sacred ritual.

One must tread a little carefully here though, because it could be argued that these admonitions could equally apply to priests. Despite clerical marriage being denounced because of the defilement of the sacred rites, many priests had wives and others kept concubines. Warnings about 'foreign women', for instance, were issued to priests in the *Capitula Frisingensia tertia*, which prohibits priests from living with 'mulieres extraneae' because it can arouse suspicion; mothers, aunts, sisters, grandmothers and other persons of this sort are excluded.<sup>131</sup> Nevertheless, these admonitions mirror those in the penitentials and in other sermon collections compiled in the Carolingian period for popular preaching.<sup>132</sup> The collection known as Pseudo-Eligius, for example, includes a passage in which married men are warned not to unite sexually with other women, thereby becoming adulterers or fornicators.<sup>133</sup> Moreover, 'several days' before Sunday and annual feasts men should abstain from their own wives, 'so that you can approach the Mass of the Lord with a pure heart and chaste body, and receive His body and blood without the judgement of damnation.'

<sup>130</sup> See further J.-L. Flandrin, *Un temps pour embrasser: Aux origines de la morale sexuelle occidentale (VI<sup>e</sup> – XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)* (Paris, 1983), esp. pp.91-114; Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, pp.157-163.

<sup>131</sup> *MGH: Capit. episc. III*, p.222, c.V: 'Mulieres extraneas vobiscum una domo, unde aliqua suspicio potest venire, absque matre et amita et sorore et ava seu ceteris eiusmodi personis secundum regulam canonicam habitare et manere deinceps prohibemus.' This chapter reproduces elements of c.3 from the council of Nicaea (325); similar chapters are oft-repeated in the *capitula episcoporum*. See also c.4 of the *Admonitio generalis*, *MGH: Capit. I*, no.22, p.54; E. Magnou-Nortier, 'L'admonitio generalis. Étude critique', in J. Perarnau (ed.), *Jornades internacionals d'estudi sobre el Bisbe Feliu d'Urgell. La Seu d'Urgell, 28-30 de setembre de 1999. Crònica i estudis*, Studia, Textus, Subsidia 9 (Barcelona, 2000), pp.195-242, at p.203, n.32; S.F. Wemple, *Women in Frankish Society: Marriage and the Cloister 500 to 900* (Philadelphia, 1985), pp.135, 142.

<sup>132</sup> On the regulation of sexual relations in the penitentials see Payer, 'Early Medieval Regulations', 362-376; Flandrin, *Un temps*, chs 1-2; Brundage, *Law, Sex, and Christian Society*, pp.152ff.; H. Lutterbach, 'The Mass and Holy Communion in the Medieval Penitentials (600-1200). Liturgical and Religio-Historical Perspectives', in C. Caspers, E. Lukken and G. Rouwhorst (eds), *Bread of Heaven: Customs and Practices Surrounding Holy Communion. Essays in the History of Liturgy and Culture*, Liturgia Condenda 3 (Kampen, 1995), pp.61-82, esp. pp.66-68, 78-80; S. Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance 900-1050* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp.196-201.

<sup>133</sup> Homilia XVI, PL 87:651D-652A: 'Quicumque estis conjugati, viventibus uxoribus vestris, cum aliis feminis nolite commisceri et fieri adulteri vel fornicarii. Si quando anniversariae festivitates et Dominici dies occurrant, ante aliquot dies, etiam a propriis uxoribus vestris vos abstinere convenit, ut possitis mundo corde et casto corpore, ad missam Domini accedere, et corpus et sanguinem ejus sine judicio damnationis accipere. Diebus autem Quadragesimae vos omnibus modis a conjugum commixtione vestrarum, sicut decet Christianos, abstinere oportet; nam, ut quidam sapiens ait, similis reatus est fidei Christiano diebus Quadragesimae etiam cum propria uxore concumbere, sicut et carnes in cibo sumere.' I have not been able to trace the quotation and discover the identity of the wise man.



Furthermore, during Lent it behoves to desist from sexual relations with spouses 'as it befits Christians', because, 'as a certain wise man said, the guilt is the same for a faithful Christian to lie with his own wife during the days of Lent, as it is to eat meat.' The so-called Pseudo-Boniface collection contains only general warnings to uphold chastity with one's wives.<sup>134</sup> In the little collection of sermons edited by Mercier, two sermons demand abstinence, one during Advent, the other during Lent.<sup>135</sup> Hrabanus Maurus, in his sermons put together for Haistulf of Mainz, mentions the importance of abstinence during the liturgical seasons and before communion several times. A good Christian is he, says Hrabanus, who observes chastity with his wife several days before Communion, so that he can approach the altar of the Lord with a free and untroubled conscience, with a chaste body and pure heart.<sup>136</sup> He who has a legitimate wife should enjoy her legitimately at suitable times, wrote Hrabanus, so that he can devote himself utterly to prayer and deserve to receive a blessing from God.<sup>137</sup> In contrast, Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés adopts a tougher stance: one should live justly, temperately and chastely without concubines, for a man who has a concubine is an adulterer whether he likes it or not, and the concubine is an adulteress whether she likes it or not.<sup>138</sup> In a Lenten sermon from the sermonary of Saint-Père the worshippers are warned to abstain 'not only from concubines, but even from your own wives.'<sup>139</sup>

<sup>134</sup> Sermo III, PL 89:849A: 'Uxores vero suos maritos timeant et honorent, et castitatem illis servent. Similiter et viri uxores suas diligant, et castitatem quam illi quaerunt ab uxoribus suis, faciant illi prius, ut videant exempla illorum bona'; Sermo IX, PL 89:861C-861D: 'Viri vero diligant uxores suas in castitate et conscientia pura, et quasi fragiliori vasculo, honorem eis competentem in timore Dei faciant, uxoresque viris suis sint subditae in timore et fide, scientes a Deo constitutam esse subjectionem uxoris viro'; Sermo XV, PL 89:872A: 'Castitatem etiam cum propriis uxoribus conservate'.

<sup>135</sup> *XIV homélies*, ed. Mercier, sermo I, p.152: 'et non solum ab omni immunditia, sed etiam ab uxoribus propriis studiosissime vos contineatis'; sermo VII, p.192: 'Nullus omnino uxori suae iungatur ante octavas paschae.'

<sup>136</sup> Homilia XLIV, PL 110:82C; Woods, *Critical Edition*, p.171: 'Ille bonus Christianus est qui quoties sanctae solemnitates veniunt, ut securius communicet, ante plures dies castitatem cum propria uxore custodit, ut libera et segura conscientia ad altare Domini, casto corpore et mundo corde, praesumat accedere.' These lines, in fact, come from Caesarius of Arles's sermon 16.2, CCSL 103, pp.77-78. See also homilia II, PL 110:12D-13B: 'Et ideo, fratres, quotiescunque aut dies Natalis Domini, aut reliquae festivitates adveniunt, ante plures dies non ab infelici concubinarum consortio, sed etiam a propriis uxoribus abstinete...castitatem cum propriis uxoribus conservate; nullius rem aut uxorem concupiscite.'; homilia IX, PL 110:22A: 'Castitatem, fratres, cum propriis uxoribus tenete'.

<sup>137</sup> Homilia XLVII, PL 110:88A; Woods, *Critical Edition*, p.193: 'Qui mulierem habet legitimam, legitime utatur ea temporibus opportunis, ut, secundum Apostolum, possit vacare orationi, et benedictionem mereatur filiorum a Deo accipere.' Hrabanus's source for this sermon is Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitiis*, c.XVIII De castitate, PL 101:626C-627C.

<sup>138</sup> Abbo, *22 Predigten*, ed. Önnarfors, sermon 6, p.97: 'Similiter uos conuertamini ad nostrum Dominum ut uiuatis iuste et sobrie et caste sine concubinis. Quia sicut dicit beatus Augustinus: Ille homo qui habet concubinam uelit nolit adulter est, et illa concubina uelit nolit adultera est.'

<sup>139</sup> Cross, *Cambridge Pembroke College Ms. 25*, no.21, p.212: 'Ammonemus uos iterum, fratres karissimi, ut in his sanctis diebus non solum a concubinis sed etiam a propriis uxoribus abstinete.' This line closely resembles a passage from Caesarius, sermon 188.3.



In fact, the Carolingian writers were simply reiterating (sometimes verbatim) the reproaches of the Church Fathers not to engage in sexual intercourse during Advent and Lent. Augustine went much further and took a harsh line on concubinage. In a sermon addressed to *competentes*, he preached,

‘You must be satisfied with your wives, or with not having wives; you are not allowed to have concubines. May God hear me, if you people are deaf; may His angels hear me, if you people just ignore me. You are not allowed to have concubines. Even if you haven’t got wives, you are not allowed to have concubines, just to send them away later so that you can marry wives. How much greater will your condemnation be, if you have both concubines and wives at the same time!’<sup>140</sup>

In another sermon preached on the Octave of Easter, Augustine admonished the married men amongst his flock, ‘don’t go looking for anything else’: those who were not yet married should remain chaste.<sup>141</sup> In a mordant attack on married men who kept concubines, Augustine called such women ‘whores’. He himself, however, had not practised what he preached: in his younger days he confessed to having kept mistresses, one of whom bore him a son.<sup>142</sup> Caesarius, following his mentor, also condemned concubinage as fornication and adultery.<sup>143</sup>

In sum, the foregoing evidence demonstrates indisputably that the sermons in this collection were intended to be preached to an audience which embraced the whole community of the Faithful. It is interesting to note that unlike the penitentials, our sermons are less strict in their demands for abstinence. This surely shows the pragmatic side of the Church: while the penitentials prescribe punishments for many types of sexual infractions, including those taking place during a woman’s physiological cycle, the sermons are only concerned with enforcing continence during the two most important seasons in the Church’s liturgical calendar.

### Method of Composition

As we saw in the introduction, Barré classified the ‘Carolingian’ genre of homiliary as one in which considerable freedom was exhibited in adapting, abbreviating and

<sup>140</sup> *Sermons (341-400) on Various Subjects*, trans. and notes E. Hill, ed. J.E. Rotelle, *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* III/10 (New York, 1995), sermon 392, p.421.

<sup>141</sup> *Sermons (184-229Z) on the Liturgical Seasons*, trans. and notes E. Hill, ed. J.E. Rotelle, *The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* III/6 (New York, 1993), sermon 224, pp.242-6.

<sup>142</sup> *Confessions*, trans. V.J. Bourke, *The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation* vol. 21 (Washington D.C., 1953), VI.15, pp.157-8.

<sup>143</sup> E.g. *Sermones*, CCSL 103-104, 32.4; 42.1, 5; 43.1, 4, 6; 55a.3; 187.4; 188.3. On the use made by Caesarius of Old Testament figures as models of sexual continence both before and after marriage see A. Ferreiro, ‘Modèles laïcs de sainteté dans les sermons de Césaire d’Arles’, in M. Rouche (ed.), *Clovis: histoire et mémoire* (2 vols, Paris, 1997), i, pp.97-114, esp. pp.100-4.



rewriting sources. Our collection is no exception. Prior to analysing individual sermons in depth in the following chapters, it is worthwhile pausing here to consider the compiler's method of composition in general terms. The rubrics at the head of the sermons indicate, by and large correctly, the authors from which the compiler drew his material. His method on the whole was to extract particular sections that took his fancy from patristic or early medieval sermons, treatises or hagiographical texts, and shape them into new creations by sometimes rephrasing, sometimes interpolating. Some sermons are pastiches of two or more sources; others are adaptations from a single author. Thus, unlike some collections, for example that of Pseudo-Eligius, in which the sermons are amalgamations of the work of many different named writers, no authors are mentioned in the sermons themselves. Like all early medieval ecclesiastics, our author was not averse to excerpting whole segments from the creations of his eminent predecessors. A few items in the collection are just that: word for word mechanical reproductions of an earlier work, with perhaps a supplementary exordium, the odd interposed word or phrase, and a typically exhortatory peroration. On the other hand, this should not blind us to the originality of thought that lay behind the very process of selection and organization.

In some sermons, however, we can catch a glimpse of our author's handiwork and detect his own style. One preferred technique was to commence a sermon by reusing an anterior work, then wind up by contributing something of his own. In sermon LXIII, for example, the first two-thirds is taken from a *tractatus* of Pope Leo the Great (†461);<sup>144</sup> the final third, however, is almost certainly an original addition by our author, for it is emblematic of his style and I can find no source:<sup>145</sup>

‘Proinde, fratres, recordemur iugiter quam glorioso pretio redempti sumus, et de quam dura dominatione diaboli liberati.<sup>146</sup> Studeamus, quantum possumus, Domino largiente, tam gloriosam redemptionem nostram bonis operibus imitari [imitare W], et quod his diebus segnius aut tardius de nostra correctione uel emendatione fecimus, saltem istis [*om.* E] paucis diebus nostram studiosissime operemur salutem. Sint ieiunia nostra fructuosa, ut quod corpori nostro subtrahatur, inde egentis proximi caro reparetur. Accipiat [accipiet EW] indulgentiam delinquens in nobis, ut nos a Deo mereamur nostrorum indulgentiam delictorum. Sit nostra confessio pura, sit paenitentia dura, oratio lacrimosa, assiduae uigiliae cum operibus

<sup>144</sup> Printed as an apocryphal sermon of Leo in PL 54:492B-493A. The source for the first two paragraphs (in the PL edition) is Leo, *Tractatus*, CCSL 138, tract. 56.6, pp.328-9.

<sup>145</sup> I print the text from mss E (f.177<sup>v</sup>) and W (f.89<sup>v</sup>-90<sup>v</sup>), which vary in several places from the PL edition.

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, CXIII, sermo I, PL 38:1479: ‘tanquam in Aegypto lateres sub dura dominatione diaboli faceret’.



misericordiae. Mortificetur carnis concupiscentia, ut animae nostrae crescat aeterna salus et gloria. Per Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum, cui sit honor et gloria per omnes aeternitates saeculi. Amen.'

There are many themes here that crop up over and over again throughout the collection, viz., the emphasis on confession and penance, the accent placed on care of the poor and forgiveness of others. The tone of the exhortatory message is earnest, but not overpoweringly ascetic: the 'quantum possumus' and 'saltem istis paucis diebus', derivatives of which are to be found in many other conclusions, betray a realization on the part of the author that he is not living in a utopian society where all his audience can be, or have the remotest desire to be, fanatically abstemious. What he is suggesting is that they should make a token effort in respect of the liturgical feast to emulate their Lord. The ending itself is introduced with the adverb 'Proinde', also to be observed, for example, in sermon LXVII; another preferred adverb for bringing the sermon to a close is 'quapropter' (see further chapter V).

At times when our author recycles an earlier source the borrowing is far from unembroidered. For example, the source for sermon LVII from part two of the sermonary is Alcuin's treatise on the virtues and vices, chapter XIX. The same Alcuinian chapter was reproduced almost verbatim by Hrabanus Maurus in his sermon 62.<sup>147</sup> Although our author follows Alcuin closely in places, in others he is much less constricted and more original than even Hrabanus:

LVII. DE FRAUDE CAVENDA:<sup>148</sup>

Alcuin, *De virtutibus et vitiis*, c.XIX:<sup>149</sup>

1. Qui nos benignos ammonet de nostra substantia pauperibus et miseris esse, prohibet nos ab omni auaritia et iniusta pecuniae acquisitione. Qui uero ait: *De iustis laboribus tuis fac elemosinam*, ipse per Iacobum apostolum nos ammonet dicens: *Nolite fraudare inuicem*. Nam qui fraudem facit proximo suo cito incidit in periculum mortis. Quamuis quisque prosperatur in malis, finis tamen malitiae tendit ad supplicium damnationis aeternae.

Dominus ipse, qui nos benignos admonet de nostra substantia pauperibus et miseris esse, prohibet nos ab omni avaritia et iniusta pecuniae acquisitione. Qui uero ait: *De iustis laboribus tuis fac eleemosynam* (Tob. IV, 7), ipse per apostolum suum hortatur nos, dicens: *Nolite fraudem facere inuicem* (Marc. X, 19 recte I Cor. 7, 5)

Qui per fraudem quidlibet adquisierit, Qui fraude qualibet aliquid adquisierit,

<sup>147</sup> It also features in Clm 14470, a miscellany of sermons and homilies dating to around 800, on ff.106<sup>r</sup>-107<sup>r</sup>. Neither Hrabanus' sermon nor the text in Clm 14470 (*contra* Folliet, 'Deux nouveaux témoins', 198) has any link to our collection.

<sup>148</sup> Extant only in manuscript F, ff.104<sup>r</sup>-105<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>149</sup> PL 101:627C-628C.



perdit iustitiae aequitatem, perdit fidem: elongabitur a caritate quae Deus est. Nam qui elongatur a Deo, diabolo iungatur.

Dic fraudator, dic sceleste, dic auare, dic cupide, quid adquesisti per tuam fraudem? Forte aurum? Ecce aurum adquisisti et fidei thesaurum perdidisti. Nam si in mercato fidem inuenires uenalem, si ad Deum tenderes, forte magno pretio comparasses eam? Ergo cum tibi eam gratis dedit, quare non times perdere eam, cum Deus te uellit habere eam?

2. Ecce praetiosissimum thesaurum perdidisti, et putrescentem adquisisti per fraudem; perdidisti fidem et caritatem, simulque iustitiam et Dei timorem, beatitudinemque sempiternam. Quid autem adquisisti nisi iram Dei et poenam perpetuam, si non eas euaseris per confessionem et poenitentiam puram?

*Quid proderit tibi, si mundum uniuersum lucreris, et animae tuae detrimentum patieris? Nonne melius tibi esset, si mundum habuisses totum dare, quam animam tuam perdere?*

perdit iustitiam et aequitatem.

Dic auare, dic cupide, dic scelerate, quid acquisisti? Forte dicis: Aurum acquisivi? et verum dicis. Ecce aurum acquisisti per fraudem, et fidem perdidisti per injustitiam. Si in mercato fidem inuenires venalem: si bonus esses, quomodo comparasses eam? Quare non times perdere ea, quae te Deus voluit habere in corde? Aurum habes vel argentum, vel aliud quid pretiosius in area; sed damnum in corde.

His omnibus meliores divitias perdidisti, id est, fidem, et iustitiam, et dilectionem Dei et proximi. Lucrum tuum cogitas, damnum tuum non consideras. Si huic lucro gaudes, quare illa perdita non plangis? Plus perdidisti quam acquisisti. O dives, rapis per potentiam quod tibi placet habere, et perdis per injustitiam quod te Deus vult habere, id est, beatitudinem sempiternam. Si omnis fur vel raptor lumen oculorum perdidisset in furto vel rapina, nunquid postea furtum fecisset vel rapinam? Et nescit, quod in ejusmodi peccato lumen perdit cordis, quod melius est omni lumine corporis. Magis, auare, da pauperibus quod habes, ut inuenias in coelo quod dedisti in terra. Quid times pecuniam tuam perdere, et non times ut totus pereas? Pro acquisitione pecuniae falsum testimonium dicis, mentiris, rapis aliena. Juras, perjuras, quae lex vetat. Cum haec omnia facis, quare non times, ut totus ardeas in aeternum? Cur, auare, plus amas aurum, quam animam?

*Quid enim proderit tibi, si mundum uniuersum lucreris, animae autem tuae detrimentum patiaris? (Matth. XVI, 26) Et ipse Dominus dicit in Evangelio: Cavete ab omni avaritia, quia non in abundantia cujusquam vita eius, quae possidet (Luc. XII, 15). Nunquid non divites similiter moriuntur, sicut et pauperes?*



Nihil enim prodesse possunt diuitiae in die ultionis, nec liberabunt male utentes eis a poenis perpetuis.

Non prodesse possunt divitiae in die ultionis, nec liberabunt male utentes eis a poenis sempiternis.

Redemptio itaque animae uiri diuitiae eius: date in bona possibilitate. Honorat Deum qui miserebitur pauperi. In uita tua benefac pauperi, et dum poteris tuam animam liberare, quia post mortem non habes potestatem bene faciendi. Nam qui miserebitur pauperi beatus erit in aeternum.

Nihil est avaro scelestius, qui animam suam habet vanalem pro cupiditate divitiarum. Avaritia modum ignorat, et cum omnia devoret, nescit penitus satiari. Esuriens semper et inops est. Avarus vir inferno est similis, qui nunquam impletur.

Thus the sermon begins by saying that the audience should be kind to the poor and not obtain money unjustly by swindling people. Although evil acts are profitable, those who defraud will end up in Hell. He who obtains anything through fraud is unjust and unfaithful, and may end up in cahoots with the Devil. A defrauder may acquire gold, but loses a greater treasure: the faith, which God gives free of charge; he loses faith, love, justice and fear of the Lord, and eternal happiness, unless he avoids God's anger and perpetual punishment through confession and penance. It is better to give the whole world rather than lose your soul, for riches are no use at the Last Judgement. The final refrain exhorts the audience to give to the poor to merit eternal life. From this sermon it is evident that our author has a fondness for the rhetorical figure known as polyptoton, repeating the same word with different endings (e.g. *elongabitur*, *<e>longatur*). He is also fond of alliteration (*poenam perpetuam*, *paenitentiam puram*), and placing words in apposition (*Deus - diabolus*). The places where he chooses to depart from Alcuin highlight the dangers of fraud, such as the perpetual punishments and uniting with the Devil. Therefore, he attaches great importance to the next world. It is also noteworthy that our author stresses the importance of confession and penance to appease God, something he also does elsewhere. The author chooses to finish the sermon with several scriptural quotations from the book of Proverbs: I imagine that here he was using Defensor's *Liber scintillarum* (or something alike) which contains these three maxims listed under Salomon in c.XLVIII, *De eleemosynis*.<sup>150</sup> As Rob Meens has recently pointed out,<sup>151</sup> the clergy relied on the authority of the Bible as the word of God to give

<sup>150</sup> PL 88:678D-679A.

<sup>151</sup> R. Meens, 'Religious Instruction in the Frankish Kingdoms', in Cohen and de Jong (eds), *Medieval Transformations*, pp.51-67, at pp.52-55.



prestige to their instruction, although alas our hapless author thought that the letter to the Corinthians was written by the apostle James, not Paul!<sup>152</sup>

A different type of borrowing is manifest when the compiler takes his cue from a pre-existing sermon but does not borrow literally. In the following example for the Purification (2 February) the source text is Ambrosius Autpertus's (†784) *Sermo in purificatione sanctae Mariae*:

XVIII. SANCTI AMBROSII. DE Sermo in purificatione sanctae Mariae<sup>154</sup>  
PURIFICATIONE SANCTAE  
MARIAE.<sup>153</sup>

Sancta et ueneranda solemnitas, fratres karissimi, quam hodie celebramus, dies est quadragesimus natiuitatis Domini, in qua secundum legem mater purificata post partum simul cum filio in templo Domini praesentari praecipitur. Quod hodie in ipso Domino ac saluatore nostro celebratur completum, cum eum sacratissima mater uirgo Maria Simeonis uiri iusti manibus obtulit praesentandum in templum et digna pro eo munera offerenda. Hanc igitur uenerationem legalium mandatorum in bonum sancta ecclesia commutauit usum, ut pro reuerentia praesentationis Domini in templum eadem die cuncta turba fidelium in unum collecta singuli cereis accensis, quasi Dominum ipsum praesentantes in templum, cum letaniis ac magnifica gloria ecclesiam intraturi; Dominum consona uoce laudabunt, et pro salute omnium ac uita deprecabuntur aeterna.

(c.2) Hodie namque iuxta legem atque Euangelium, peractis a natiuitate Christi quadraginta diebus, in templo est a parentibus idem Dominus praesentatus, hodie a sancto Simeone susceptus, Patri que cum sacris muneribus oblatus...

(c.1) In tanta enim reuerentia ab illis habetur, ut ea die cuncta ciuitatis turba in unum collecta, immensis cereorum luminibus coruscans, missarum sollemnia deuotissime concelebrent, nullus que aditum publicae stationis intret, qui lumen manu non tenuerit, tamquam scilicet Dominum in templum oblaturi, immo etiam suscepturi, fidei lumen quo interius fulgent, exterius oblationis suae religione demonstrent.

2. Ad hanc igitur solemnitatem, fratres, fidei oculos erigite; ad hanc pietatis affectu uenite. Christum quem pro uobis incarnatum in uestri pectoris arcana suscipite, et in sua maiestate

(c.4) Ad hoc, fratres carissimi, fidei oculos erigite, ad hoc pietatis affectu conuenite. Ibi Christum suscipite pro uobis in carne humiliatum, sed adorete in sua diuinitate Deum excelsum. [(c.3) Quis, inquam, tui

<sup>152</sup> 'ipse per Iacobum apostolum nos ammonet dicens: *Nolite fraudare inuicem*.' Perhaps he was thinking of James 4, 11: 'Nolite detrahare alterutrum fratres'? ('Do not criticize one another').

<sup>153</sup> E ff.139<sup>v</sup>-140<sup>r</sup>; F ff.5<sup>r</sup>-6<sup>v</sup>; K ff.26<sup>r</sup>-27<sup>v</sup>; M ff.103<sup>r</sup>-106<sup>v</sup>; W ff.21<sup>r</sup>-22<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>154</sup> *Sermo in purificatione sanctae Mariae*, ed. R. Weber, CCCM 27B (Turnhout, 1979), pp.985-1002. On Ambrosius as littérateur and sermonist see J. Winandy, 'L'oeuvre littéraire d'Ambroise Autpert', *RB*, 60 (1950), 93-119, with the qualifying comments made by R. Weber, 'Les sermons d'Ambroise Autpert', *RB*, 86 (1976), 321-7, on the attribution of certain sermons to Ambrosius by Winandy.



excelsissimum adorate. Nobis quoque optandum simul et deprecandum est, fratres, ut eadem pia mater uirgo Maria ad eundem filium suum Dominum nostrum pro nobis orare dignetur, suisque sanctis precibus nos suae sanctae uoluntati atque caritati faciet semper uniri. Nam pro ueneratione eius haec festiuitas celebratur, ut sicut ipsa filium suum Dominum nostrum Ihesum Christum obseruatione legali obtulit in templum, ita et nos pia intercessione Domino Christo cotidie offerre dignetur. Ipsa enim sicut mater est Christi, ita et omnium est mater christianorum quos sibi Deus Pater in filios et ipse saluator noster adoptauit in fratres. Nam si filii Dei sumus, heredes quidem Dei, coheredes autem Christi erimus in regno celesti.

3. Quapropter dignis moribus et sanctis debemus operibus promereri, ut bonum quod nobis Christus adoptauit per gratiam suam ipse in nobis conseruare dignetur per misericordiam suam. Persistamus iugiter in confessione nominis christiani, opera semper christiana facientes. Adoremus Dominum qui fecit nos, et ploremus ante eum cotidie peccata nostra, et ea quae defleamus, nullatenus iteremus. Elemosinis et ieiuniis diluamus mala quae fecimus, ut digne sancta solemnia celebrantes praesentia ad aeterna simul cum Domino festa peruenire mereamur. Intercedente pro nobis beatissima matre, eiusque filio Ihesu Christo Domino nostro unigenito nobis adiuuante, qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto unus est Deus, unus est Dominus, uiuens et regnans per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

pectoris arcana nobis reserare ualeat...]

(c.7) Offert autem Dominum prophetarum prophetae, offert unicum uni, immo omnibus in uno, quae omnibus eundem peperit Saluatorem. Non enim desinit nunc usque offerre quem genuit, cum suis sanctis interuentionibus eundem Redemptorem electis uniri facit, et ut uerum fatear, materno affectu id ipsum piissima facit. Omnes enim filios deputat, quos diuina gratia Christo consociat. Quando non ipsa mater electorum, quae fratrem genuit eorum? Si, inquam, Christus credentium frater, cur non ipsa quae Christum genuit sit credentium mater?

Thus at the level of literal borrowing rarely is there a direct correlation. The text, although clearly inspired by Ambrosius, is a very loose adaptation, with the lion's share being original. Ambrosius' high-flown and embellished Latin style was evidently not to our author's taste, or rather, did not meet his requirements, for he simplifies and spells out in plain terms the description of the Church's processional ceremony and the notion of Mary as mother of all Christians. This is obviously significant: Ambrosius was writing for his erudite brethren; our author, for simple-minded clergy or laity. The



preamble sets out clearly the grounds for the commemoration. According to Mosaic Law a mother who had given birth to a boy was considered ritually unclean for seven days; for an extra thirty-three days she was prevented from contact with anything holy due to her loss of blood (Lev. 12:2-8). After the requisite forty days of purification the mother was to come to the temple with an offering, whereupon a priest would pray for her and she would be cleansed. In addition, the Law prescribed that the first-born male should be dedicated to the Lord (Ex. 13:2, 12). This Mary and Joseph did in Jerusalem, offering a sacrifice and presenting Jesus to Simeon the Just (Luke 2:22-35). The sermon explains that the Church has changed the solemnity so that, in reverence for Christ's presentation in the temple, a crowd of the Faithful now carry lit candles in a procession with litanies before they enter the church, mimicking the biblical event. At the end of the seventh century Pope Sergius I (687-701) prescribed chants and processions for the feast of the Purification.<sup>155</sup> This practice, including the lighting of candles to acclaim Christ as *lux mundi*, originated in Jerusalem in the fourth century and spread to Francia under the Romanizing influence of the Carolingians.<sup>156</sup> A parallel is drawn between Mary as the mother of Christ and the mother of all Christians, 'whom God the Father adopted for himself in sons, and our saviour himself in brothers'. The body of believers, the Church, are Christ's body (cf. 1 Cor 12:27; Eph 4:4-6, 15-16; Col 1:18) and since Mary is the mother of Christ, she is also the mother of all believers: 'if we are sons of God, we are heirs of God, and co-heirs of Christ in the kingdom of heaven'. The sermon wraps up with a classic 'quapropter' conclusion, extolling confession, almsgiving and prayer as expiatory works. In the final doxology Mary is the *mediatrix*, through whose intercessions one can attain salvation from God.

It was Bouhot who first argued for the unity of the collection and thought that he could detect a single mind at work. I can only reinforce his supposition. One of the main indications of this is the reappearance of certain themes throughout the collection: penance and confession being the prime candidate. In terms of style, the consistent use of the same adverbs to close the sermons is indicative of a single guiding hand, as is the overall method of composition. If there is any further clue to the author's identity concealed within the sermons then it has eluded me. A goodly number of sermonaries from this period, as we saw in the introduction, were composed by bishops, or on behalf

<sup>155</sup> *The Book of Pontiffs (Liber Pontificalis)*, trans. R. Davis, Translated Texts for Historians vol. 6 (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Liverpool, 2000), p.89.

<sup>156</sup> See further Dom B. Capelle, 'La liturgie mariale en occident', in H. du Manoir (ed.), *Maria: Études sur la Saint Vierge* (8 vols, Paris, 1949-71), i, pp.217-45, at p.228.



of bishops by clerics or monks. There is really nothing in this collection (apart from perhaps, to play devil's advocate, the use of the *Verba seniorum* (see chapter VII) and the *Admonitio ad spiritualem filium* by Ps.-Basil (see chapter III)) that would suggest a monkish author: for my money, we should look rather among the clerics attached to a cathedral church, possibly someone engaged himself in pastoral work. Finally, the fact that the author was an accomplished Latinist should be noted here: simplifying and abridging Latin texts so that they make sense and can be understood by those less erudite is no mean feat.

### Bavarian Church Legislation on Sermons and Preaching

The legislative framework underpinning preaching in this period has been adequately covered by others, and needs no repetition here, save to reiterate a few crucial points to provide the background for our collection and to cast an eye over the specifically Bavarian measures.<sup>157</sup> In late antiquity in the West one of the chief tasks of a bishop, and the bishop alone, was to preach to his flock on Sundays and feast days. Sometimes there were exceptions to this rule. Bishop Possidius, who wrote a biography of Augustine sometime between 432 and 437, tells us that Bishop Valerius of Hippo delegated to the talented rhetorician the task of preaching while he was still a priest because he himself, being Greek, did not have a sufficient mastery of the Latin language.<sup>158</sup> This was, as Possidius stresses, 'a procedure contrary to that usually practised in African churches'; however, 'news of this practice spread quickly, and because of Augustine's good example other presbyters with episcopal authorization began to preach to the people in the presence of their bishops.' Nevertheless, a general dispensation was needed to allow priests to preach in rural areas outside the bishop's reach. This was expressly granted at the Council of Vaison in 529, summoned by Bishop Caesarius of Arles. Deacons were permitted to read aloud homilies of the holy Fathers if the priest were incapacitated.<sup>159</sup>

<sup>157</sup> See especially the works reviewed in chapter one by Amos, McKitterick, McLaughlin, Menzel and Verd.

<sup>158</sup> PL 32:37-38; *Early Christian Biographies*, trans. Sister M.M. Muller and R.J. Deferrari, The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation vol. 15 (Washington D.C., 1952), pp.78-9.

<sup>159</sup> 'Hoc etiam pro aedificatione omnium ecclesiarum et pro utilitate totius populi nobis placuit, ut non solum in ciuitatibus, sed etiam in omnibus parrociis uerbum faciendi daremus presbyteris potestatem, ita ut, si presbyter aliqua infirmitate prohibente per se ipsum non potuerit praedicare, sanctorum patrum homiliae a diaconibus recitentur; si enim digni sunt diaconi, quod christus in euangelio locutus est, legere, quare indigni iudicentur sanctorum patrum expositiones publice recitare?' *Concilia Galliae 511-695*, CCSL 148A, ed. C. de Clercq (Turnhout, 1963), pp.78-79. On preaching in Merovingian Gaul see further R. Godding, *Prêtres en Gaule mérovingienne*, Subsidia hagiographica 82 (Brussels, 2001), pp.375-81,



Many Carolingian royal capitularies refer to preaching. The clearest statement of what was to form the content of the sermons and who should preach is contained in Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis*, traditionally dated to 789.<sup>160</sup> Chapter 61 enjoined that 'the catholic faith is to be diligently taught and preached to all the people by the bishops and priests'.<sup>161</sup> Chapter 82 states that priests are not allowed to 'invent and preach to the people new or non-canonical things which come from their own imagining and are not in conformity with the sacred scriptures'.<sup>162</sup> Specifically, they were to preach on the Trinity, Christ's incarnation, death and resurrection, the capital sins, love of God and neighbour, alms-giving and confession, and against hatred, malice, avarice and cupidity.<sup>163</sup> Charlemagne ordered his *missi* to make sure this took place, as is evident, for example, from two capitularies issued at Aachen in 810.<sup>164</sup> Regarding the form in which the sermons were to be delivered, at the council of Mainz in 813, at which Arn was present, it was enacted that there should always be someone available to 'preach the word of God on Sundays or feast days according to what the common

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who notes that no Merovingian councils mention preaching and that it is difficult to tell whether the decree at Vaison was extended throughout the rest of Gaul, for it was contrary to Roman practice which restricted the preaching office to bishops. He concludes (p.381): 'Si bien qu'en dehors de Césaire et de ses prêtres à l'époque mérovingienne reste pratiquement inconnue.'

<sup>160</sup> However, Magnou-Nortier, 'L'*admonitio generalis*. Étude critique', in Perarnau, *Jornades internacionals d'estudi sobre el Bisbe Feliu d'Urgell*, pp.195-242 argues for a complete reassessment of this document. On the basis of several anomalies concerning the date, the protocol, the preamble and passages in the text itself, she posits that the *Admonitio* existed in two versions: an original bipartite short version, consisting of canons from the *Dionysio-Hadriana* and further legislation, promulgated most probably in 781 by Charlemagne at a general assembly in Worms (extracts from this version appear in the record of the synod of Frankfurt (794) and the *Capitulare missorum item speciale* (802?)); plus an interpolated long version, produced by forgers sometime in the first two decades of the ninth century, possibly at Fulda, who were intent on manipulating the document to fit their Isidorian conception of a theocratic and episcopalian government. Thus she concludes that 'Il ne nous paraît plus possible, dans ces conditions, de considérer l'*Admonitio* comme un document directeur qui aurait inspiré la politique ecclésiastique de Charlemagne...' On the basis of her arguments, c.61 belongs to the short version, but cc.66 and 82 are later falsifications: this is obviously problematic if one wishes to see c.82 as the cornerstone of Charlemagne's policy on preaching. However, Magnou-Nortier's conclusions have not been accepted by the scholarly community.

<sup>161</sup> *MGH: Capit. I*, no.22, p.58: 'Primo omnium, ut fides catholica ab episcopis et presbyteris diligenter legatur et omni populo praedicetur...'; translated by King, *Charlemagne*, p.214.

<sup>162</sup> *MGH: Capit. I*, no.22, pp.61-62. See also c.66, p.59.

<sup>163</sup> In addition, another capitulary (*Capitulare ecclesiasticum* (a.805-813)) discovered not so long ago contains a chapter in total accord with the *Admonitio*: 'Ut episcopi et presbyteri per ecclesias suas praedicent populum de dilectione dei et proximi, de fide et spe, de humilitate et patientia, de castitate et continentia, de benignitate et misericordia, ut oblationes suas et luminaria ad ecclesias deferant, de elemosynis et pauperum cura, de penitentia et confessione peccatorum suorum, de indulgentia in debitoribus suis, ut divina donante gratia verbum dei et currat et multiplicetur ad honorem et gloriam dominis domini nostri Iesu Christi.' H. Mordek and G. Schmitz, 'Neue Kapitularien und Kapitulariensammlungen', *Deutsches Archiv*, 43 (1987), 361-439, at 408-9 c.25.

<sup>164</sup> *MGH: Capit. I*, no.64, p.153, c.6: 'Ut ipsi sacerdotes unusquisque secundum ordinem suum praedicare et docere studeat plebem sibi commissam.'; *ibid.*, no.65, p.154, c.2, 'De praedicatione per singulas parroechias.'



people are able to understand'.<sup>165</sup> This is however a somewhat negative decree, concerned only with ensuring that there would always be preaching in cathedral churches should the bishop fall ill or be absent. Analogous canons from the other councils which met in 813 confirm though that this sentiment applied generally: that is to say, all sermons were to be delivered in the vernacular, translated from Latin exemplars by the clergy.<sup>166</sup> In addition, lay people were specifically ordered to turn up at church in order to hear the sermon. At Attigny in 822 Louis the Pious legislated against those 'potentes' who did not wish to come to the preaching and thereby prevented many of their household from doing so.<sup>167</sup> In another capitulary from 823-5 the laity were admonished to attend the preaching of bishops and priests 'devoutly', taking their servants with them (*cum suis*).<sup>168</sup> It is clear from the evidence elucidated above that in the area of preaching, as in so many others, Louis's capitularies show a certain continuity with those of his illustrious father.<sup>169</sup> The institutions, resources and philosophy that Charlemagne and his cronies instigated did not suddenly atrophy.<sup>170</sup> The same bibliographic resources that existed in libraries throughout the realm existed still, and were augmented; the ethos of cultural reform was kept alive by largely the

<sup>165</sup> *MGH: Conc. I*, no.36, p.268, c.XXV: 'Ut praedicationis sancta assidue in ecclesia fiat. XXV. De officio praedicationis: si forte episcopus non fuerit in domo sua aut infirmus est aut alia aliqua causa exigente non valuerit, numquam tamen desit diebus dominicis aut festivitibus qui verbum Dei praedicet iuxta quod intellegere vulgus possit.'

<sup>166</sup> See *Concilium Arelatense*, *MGH: Conc. I*, no.34, c.10, p.251; *Concilium Remense*, *ibid.*, no.35, cc.14-15, p.255; *Concilium Cabillonense*, *ibid.*, no.37, c.14, p.276; *Concilium Turonense*, *ibid.*, no.38, c.17, p.288. The digest of the councils' decisions issued by Charlemagne in September 813 at Aachen included the summary: 'XIIII. De officio praedicationis, ut iuxta quod intellegere vulgus possit assidue fiat.' *MGH: Conc. I*, p.296. See also the *Concordia episcoporum* (813), *ibid.*, c.X, p.298. The vexed question of the ability of the illiterate to understand spoken Latin does not concern us here: in Bavaria the written Latin of the sermons would perforce have had to be translated into the Germanic vernacular by the preacher. For a useful summary of the literature on the metamorphosis of spoken Latin to Romance see M. Banniard, 'Language and Communication in Carolingian Europe', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History vol. 2 c.700-c.900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.695-708. Roger Wright has famously argued that the reformed pronunciation of Latin under the Carolingians rendered it unintelligible to laymen; he contends that *transfere* in a preaching context meant switching to vernacular pronunciation. See his *Late Latin and Early Romance* (Liverpool, 1982), pp.118-122.

<sup>167</sup> *MGH: Conc. II*, no.42, p.472, c.V: 'De potentibus, qui ad praedicationem venire nolunt, et idcirco multi eos imitantes vel sequentes ad audiendum verbum divinum non veniunt, qui interdum etiam familiam suam his diebus, quibus ad audiendum verbum divinum venire debuerant, servitiis propriis detinent.'

<sup>168</sup> *Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines*, *MGH: Capit. I*, no.150, p.304, c.9: 'Omnes vero laicos monemus, ut...ad eorum praedicationem cum suis devote occurrant...'

<sup>169</sup> On Louis's legislation see G. Schmitz, 'The Capitulary Legislation of Louis the Pious', in Godman and Collins, *Charlemagne's Heir*, pp.425-36; H. Mordek, 'Recently Discovered Capitulary Texts Belonging to the Legislation of Louis the Pious', in *ibid.*, pp.437-453.

<sup>170</sup> See, for instance, H. Mordek, 'Karolingische Kapitularien', in *idem* (ed.), *Überlieferung und Geltung normativer Texte des frühen und hohen Mittelalters*, Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter 4 (Berlin, 1986), pp.25-50, at pp.41-44 on the manuscript evidence for the later influence of Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* (789) and *Capitulare missorum generale* (802).



same personnel running the empire: Arn, for example, remained archbishop until his death in 821. As Schmitz put it: 'From 800 at the latest the idea of a reformatio or emendatio, which was to outlast Louis's reign, was firmly anchored in the consciousness of the Frankish ruling élite, and developed a dynamic of its own'.<sup>171</sup>

If we descend one rung of the ladder to diocesan level there is also conformity among the Carolingian bishops in the episcopal capitularies that their clergy should preach on Sundays and on the feast days of saints to a lay audience.<sup>172</sup> Furthermore, the types of books that the bishops instructed every priest to own included a collection of homilies. The only approved collection mentioned by name was Gregory's Forty Homilies on the Gospels. These measures are mirrored in Bavarian legislation. In the *Capitula Frisigensia prima*, dating probably to 813, there is a short list of texts and books which the diocesan clergy of Freising have to know. This includes, 'Homilies for preaching on the Lord's days'.<sup>173</sup> The *Capitula Frisigensia secunda*, which dates to the first decade of the ninth century, and therefore from the time of Atto of Freising (783-810), likewise includes a chapter concerning preaching to the people.<sup>174</sup> It furthermore specifies that priests 'should learn homilies for every feast day'.<sup>175</sup> Another document called the *Interrogationes examinationis*, which was perhaps drawn up by Bishop Adalwin of Regensburg (792-816/17) in around 803, is a short catalogue of questions with which the bishops could cross-examine priests, canons, abbots and the laity to test their knowledge and belief in Christianity. It begins by stating that 'priests should not be ordained before they may be examined',<sup>176</sup> and enquires of a priest 'how you understand the homilies of the orthodox Fathers or how you know them to instruct others'.<sup>177</sup> Finally, the *Capitula Frisigensia tertia*, most likely the work of an archbishop of

<sup>171</sup> Schmitz, 'Capitulary Legislation', p.428.

<sup>172</sup> For useful general surveys of the genre see P. Brommer, 'Capitula episcoporum. Bemerkungen zu den bischöflichen Kapitularien', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 91 (1980), 207-36; idem, 'Capitula episcoporum'. *Die bischöfliche Kapitularien des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 43 (Turnhout, 1985). On the prescriptions of the episcopal capitularies, see further G. Devailly, 'La pastorale en Gaule au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France*, 59 (1973), 23-54; F.S. Hoyt, *The Carolingian Episcopate: Concepts of Pastoral Care as Set Forth in the Capitularies of Charlemagne and His Bishops (789-822)* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Yale, 1975); J. Gaudemet, 'Les statuts épiscopaux de la première décade du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Series C: Subsidia*, vol.5 (Vatican, 1976), pp.303-49.

<sup>173</sup> *MGH: Capit. episc. III*, p.205, c.XII: 'Omellas dominicis diebus et solemnitatibus dierum ad praedicandum canonem'. The meaning of 'canonem' at the end, as the MGH editor notes (p.200 n.4), is unclear. I have left it untranslated.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*, p.210, c.III: 'Similiter et in doctrina populorum praedicandi'. This chapter is a verbatim extract from the *Capitula de examinandis ecclesiasticis* of 802.

<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*, p.211, c.VII: 'Ut...omellas diebus singulis festivitatum discant.'

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*, p.214: 'ut presbyteri non ordinentur priusquam examinentur.'

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, p.215, c.VI: 'Homellas orthodoxorum patrum quomodo intellegitis vel alios instruere sciatis.'



Salzburg (Liuphram (836-59)?), and promulgated at a diocesan synod possibly in the 840s, states: 'We enjoin you, that each of you every two or three weeks should strive to instruct the people subject to you on the Lord's days or on the feasts of the saints with wholesome doctrines selected from sacred scripture in the church entrusted to you after the Gospel has been read through.'<sup>178</sup> This singular chapter is instructive for it shows that the framework for the sermon was at Mass after the Gospel, although markedly preaching every single Sunday is not demanded. The presbyterate are directed to ensure that the people do not leave the church before the final laud. To make sure the clergy were fulfilling these precepts, Bavarian bishops were supposed to make biannual visitations of their sees, holding synods to enquire how their priests were conducting themselves and teaching the people.<sup>179</sup>

Of course, it is a truism that legislation by its prescriptive nature can only tell us what *should* happen apropos of owning homiliaries and preaching regularly to the laity: the impasse between ideal and reality in early medieval history comes to the fore once again. Is it possible to get a bit closer to the truth of what was actually transpiring? Thankfully, there are two ways of divining the reality behind the legislation: firstly, by looking at the types of books owned by parish churches and priests, and secondly, through incidental allusions to preaching in literary sources.

### The Evidence of Inventories and Book Lists

All well-stocked Bavarian cathedral and monastic libraries owned collections of sermons and homiliaries, as would naturally be expected.<sup>180</sup> But what of run-of-the-mill

<sup>178</sup> Ibid., p.223, c.VI: 'Præcipimus vobis, ut unusquisque vestrum super duas seu tres ebdomadas diebus dominicis seu festivitibus sanctorum populum sibi subiectum doctrinis salutiferis ex sacra scriptura sumptis in ecclesia sibi commissa post evangelium perlectum instruere studeat et iubeat illis, ut nullus de ecclesia exeat, antequam a presbitero sive diacono ultima laus, id est "Benedicamus domino", aut "Ite, missa est", pronuntietur.' On the duty of Bavarian bishops to preach see *Acta ad concilium Rispacense pertinentia* (799 or 800), in *MGH: Conc. I*, p.213, c.I: 'Episcopi predicare debent de sancta trinitate, incarnatione domini nostri Ihesu Christi, extremo iudicio et resurrectione.'

<sup>179</sup> See, for example, Arn's 'Instructio pastoralis', c.XIII: 'Tamen unusquisque episcopus in parrochia sua duas uices in anno cum suis presbyteris singularem synodum habeat, unum in initio quadragesimae, alterum in kalendis septembris, ut semper illos debeant admonere qualiter ipsi agant uel plebem doceant.' Étaix, 'Un manuel', 121. See in general C. Vykoukal, 'Les examens du clergé paroissial', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 14 (1913), 81-96.

<sup>180</sup> See, for example, E.A. Lowe, 'An Eighth-Century List of Books in a Bodleian ms. from Würzburg and its Probable Relation to the Laudian Acts', *Speculum*, 3 (1928), 3-15. This list, from c.800 and referring to the episcopal library of Würzburg, includes 'omelia sancti gregorii maiora pars'. A perusal through B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse. Erster Teil. Von der Zeit Karls des Großen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1967), and the volumes of the series *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz* provides manifold extra evidence of libraries furnished with homiliaries. For a comprehensive inventory of ninth- and early tenth-century book lists see T. Gottlieb, *Ueber Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken* (Leipzig, 1890) (nos. 34, 37, 43, 52, 58, 59, 60, 77, 108, 109, 110, 123, 149,



parish churches in rural areas? Fortunately, there exist several inventories of parish churches, taken at the time of their donation to the churches of Freising, Regensburg and Passau between 788-899, which record the vestments, utensils and books owned by the parish churches. Analysing these inventories enables us 'to penetrate to the lowest level of pastoral care accessible', and to find out whether the aims of the Carolingian reformers were actually put into practice.<sup>181</sup> A 'book of homilies' (*liber homeliarum*) occurs in four out of the eleven inventories: on 1 July 842 the *ministerium ecclesiasticum* of the *presbiter* Egino is recorded as containing a 'collectio homeliarum et dialogorum', probably Gregory the Great's forty *Homilies on the Gospels*; the church at Thannkirchen in 855 possessed 'XL homeliae' plus 'alia homelia'; the *pecunia* of the *ecclesiasticus uir* Baldric, recorded between 863 and 885, included a 'liber homeliarum'; and the *ecclesia* of the *nobilis uidua* Irmburc at Mauern in 899 is listed as having a 'liber homeliarum'.<sup>182</sup> A homiliary is the fourth most popular book behind a missal, lectionary and antiphonary, the latter books being the bare minimum to be able to perform sacramental functions. Although four out of eleven is not a very high percentage, it is sufficient to prove that for worshippers at some rural Bavarian churches the means was available to hear a sermon, although of course this was also dependent on the ability of the priest to translate the Latin: access to a book does not necessarily mean it was used. The church at Thannkirchen may have been a minster-type collegiate church, and as such a special case;<sup>183</sup> others were churches (*Eigenkirchen*) owned and kitted out by well-to-do lay proprietors, such as the widow Irmburc, but Hammer does not think them in any way exceptional.<sup>184</sup>

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153, 175, 185, 193, 211, 225, 262, 337, 401, 402, 417, 766, 777a, 778, 779, 786, 797, 798, 810, 886, 892, 893, 894, 910, 911, 912, 961, 983, 987, 991, 992, 1009, 1026, 1027, 1033, 1034, 1035, 1036, 1207, 1211, 1212, 1213, 1214, 1267, 1388). There are a surprising number of book bequests and suchlike from ninth- and tenth-century Spain.

<sup>181</sup> Hammer, 'Country Churches', 8.

<sup>182</sup> See *ibid.*, 14-17.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 12 and n.25.

<sup>184</sup> W. Hartmann, 'Der rechtliche Zustand der Kirchen auf dem Lande: Die Eigenkirche in der fränkischen Gesetzgebung des 7. bis 9. Jahrhunderts', *Settimane*, 28 (1982), 397-441 provides a thorough survey of the legislation on *Eigenkirchen*. The decrees revolve around the conflict between the episcopate and the laity over two main issues: the appointment of priests, and the disposal of church income. On the considerable number of *Eigenkirchen* in the Freising documents (around 140) which also functioned as mausolea despite prohibitions, see W. Störmer, 'Adelige Eigenkirchen und Adelsgräber – Denkmalpflegerische Aufgaben', *Zeitschrift für Bayerische Landesgeschichte*, 38 (1975), 1142-58. See also Hartmann, 'Eigenkirche', 416-420 on the donation of proprietary churches to Freising: it seems it was a conscious policy of the bishops of Freising to encourage the laity to build churches on their land and, even before their consecration by the bishop, to get them to promise their later transfer. This was done in order to extend pastoral care into the countryside 'on the cheap', but also to control church



The situation in Bavaria can be compared to that in churches belonging to the abbey of Saint Remigius at Reims. The polyptych of the abbey, drawn up after 848, records the details of six churches and the books they possessed. Of these, the churches at Ville-en-Selve and Sault-Saint-Remi, both dedicated to saint Remigius, owned a copy of Gregory's homilies on the Gospels.<sup>185</sup> Reims was an efficiently-run and wealthy establishment, well able to provide its churches with liturgical books.<sup>186</sup> The evidence from Reims not only highlights the great popularity of Gregory's work,<sup>187</sup> but also strengthens the argument that in a fair proportion of churches throughout the Carolingian Empire which were situated near an important church or monastery the obligation to own a homiliary was in actual fact realized. Documents from other parts of the Carolingian world also occasionally mention books. The eleventh-century chronicle of St Riquier records that in 831 a *cellula* called *Botritium in pago Terragonensium* owned a *homeliarius*. It also records the presence of ten canons there who served St Riquier: they were awarded a stipend of various estates and two churches.<sup>188</sup> It is likely that laypeople came thither to hear preaching. A charter documenting the transfer of the parish church of Wieblingen in 790 to the monastery of Lorsch includes the information that the priest Erlebald wished six books 'to be bestowed in perpetuity for the cure of my soul', as well as one *mansus*, vestments, gold and silver.<sup>189</sup> Lamentably, what the

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revenues. This practice had died out by the 830s: evidently the laity got wise and decided to keep the churches in which they had invested. See further Appendix III, n.23, on churches owned by Salzburg.

<sup>185</sup> J.-P. Devroey (ed.), *Le polyptyque et les listes de cens de l'abbaye de Saint-Remi de Reims (IX<sup>e</sup> – XI<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Reims, 1994), pp.14, 53.

<sup>186</sup> As pointed out by J.F. Lemarignier, 'Encadrement religieux des campagnes et conjoncture politique dans les régions du royaume de France situées au nord de la Loire, de Charles le Chauve aux derniers Carolingiens (840-987)', *Settimane*, 28 (1982), 765-800, at 783.

<sup>187</sup> See further P.A. DeLeeuw, 'Gregory the Great's "Homilies on the Gospels" in the Early Middle Ages', *Studi Medievali*, 26 (1985), 855-869, who provides a thorough survey of the evidence pertaining to the use of Gregory's homilies in the Carolingian period, drawing on the evidence of inventories and book lists. Furthermore, the repertory drawn up by Raymond Étaix lists four extant manuscripts dating to around 800 that transmit all or most of the homilies, plus another two dozen from the ninth century. See further R. Étaix, 'Note sur la tradition manuscrite des Homélies sur l'Évangile de saint Grégoire le Grand', in J. Fontaine *et al.* (eds), *Grégoire le Grand*, Colloques internationaux du CNRS (Paris, 1986), pp.551-559. Some manuscripts of Gregory's work contain vernacular glosses, testifying to their use in schools(?), e.g. Prague, *Knihovna pražské kapituly*, A 130 (Arn-style) – Bischoff, *Schreibschulen II*, pp.219-20.

<sup>188</sup> PL 174:1262A-1262B: 'E[s]t cellula quae vocatur Botritium in pago Terragonensium, in qua habetur altare I, fabricatum; cruces III, inauratae II, inargentata I, capsae XVIII fabricatae, thuribulum I, candelabra parata II, vasa aerea II, calices argentei IV, patenae argenteae II, aurata I; scyphus argenteus I, offertorium I, opertorium pallium I, casula I, dalmatica I, missalis I, lectionarius I, antiphonarius I, homeliarius I, passionalis I, Psalterium I, sunt ibi canonici X, habentes villam Teones, villam Neudum, ecclesias duas, villam Albitrium, villam Guadanniam, et alios multos redditus ex beneficio Sancti Richarii cui serviunt.'

<sup>189</sup> *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse. Erster Teil. Von der Zeit Karls des Großen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts*, ed. B. Bischoff (Munich, 1967), p.107: '...ego Erlebaldus presbyter pro remedio anime meę dono...donatumque in perpetuum esse volo I mansum...cum omnibus, quę ad ecclesiam



books were is not stated, but it is feasible that they included a homiliary. A deacon called Merigoz took the decision to convert to the monastic life in 808 and thus presented a ‘plenissimum et grande volumen bibliothecae’ to Benedictbeuern, as well as all the property he held in Matholvingen, albeit reserving the usufruct for himself during his lifetime.<sup>190</sup>

The *Liber Pontificalis* bears witness to the impressive munificence of ninth-century popes in terms of gifts of books: it remarks that Pope Leo IV (847-855) presented to ‘God’s holy mother’s church at Vicus Sardorum at the 30<sup>th</sup> mile from Rome...4 catholic books’, which included a homiliary, as well as providing ‘the Homilies’ (Gregory?) to St Leo’s church; Pope Stephen V (885-891) conferred upon St Peter’s basilica in Rome ‘the 40 homilies of St Gregory’, ‘1 book of sermons’ upon the basilica of SS Quattuor coronati, ‘20 homilies of St Gregory’ on the *titulus* of St Marcellus, ‘1 book of sermons’ on St Pudentiana’s *titulus*, ‘1 book of sermons and Epistles’ on St Anastasia’s *titulus*, and finally, ‘1 book of holy sermons’ on St Gregory’s hostel in St Peter the apostle’s portico.<sup>191</sup>

Furthermore, there are indications from other sources that some priests and churchmen possessed their own books. For instance, a document from Reichenau, which records gifts or bequests of books acquired under Abbot Erlebold (823-38), mentions that a priest whose name is illegible ‘brought...forty homilies of Gregory...and a book of homilies arranged according to the cycle of the year (*per circulum anni*)’.<sup>192</sup> Another priest named Engilpreth donated a copy of Gregory’s Homilies. Incidentally, this might imply that some sort of book recycling and redistribution to Reichenau’s proprietary churches was taking place: what was Reichenau itself to do with all these books? In 903, a chorbishop called Madalwin handed over ‘totum apparatus suum’ to bishop Burchard of Passau; this included ‘praedicationes per anni circulum’ and other books ‘which pertain to the office of a

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pertinent...et ex omnibus vel quidquid dici aut nominari potest in vestibus, in argento seu in auro, libros VI, capsas III...

<sup>190</sup> Gottlieb, *Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, no.777a, p.369. The charter is recorded in the mid-twelfth-century *Chronicon Benedictoburanum*, printed in *MGH: SS IX*, pp.231-2.

<sup>191</sup> *The Lives of the Ninth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of Ten Popes from AD 817-891*, trans. R. Davis, Translated Texts for Historians vol. 20 (Liverpool, 1995), pp.148, 155-6, 303, 305-6.

<sup>192</sup> *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge I. Bd. Die Bistümer Konstanz und Chur*, ed. Lehmann, pp.255-6: ‘\_\_ presbyter attulit libros \_\_\_\_, XL homilias Gregorii et psalterium; vitas patrum; librum sententiarum et librum homeliarum per circulum anni et librum Eucherii et psalterium unum. Engilpreth presbyter attulit unum missale et librum XL homeliarum Gregorii et librum pastorem.’



bishop'.<sup>193</sup> Additionally, a list of books on loan from the cathedral library of Cologne, dated to 833, begins with the record that a certain Ermbald borrowed a gospel book, a Gregorian sacramentary, a book of Augustine's works, a commentary on Samuel, an antiphonary and a homiliary 'for the exercise of his ministry' (*ad suum ministerium*).<sup>194</sup> Rather more intriguingly, a count named Egilolf borrowed a lectionary and a copy of Gregory's homilies. This provides further proof that noblemen and women could read, or at least understand what was being read to them: some like Eberhard of Friuli even had their own libraries which contained sermon collections.<sup>195</sup> These might be for private rumination, for use in chapels or possibly even to read aloud to the household. Others too borrowed books from ecclesiastical libraries with which they had a special relationship because they could not afford them, or because they were otherwise unavailable. A St Gall library catalogue is annotated with reminders that Charles the Fat borrowed one of the volumes of homilies on the Gospels by Gregory the Great; his wife Richardis had Gregory's sermons on Ezekiel.<sup>196</sup>

A certain Heilrad, whose exact métier is not stated, apparently owned a fairly well-appointed library: an entry in a ninth-century manuscript from Lorsch attests to his ownership of, amongst other items, a couple of penitentials and 'quaternions on the rendering of tithes and homilies'.<sup>197</sup> Judging by the make-up of this list, it seems

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<sup>193</sup> *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz IV. Bd. I. T. Bistümer Passau und Regensburg*, ed. C.E. Ineichen-Eder (Munich, 1977), pp.24-6: '...et cetera omnia que ad ipsum ministerium pertinent: graduale et nocturnale bene notati, praedicationes per anni circulum...'

<sup>194</sup> The easiest place to find an edition of the list, though not without flaws, is in G.H. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* (Bonn, 1885), no.16, pp.35-6. On lay patronage of book production and book ownership see further R. McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge, 1989), pp.244-70.

<sup>195</sup> P. Riché, 'Les bibliothèques de trois aristocrates laïcs carolingiens', in idem, *Instruction et vie religieuse dans le Haut Moyen Age* (London, 1981), pp.87-104, at pp.92, 97. Riché also shows that the noblewoman Dhuoda was familiar with Augustine's sermons. See now C. La Rocca and L. Provero, 'The Dead and their Gifts. The Will of Eberhard, Count of Friuli, and his Wife Gisela, Daughter of Louis the Pious (863-864)', in F. Theuws and J.L. Nelson (eds), *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, Boston and Cologne, 2000), pp.225-80, at pp.256-7.

<sup>196</sup> Another borrowers' list from the monastic library at Weissenburg started in the late ninth and continued into the tenth century records liturgical books (mostly Psalters and lectionaries) on loan mainly to *presbyteri et monachi* of the community. See O. Lerche, 'Das älteste Ausleihverzeichnis einer deutschen Bibliothek', *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, 27 (1910), 441-450. Lerche prints the unfortunately defective list on p.443, and proposes (p.448) that they were taken to be copied, or in the case of lay borrowers, that they were for reading or use in *Eigenkirchen*. There is only one mention of sermons: 'Benzo pbr hab quintū sermonē...sph...thia'. McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp.264-5 suggests it might be a Lenten borrowers' list and discusses the appearance of lay men and women.

<sup>197</sup> Gottlieb, *Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, no.37, pp.38-9: 'Breue de libris que heilradi fuerunt | liber euangeliorum | liber comiti | missalis | antefonarius | Item gradal & penitentialis | in uno uolumine | liber eucherii | liber de pura confessione | quaterniones de reddendis decimis & omelie | alia de antifonario | tertia de cartulario | quarta de baptisterio | de grammatico . II . | Item penitentialis | pactis | de missale | de sermone in monte. |'



probable that he was engaged in pastoral activity of some kind. On the other hand, other priestly owners of homiliaries did not engage in the *cura animarum*: the ‘eminent’ (*egregius*) priest Harduin, who is recorded in the *Gesta abbatum Fontanellensium* as living as hermitic life of study and contemplation before his death in 811, left ‘many books’ to St Wandrille, written ‘by his own toil’. These included one volume of Gregory’s homilies, but also some liturgical utensils, which ‘he had with him for the purpose of offering a sacrifice to God, as long as he led a more remote life.’<sup>198</sup>

Private book ownership is also attested by possession notes in codices themselves, or annotations recording the gift of a book to a monastery or church. Certain bishops were affluent enough to be able to stock their own libraries. Bishop Dido of Laon (ca. 882-895) left twenty books to his cathedral library, nine of which are still extant with his *ex-dono*.<sup>199</sup> One of his books contains sermons by Augustine, Pseudo-Augustine and Fulgentius of Ruspe;<sup>200</sup> another which does not survive today had thirty-four sermons of John Chrysostom. Some priests too had their own more modest private collections. A case in point is the *presbyter* Louganpert, who presented a series of books to Tuto, bishop of Regensburg, between 894 and 930. These included a codex containing the letters of Leo the Great, another with the lives of Boniface and Silvester, and another including the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah.<sup>201</sup> An interesting entry in the second part of a ninth-century manuscript, Clm 14510, details how a certain Deotpert, who appears frequently as a witness in contemporary charters, purchased the book from a priest of count Reginpert named Uuichelmo with St Emmeram’s money.<sup>202</sup> Finally, an early ninth-century glossary of the Bible, Valenciennes, *Bibliothèque*

<sup>198</sup> Gottlieb, *Mittelalterliche Bibliotheken*, no.1035; *MGH: SS II*, p.292: ‘Sub huius tempore bonae recordationis presbyter egregius, nomine Harduinus, florebat, qui in cella clari martyris Saturnini, quam beatus Wandregisilus aedificaverat, ob gratiam vitae contemplativae remotior degens, quae sita in latere montis plagae aquilonaris praefatum coenobium spectat, plurimos arithmeticae artis disciplina alumnos imbuit, ac arte scriptoria erudit; erat enim in hac arte non mediocriter doctus. Unde plurima ecclesiae nostra proprio sudore conscripta reliquit volumina...homiliarum quadraginta Gregorii papae volumen unum...Dedit etiam calicem argenteum cum patena, thuribulum argenteum unum in ministerio ecclesiae, quae ipse ad sacrificium Deo offerendum secum habuit, quamdiu remotiorem vitam duxit.’

<sup>199</sup> Contreni, *Cathedral School*, pp.33-5; idem, ‘Formation’, 923-5.

<sup>200</sup> Laon, *Bibliothèque municipale*, 135.

<sup>201</sup> See Bischoff, *Schreibschulen I*, pp.184-5 (Clm 14080), pp.185-6, 213 (Clm 14540), p.223 (Clm 14253), pp.252-3 (Clm 14704), p.254 (Clm 14754). On Clm 14080 and Clm 14540 see further CLA IX, pp.17 and 21 respectively.

<sup>202</sup> Bischoff, *Schreibschulen I*, pp.248-50, f.186<sup>v</sup>: ‘Hunc comparavi libellum ego Deotpert pecunia sancti Emm(erammi) de presbytero Reginperti comitis nomine Uuichelmo’. Deotpert is styled as ‘custos sacrorum’ (sacristan) in a document dating to 889.



*municipale*, 100 (93), contains a long dedication on f.156<sup>r</sup> relating how a deacon named Ebarcius bestowed the book upon the monastery of St Amand for the cure of his soul.<sup>203</sup>

To sum up this section, if we take the inventories from Bavaria and Reims as being a representative sample, and nothing implies that there was anything intrinsically special about the status of these churches, then in maybe a third of rural churches the requirement of the episcopal statutes to own a book of homilies was in fact achieved. As a 'set-text' Gregory's homilies were indeed popular. The evidence could be multiplied,<sup>204</sup> but it is clear that many clergy in the lower orders of the ecclesiastical hierarchy had recourse to a reasonably well-appointed library; others could afford to augment their collections themselves. However, it seems that sometimes clerical ownership of books could be a red herring: as in the case of Harduin, the books might be kept by ordained monks or priests for their own personal edification. Certainly, aristocratic lay men and women borrowed books for this end too. Consequently, we must be careful not to postulate that every codex owned by a clergyman was used for the direct benefit of his flock.<sup>205</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> *Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France. Départements, t. XXV, Valenciennes*, ed. A. Molinier (Paris, 1894), p.230: 'Ergo...Ebarcius, diaconus, ...chus non meis meritis precedentibus, cunctorum igitur servorum Dei servus, non omittere duxi quod sanctae recordationis memoria beatissimus Hieronimus in quadam prefatione ita intulit dicens: *Plurimi in domo Dei offerunt aurum, argentum, munera quoque preciosa*. Ego igitur adfero et offero in templo Dei quod possum, ac de causa ego enim illius exempli ductus amore, ad decorem et ornatum cenobii almi patris Amandi seu pro remedium animae meae hunc librum visus sum contulisse. Gratanter denique ego supplex deprecor omnium successorum dominorumque meorum, in quorum ditione liber iste pervenerit, ut Dei nutu precedente, in meo maneat jure vitae comite manente, causa tuitionis atque oboedientiae, sed et hoc quoque omnino me placuit inserere, videlicet ut si qua exstiterit persona qui hanc codicem de potestate sancti Amandi auferre conaverit, fiat igitur idem ipse anathema maranatha, quod est etiam perditio in secundo adventu Domini.' A description and microfilm images of this manuscript can be found online at <http://www.valenciennes.fr/bib/fondsvirtuels/microfilms/accueil.asp>. See further Bischoff, *Schreibschulen II*, p.98 who reveals that Ebarcius 'ist im Verbrüderungsbuch in der congregatio St Amandi als Subdiakon verzeichnet', but on p.69 also calls Ebarcius the 'Schreiber' (?).

<sup>204</sup> For further examples of book collections owned by clerics and monks see E. Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France, vol. IV Les livres, 'scriptoria' et bibliothèques du commencement du VIII<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Lille, 1938), pp.456-61, esp. pp.458-9: 'Il est souvent fait mention d'un apport à la bibliothèque d'une église de livres ayant appartenu à des personnages qui paraissent être des simple clercs ou religieux, apport modeste et qui consiste en un seul ou en un petit nombre de livres, le plus ordinairement Missel, Psautier, Antiphonaire, ou autre livre liturgique, précédemment à l'usage du donateur...Ce n'est pas pour les offrir au monastère que ces prêtres et religieux ont acquis les livres, mais pour s'en servir personnellement, sauf à en faire plus tard abandon à la communauté, le plus souvent sans doute à leur décès. Il est dit en effet de plusieurs autres prêtres...qu'ils ont écrit ou fait écrire pour eux les Missels et Psautiers qu'ils ont ensuite donnés.' This could equally be the case for sermon collections.

<sup>205</sup> The soon-to-appear study by Rob Meens, 'The Mad Emperor? Priests and Books in the Carolingian Era', in Yitzhak Hen and Rob Meens (eds), *Early Medieval Priests* (forthcoming) promises to shed more light on priestly book ownership.



### Some Literary Evidence

Besides the evidence of the inventories and books owned by priests themselves, there is a small amount of literary evidence from the Carolingian period which provides independent corroboration of the fact that sermons were in fact being preached to the people. For example, in a letter written by Alcuin to Charlemagne around 798 in response to a question on a particularly troublesome passage of Scripture posed by a layman at court,<sup>206</sup> Alcuin inveighs against priests and deacons being prohibited from preaching:

‘I hear that a certain reprehensible practice exists among the churches of Christ which your wise authority can easily correct, if at any rate the rumour is true and not instead a spurious excuse whereby the priests blame their bishops for what they do not want to do. For they say the bishops have forbidden priests and deacons to preach in the churches...Let them name the canons where it is forbidden for priests to preach. Rather, they should read and realize how many wonderful preachers there have been from the different ranks of the clergy from the beginning of the nascent church throughout the whole extent of the world...Let them cease to keep as a special right what can be for the greater profit of the souls of very many...Why in churches everywhere are homilies read by clergy of every rank? What is a homily but preaching? It is strange to allow reading but not interpretation to enable all to understand. Thus those who hear will have no profit and Vergil’s words will come true, “He gives sound without sense” (Aen. 10.640)...’<sup>207</sup>

This passage is interesting on a number of levels. First of all, it may be hyperbole, but if we are to believe Alcuin, the practice of reading homilies in church is ubiquitous and performed by all ranks of clergy.<sup>208</sup> This is not the concern: the bishops’ problem is with priests going beyond simply reading to expounding the content of homilies by themselves. Perhaps they feared that their clergy were not sufficiently well-informed or

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<sup>206</sup> On the background and exegesis contained within the greater part of this letter see M. Alberi, “The Sword Which You Hold in Your Hand”: Alcuin’s Exegesis of the Two Swords and the Lay *Miles Christi*, in C. Chazelle and B. van Name Edwards (eds), *The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era*, Medieval Church Studies 3 (Turnhout, 2003), pp.117-131.

<sup>207</sup> *MGH: Epp. IV*, no.136, p.209: ‘Audio etiam per ecclesias Christi quandam consuetudinem non satis laudabilem, quam vestra prudentissima auctoritas facile emendare potest. Si tamen vera est opinio, et non magis falsa excusatio: ut quod facere non volunt presbyteri suis inician episcopis. Nam dicunt ab episcopis interdictum esse presbyteris et diaconibus praedicare in ecclesiis...Dicant enim, in quibus canonibus interdictum sit presbyteris praedicare. Quin magis legant et intellegant, ab initio nascentis ecclesiae quanti et quam mirabiles ex diverso clericorum ordine per totam mundi latitudinem fuere praedicatores...Et desinant speciale habere, quod ad maius animarum lucrum plurimorum poterit esse...Quare in ecclesiis ubique ab omni ordine clericorum omeliae leguntur? Quid est omelia nisi praedicatio? Mirum est, quod legere licet, et interpretari non licet, ut ab omnibus intellegatur. Quid est aliud, nisi ut audientes sine fructu fiant; et impleatur Virgiliacum illud: Dat sine mente sonum’. Translated partially by S. Allott, *Alcuin of York, c. AD 732 to 804: His Life and Letters* (York, 1974), letter 66, p.81. I have filled in the gaps with my own translation.

<sup>208</sup> Bullough, *Alcuin*, p.301 argues that in this context Alcuin can only mean preaching in the language of the audience i.e. the vernacular.



educated to preach, and that this might lead to misinterpretation and misrepresentation of doctrine, a worry embodied by c.82 of the *Admonitio generalis*. Maybe the bishops were attempting to reassert the monopoly over preaching they had enjoyed in late antiquity.<sup>209</sup> However, Alcuin is all in favour of priests preaching so that the Faithful can better understand; indeed, elsewhere in the letter he insists that laymen in positions of authority must ‘preach’ to those subject to them through good conduct and a holy life. He supports his argument by referring to church canons, by citing an extract from Jerome’s letter to the priest Nepotianus appointing him to the office of preaching, and with quotations from Scripture which affirm the importance of preaching as proclaiming a message from God.<sup>210</sup> Jesus himself, reasons Alcuin further, appointed seventy-two men ‘of subordinate rank’ (*secundus ordo*) to preach as his representatives.<sup>211</sup> Finally, it should be stressed that Alcuin does not have hard facts to prove that this is happening: it is, after all, only a rumour, perhaps fabricated by some conniving priests to exonerate themselves from their duty to preach.

Another epistolary source provides verification that preaching was regarded as important and was on hand. Agobard of Lyons, in a letter to archbishop Bernard of Vienne written c.822-829, moaned about lay lords of proprietary churches treating their priests as mere chattels: almost every lord, he grumbled, has his own priest whom he makes perform domestic chores. What’s more, he went on, they pick one of their serfs to be ordained by the bishop and, ‘when that’s been done, they think afterwards that they never have any need for clergy in higher orders, and they very often give up attending public worship and preaching’.<sup>212</sup> Thus Agobard takes it for granted that there is public worship and preaching for the offending lords to go to. Not going to church to receive the Eucharist and hear the sermon is, for Agobard as well as in the contemporary legislation, a reprehensible practice that jeopardizes salvation. Moreover, it must be inferred from Agobard’s words that the celebration of Mass (*officium*) includes a sermon: the two are mutually inclusive. Agobard, of course, was a member of

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<sup>209</sup> This is suggested by J. Chélini, *L’aube du moyen âge: Naissance de la chrétienté occidentale* (Paris, 1997), pp.86-87, where he also lists other examples from Alcuin’s letters encouraging preaching, e.g. no.255, *MGH: Epp. IV*, pp.412-3.

<sup>210</sup> E.g. 1 Tim 5:17; 1 Cor 14:30.

<sup>211</sup> Cf. Lk 10:1-20.

<sup>212</sup> ‘Cumque factum fuerit, putant ex hoc quod maioris ordinis sacerdotes non eis sint necessarii, et derelinquunt frequenter publica officia et predicamenta.’ *MGH: Epp. III*, no.11, p.204; translated by J. Nelson, ‘Making Ends Meet: Wealth and Poverty in the Carolingian Church’, *Studies in Church History*, 24 (1987), 25-36, reprinted in eadem, *The Frankish World, 750-900* (London and Rio Grande, 1996), pp.145-153. Note Agobard’s unusual use of *predicamentum* here to denote preaching: one might have expected *praedicatio/praedicatum*.



the episcopal reform party who wanted to wrest control of *Eigenkirchen* from the laity, but there is no doubt his words contain a kernel of truth.<sup>213</sup>

Furthermore, a letter from Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims to the priests of his parish in February 859 stipulates that they are to deliver a prescribed warning to their flock every time they celebrate Mass, until the woe which they are suffering has ceased.<sup>214</sup> Priests, opines Hincmar, are spiritual physicians; sinners are the sick. Although we all are sinners, priests have received the duty from God to heal sinners, like doctors cure the sick by their medicine. However, whenever an unusual sickness arises in a patient, doctors use untried medicine. There are men of such kind, laments Hincmar, who come to church not on account of salvation, but because of habit; they are accustomed to remain at Mass up to the Gospel, subsequent to which the priests ought to preach, but slip away straight after the Epistle. Hincmar bids his clergy to read out a warning he has prepared to the recalcitrant parishioners, since it is the clergy as God's heralds who have to transmit His message. The rebuke centres on doing penance for 'pillaging, fornication and other crimes', and refraining from Communion until restitution has been made. We learn that the 'misery' is attributable to both 'pagans', that is, Northmen, and 'wicked Christians'. Excommunication is threatened for those who ignore Hincmar's admonition. What is important for our purpose is Hincmar's allusion to the preaching which should take place during Mass, and his projected use of the church as a forum for his propaganda. In another of his letters, this time penned to the clergy and citizens of Laon on the occasion of the ordination of Hedenulf to the episcopate in 877, Hincmar inveighs against the practice of bishops taking advantage of their priests.<sup>215</sup> The Lord instructed his preachers that they should only eat and drink

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<sup>213</sup> Hartmann, 'Eigenkirche', 415-6.

<sup>214</sup> *MGH: Epp. VI*, no.125, p.60: 'Sicut vobis saepe dixi, sacerdotes medici sunt spiritalis et infirmi homines sunt peccatores. Et licet nos peccatores simus, tamen dignatione Dei officium sanandi peccatores suscepimus, sicut saepe medici corpore infirmi per magisterium medicinae infirmos solent sanare. Et quando usitata infirmitas venit in aliquo, usitatam faciunt medicinam. Quando autem inusitata infirmitas nascitur in infirmo, de medicinae experimento inusitatem medici faciunt medicinam. Propterea, fratres, unusquisque vestrum quotienscumque cantat missam, usque dum ista quam patimur miseria in parrochia nostra cessaverit, quoniam tales homines sunt, qui non propter salutem, sed propter consuetudinem ad ecclesiam veniunt et usque ad evangelium, iuxta quod ista praedicare debueratis, in missa stare solent et redeunt statim post apostolum, id est post epistolam, hanc admonitionem nostram ab initio usque ad finem cum verbis prophetae vel apostoli legite, quia, utinam non ad iudicium nostrum dicamus, et nos Dei apostoli, id est Dei missi, sumus, ut quoniam ipse per corporalem praesentiam eis, qui in parrochia nostra tanta mala faciunt, adnuntiare non possum, verbum Dei per nos ad illos transmissum, quod alligari quacumque infirmitate non potest, illis eorum salutem adnuntiet.'

<sup>215</sup> 'Non igitur redemptionem aut pretium de collatione presbyterorum episcopus debet exigere, et alimenta ecclesiastica mutus manducare. Et cum Dominus praedicatoribus praecipiat ut, intrantes in domos eorum quibus pacem praedicant, illa edant et bibant quae apud illos sunt, per parochiam praedicando ac confirmando pergens episcopus, non debet superfluas pensiones in pigmentis et aliis



what was available at the houses of those to whom they preached peace. By the same token, bishops who are passing through their parishes ‘preaching and confirming’ ought not to ask for superfluous payments in spiced wines (*pigmentis*)<sup>216</sup> and suchlike from priests who do not have them, nor demand things they do not have in their own households. For this is being a slave to pleasure rather than necessity; being thrifty with their own wealth, such prelates grow rich from receipts and sales ‘in excess of need’ (*superflue*). Nor must a bishop preach that he should receive expenses, but accept sufficient expenses to allow him to preach.

A further piece of evidence comes from the pen of Notker the Stammerer. In his *Gesta Karoli Magni*, begun in 883 or early 884, Notker includes the following anecdote about a certain decadent bishop preaching to the public in his cathedral church:

‘...the pious Emperor Charlemagne decreed that all the bishops throughout the length and breadth of his empire should, before a certain day which he himself had chosen, deliver a sermon in the cathedral church of their diocese. Anyone who failed to do so was to be dismissed from the honour of being a bishop...One feast day he [the bishop] invited two of the nobles of the court to his cathedral. After the reading of the lesson, he mounted the pulpit as if he were going to address the congregation...The bishop glared down from his lofty position. In a mighty voice he began his sermon...He then turned to the altar and went through the ceremony of Mass...’<sup>217</sup>

The proverbial dilemma when dealing with such anecdotes is whether we interpret them as unusual or typical instances of something. However, in this case, while the veracity of the story may be doubted, its importance lies in the fact that Notker imagined such an

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quibusque a presbyteris quae non habent requirere, et talia, quae forte in domo sua non accipit, voluptati potius serviens quam necessitati, exigere, et suis parcens opibus, de superflue acceptis et venditis ditescere. Nec ideo debet praedicare, ut sumptus accipiat; sed ideo sumptus accipere, ut sufficiat praedicare.’ PL 126:274C-D. This letter is not in the MGH edition previously cited; it will appear in the next volume, currently being prepared by Rudolf Schieffer. For similar complaints against episcopal extortion of priests, again especially by Hincmar, see Nelson, ‘Making Ends Meet’, 148-9.

<sup>216</sup> C. du Fresne du Cange, *Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae Latinitatis* (Frankfurt am Main, 1710), iv, col.306, s.v. Pigmentum – ‘potione ex melle et vino et diversis speciebus confecta, suavi, et odorifera’. See also MGH: *Conc. II*, Fragmentum historicum de concilio Aquisgranensi a.816, p.833: ‘phialis pigmenti’; B. Bischoff, *Salzburger Formelbücher und Briefe aus Tassilonischer und Karolingischer Zeit*, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse. Sitzungsberichte (Munich, 1973), II, 20, p.41: ‘Rogamus bonitatem vestram, ut de pigmentis et oleum et vino Grecisco nobis transmittatis...’

<sup>217</sup> ‘Precepit religiosissimus Karolus imperator, ut omnes episcopi per latissimum regnum suum, aut ante praefinitum diem, quem ipse constituerat, in aecclesiasticae sedis basilica praedicarent, aut quicumque non faceret, episcopatus honore careret...Supradictus igitur...vocavit duos de primoribus palatinis ad diem festum, et post ewangelii lectionem ascendit ad gradus, quasi ad alloquendum populum...Tunc episcopus de eminentioribus prospiciens, et nunc vassallum suum alloquens, nunc illum misellum increpitans, excelsa voce clamando praedicavit...Et reversus ad altare, sollempnia consecravat, vel se consecrasse simulavit. Talibus ergo missis ad finem perductis, ingrediuntur in aulam...’ MGH: *SS II*, p.738; translated by Thorpe, *Two Lives*, pp.110-13. Albert, *Geschichte*, pp.127-8 refutes the suggestion that Charlemagne had a rule whereby a non-preaching bishop would lose office: ‘Vielmehr zeigt dieser Vorgang, wie durch alle Gesetze die Trägheit die Geistlichen nicht gebessert wurde.’



event could have happened in Charlemagne's time; in other words, it was an entirely plausible story to relate in Notker's own day. Notker unwittingly reveals some particulars of interest: namely, that he thought bishops were supposed to be competent enough to preach in their cathedral churches, and that sermons were declaimed from the pulpit after the Gospel reading, but before the consecration of the host.

Another literary genre, hagiography, also imparts subsidiary details about the lives of the saints venerated.<sup>218</sup> For instance, the author of the *vita* of saint Liudger, the first bishop of Münster who died in 809, has some interesting things to say about his activities on the day of his demise:

'On that Sunday on the evening of which he was going to pass from this world to the Lord, as if saying goodbye, he preached publicly to the sheep entrusted to him in his two churches, early in the morning at the place called Coesfelt, celebrating Mass with the priest, and around the third hour [9 a.m.] at the place called Billerbeck, where he celebrated devoutly the last solemnities of Mass.'<sup>219</sup>

This extract proves once more, if any further proof were needed, that the context for preaching was at the Eucharist. The adverb *publice* confirms the make-up of Liudger's audience: the local community as a whole (his *oves*), not just his clergy. Lastly, there is perhaps an intimation (*quasi valefaciens*) that this flurry of preaching was a little out of the ordinary, but there is no way of knowing what Liudger did on a typical Sunday.

Finally, it is perhaps worth pointing out that some formulae collections from the eighth and ninth centuries refer to the preaching ministry of bishops. The famous formulary of Marculf, for instance, probably compiled c.700 around Paris, includes a form-letter from a king to a bishop on the episcopal office. A bishop should hold the common people in check 'no less with piety than severity'; he should 'polish the riches (*talenta*) committed to him by words of incessant preaching'.<sup>220</sup> Here *talentum* is used

<sup>218</sup> An exhaustive search of all ninth-century lives for information about preaching would certainly be a worthwhile exercise.

<sup>219</sup> *MGH: SS II*, II.7, p.414: 'Ipso vero die dominico, cum in subsequenti nocte de hoc mundo esset iturus ad Dominum, quasi valefaciens creditis sibi ovibus in duabus suis ecclesiis publice praedicavit, mane scilicet in loco qui dicitur Coasfelt, canente presbitero missam, et circa horam tertiam in loco nuncupato Billurbike, ubi infirmatus ipse corpore, ut supra retulimus, set fervore karitatis validus, devote missarum ultima celebravit sollempnia; ubi etiam ipsa subsequenti nocte, assistentibus discipulis, dilectam Domino reddidit animam.' See also, for example, the *Vita Trudonis*, *MGH: SS rer. Merov. VI*, c.14, p.286: 'Concessit autem illi episcopus verbum Domini in cuncta sua parroecchia praedicare et missas in omnibus ecclesiis caelebrare.' On the three different lives of Liudger see E. Kaus, 'Zu den Liudger-Viten des 9. Jahrhunderts', *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, 142 (1992), 9-55.

<sup>220</sup> *MGH: Legum Sectio V. Formulae Merowingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. K. Zeumer (Hannover, 1886), lib.I, no.5, p.45: '...qui plebem non minus pietate quam severitate constringat, qui sciat commissa sibi talenta assiduae predicationis sermonibus expolire'. An almost identical phrase is used in the supplement to Marculf, no.6, p.109: 'iuxta canonicam institutionem plebem vobis commissam assiduae predicationum sermonibus expolire et non minus pietate quam severitate constringere studiatis'.



figuratively for the human wealth entrusted to the bishop as overseer. A diploma from 826-830 narrates how Wolfgerius, bishop of Würzburg, had come to the court of Louis the Pious and told how in the time of Charlemagne churches had been built in Slavic territory between the Rhine and Main river. At these the newly converted people 'would receive baptism and hear preaching'.<sup>221</sup> This was basically a plea for endowments which were duly granted so that 'the people of that land should have preaching continually'. An interesting form-letter preserved in a ninth-century manuscript from Sens is of a type written by a bishop to another bishop requesting permission to celebrate Mass in the churches of his diocese. The letter eulogizes the addressee for following in the apostles' footsteps by preaching the Word (2 Tim 4:2), then proceeds to entreat authorization to preach, correct, to confirm or baptize, and impose penance.<sup>222</sup> Related to the issue of clerics roving about the countryside without credentials, Arn's *Instructio pastoralis* warns that no 'outsider' should presume to preach in another's church without the bishop's consent.<sup>223</sup> Another charter which found its way into the Sens collection records the construction and dedication of a new church in 808.<sup>224</sup> It was agreed that four named *villae* should pay their tithes to the *basilica*, and go there for Mass, baptism and preaching. The church was endowed with two *mansi* plus one and a half *aripenne* of arable and vineyard for the priest's living. Formulae though, by their very nature, only present us with *topoi*, literary conventions. Moreover, it is a thorny issue whether 'preaching' always means a proper sermon. On the other hand, what they do confirm is that the formulary compilers viewed preaching as an indispensable element in the episcopal ministry and envisioned that it ought to happen.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid., no.40, pp.317-8: '...vir venerabilis Wolfgerius, Wirciburgensis ecclesie episcopus, ad nostram veniens praesentiam, indicavit nobis, quod pie recordationis domnus et genitor noster Karlus serenissimus imperator antecessoribus suis, illis et illis episcopis, praecepisset, ut in terra Sclavorum, qui sedent inter Moinum et Radanziam fluvios, qui vocantur Moinwinidi et Radanzwinidi, una cum comitibus, qui super eosdem Sclavos constituti erant, procurassent, ut inibi sicut in ceteris christianorum locis ecclesie construerentur, quatenus ille populus noviter ad christianitatem conversus habere potuisset, ubi et baptismum perciperet et praedicationem audiret et ubi inter eos sicut inter ceteros christianos divinum officium celebrari potuisset...ut...populus terre illius iugiter praedicationem habeat'.

<sup>222</sup> Ibid., no.17, p.220: 'Fecisti enim, ut apostolus commendans ait: "Predica verbum, insta oportune et inopportune, oportune volentibus et inopportune nolentibus". Qui enim sequitur apostolorum vestigia, luce gaudebit perpetua. Rogo vos humiliter, dirigere nobis per epistolam vestram, quid mihi de nostro liceat caelebrare officium in parrochia vestra et in ecclesiis vestris...si predicare liceat, si emendare, si corrigere, si erigere ecclesiis, si confirmare aut baptizare aut penitentiam dare, aut quid nobis concedatis, aut quid prohibeatis'. Cf. a formula for the ordination of an archpriest in ibid., no.5, p.170: '...populum tibi commendatum assidua foveas praedicatione'. Here the reference is probably meant figuratively.

<sup>223</sup> Étaix, 'Un manuel', p.122, cc.XIV, XV.

<sup>224</sup> MGH: *Formulae*, no.12, p.217: 'Consensavi etiam confratribus, tam canonicis quam et monachis vel ceteris hominibus, qui ad presens fuerunt, ut ville quarum vocabula sunt Cadiliaco, Tanculfovilla, Fagido et Barbitone villare, ut ibidem aspicere deberent ad missas veniendi et ad baptismum vel predicationem et ut decimas suas ad memoratam basilicam dare deberent.'



All of the preceding examples illustrate clearly that the Carolingian clergy were expected to preach to the laity, at least some of the time and in some places, and albeit perhaps only by reading out prefabricated homilies. Contemporary churchmen, especially Alcuin, strongly advocated the custom of priests preaching. In addition, sermons were characteristically preached during Mass after the Gospel reading. Even allowing for rhetorical or literary embellishment, this evidence, in which preaching is mentioned only incidentally, supports the view implied by the church inventories and priests' books that there was rather more preaching taking place in this period than some give credit for.

### Ninth-Century Tracts on Preaching

Roger Reynolds has argued convincingly that a florilegium on the ecclesiastical grades preserved in a section of a composite manuscript datable to the late eleventh or early twelfth century was in fact copied from a Bavarian model of the early ninth century.<sup>225</sup> This florilegium makes it clear that one of the foremost tasks expected of a priest was to preach.<sup>226</sup> In the later Middle Ages, many *artes praedicandi*, or instruction manuals, were composed by learned churchmen to provide advice on oratory and guidelines for composing sermons. While nothing of the sort was written in the early medieval period, there exist two rudimentary tracts on preaching from ninth-century Bavaria. The first is preserved in the manuscript Clm 22053, a miscellany written in Augsburg before and during the year 814, and well-known for its inclusion of the Old High German *Wessobrunner Gebet*.<sup>227</sup> It can hardly be described as a tract at all: it runs only to a few lines which proceed to name and then gloss seven different manners of preaching. In actual fact, the passage is an excerpt from an anonymous mid-eighth-century Hiberno-Latin work, probably written in south-east Germany in an environment influenced by

<sup>225</sup> R.E. Reynolds, 'A Florilegium on the Ecclesiastical Grades in Clm 19414: Testimony to Ninth-Century Clerical Instruction', *Harvard Theological Review*, 63 (1970), 235-59.

<sup>226</sup> Ibid., p.252: 'Sacerdotem oportet offerre et benedicere praeesse et praedicare et baptizare'; p.255: 'Praedicare eos utile est, benedicere congruum, reddere communionem necesse est...' Cf. Isidore of Seville's *De ecclesiasticis officiis* on the functions of priests: 'Praesunt enim Ecclesiae Christi, et in confectione divini corporis et sanguinis consortes cum episcopis sunt, similiter et in doctrina populorum, et in officio praedicandi.' PL 83:787B. For some contemporary pictorial representations of the ecclesiastical grades and ordination see R.E. Reynolds, 'The Portrait of the Ecclesiastical Officers in the *Ragnaldus Sacramentary* and its Liturgico-Canonical Significance', *Speculum*, 46 (1971), 432-42. Although not specifically concerned with preaching *per se*, see also a florilegium on a bishop's qualifications and functions, edited by idem, 'A Ninth-Century Treatise on the Origins, Office, and Ordination of the Bishop', *RB*, 85 (1975), 321-32, at 330, ll.55-64.

<sup>227</sup> Bischoff, *Schreibschulen I*, pp.20-21; Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften*, pp.83-4; McKitterick, *History and Memory*, pp.262-4.



Irish traditions. In the past this work was ascribed incorrectly to Isidore.<sup>228</sup> The seven types are as follows: 'By teaching disciples; by persuading people; by chiding the haughty; by refuting the contrary-minded; by terrifying the lukewarm; by assuaging the wrathful; by promising life everlasting to the good and torments everlasting to the wicked.'<sup>229</sup> The catalogue is didactic, admonitory and exhortatory: there is no concern for the preacher to delight or move his audience in contrast to the three aims of oratory outlined by Augustine (following Cicero and Pseudo-Cicero's *Rhetorica ad Herennium*) in book four of his *De doctrina Christiana* (396-426), although for Augustine the aim of giving pleasure is the least important.<sup>230</sup> This shows clearly the priorities of early medieval preaching: artifice was rejected in favour of straightforward exhortation to Christian living.

A much longer exposition on the preacher's art is contained in the manuscript Salzburg, *Stiftsbibliothek St Peter*, a VIII 32.<sup>231</sup> As previously mentioned, this codex has been assigned to Salzburg in the time of Adalram (821-36) on the basis of its script. It is an enchiridion containing, in addition to some sermons, selections from Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana* followed by extracts from Julius Pomerius' *De vita contemplativa*. Augustine advocated the use of pagan rhetorical strategies by Christian preachers to defend Catholic doctrine and spread the word of salvation. He followed the Ciceronian school in his threefold division of preaching styles, illustrating each by examples from the Bible: 'the eloquent speaker will be one who can treat small matters in a restrained style (*summis*) in order to instruct, intermediate matters in a mixed style (*temperate*) in order to delight, and important matters in a grand style (*granditer*) in order to move

<sup>228</sup> *Sancti Isidori Hispalensis episcopi de veteri et novo testamento quaestiones*, quaestio XXXVIII (52), PL 83:206C; *Scriptores Hiberniae Minores, pars I*, ed. R.E. McNally, CCSL 108B (Turnhout, 1973), p.204. For the Irish parallels in the character and style of this work see pp.189-95. McNally does not signal the existence of this extract in Clm 22053; there are several variants in this manuscript: *praedicationes* for *praedicationis*, *mulciendo* for *mulcendo*, *superbos* for *superu(b)is*, *tepidis* for *trepidis*.

<sup>229</sup> Translated in H. Caplan, 'Classical Rhetoric and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching', *Classical Philology*, 28 (1933), 73-96, at 79. Although mainly concerned with the later medieval period, see also idem, 'Rhetorical Invention in Some Mediaeval Tractates of Preaching', *Speculum*, 2 (1927), 284-95.

<sup>230</sup> *De doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. R.P.H. Green (Oxford, 1996), IV.XII.27-29, XVII.34, pp.228ff. The triad is: *docere*, *delectare*, *flectere*. Augustine later says (XV.32, pp.234-5) that the Christian orator should aspire 'to be listened to with understanding, with pleasure, and with obedience'. See further J.J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1974), pp.56-63, 286-92.

<sup>231</sup> K. Forstner, 'Eine frühmittelalterliche Interpretation der augustinischen Stillehre', *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch*, 4 (1967), 61-71; T.L. Amos, 'Augustine and the Education of the Early Medieval Preacher', in E.D. English (ed.), *Reading and Wisdom: The De doctrina Christiana of Augustine in the Middle Ages* (Notre Dame, 1995), pp.23-40, at pp.27-28, where it is described as a 'manual for bishops', but erroneously ascribed to a non-existent bishop of Salzburg called 'Angilramn (821-853)'.



an audience.’<sup>232</sup> The Christian preacher will have recourse to use different styles for different occasions, says Augustine, and must vary his discourse to prevent ennui among the listeners. In the extracts printed by Forstner, Augustine’s ‘restrained style’ is transformed to ‘mild and gentle’ (*lenis et blanda oratio*), ‘gentle and sweet’ (*blandis et dulcis* [sic!] *sermonibus*), simply ‘mildly’ (*leniter*), or ‘more pleasant’ (*suauiori eloquio*); his ‘grand style’ is changed to ‘more terrible or more disciplined’ (*terribilior uel disciplinatio sermo*) which ‘either threatens with the punishment of Hell or castigates the unruly and erring’.<sup>233</sup> The middle style is clearly of little interest to the compiler, for he makes no revisions to the Augustinian terminology, merely regarding it as a nuanced version of the restrained approach. This segment is rounded off by an original summary: ‘to speak in a restrained style is to incite pleasantly whomsoever to honest devotion. Speaking in a mixed style is beseeching and admonishing with careful zeal as to the good things to be done or imitated. The grand style of speaking however is to chastise the erring, so that they revert to the way of truth.’<sup>234</sup> Again, this compilation shows that delighting the audience is dropped in favour of instruction and censure: rhetorical ingenuity played second fiddle to the moral message.

The last book of *De institutione clericorum* by Hrabanus Maurus also contains advice on oratory for the budding preacher. Its most recent editor has emphasized the close connection between the reorganization of the Church by Louis the Pious during the years 816-19 and the drafting of this handbook to educate clerics.<sup>235</sup> The work was completed by 819: in that year Hrabanus almost certainly presented a copy to its dedicatee, Archbishop Haistulf of Mainz (813-25), on the occasion of the consecration of the new monastic church at Fulda.<sup>236</sup> Hrabanus relied on the authority of Augustine’s

<sup>232</sup> *De doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. Green, XVII.34, pp.238-41.

<sup>233</sup> Forstner, ‘Eine frühmittelalterliche Interpretation’, 64: ‘Nam in terribilibus uerbis, id est quae uel de supplicio comminantur inferni uel etiam negligentes castigant et errantes...’

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, 66: ‘Trea igitur dictionum esse genera quemque doctorem ecclesiasticum in sua oportet tenere doctrina. Summis <dicere> id est suauiter quosque ad omne bonum studium incitare. Temperanter <dicere> id est obsecrando et diligenti studio ammonendo quae bona sunt facienda uel etiam imitanda <esse>. Granditer autem dicendi genus est errantes, ut ad uiam ueritatis redeant, castigare.’

<sup>235</sup> *De institutione clericorum*, ed. Zimpel, pp.3-6, 11ff. See further Murphy, *Rhetoric*, pp.82-7, 300; J.A. Knaake, ‘Die Schrift des Rabanus Maurus *De institutione clericorum* nach ihrer Bedeutung für die Homiletik und Rabanus Maurus als Prediger’, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 76 (1903), 309-27 identified this work’s sources, and also those of Hrabanus’ two collections. Knaake was very critical of Hrabanus’ dependence on earlier authors; part of this lack of creativity he attributed to the pericope system. He concluded (p.327): ‘Zieht man nun das Resultat dieser negativen Ergebnisse zusammen, so muß man sage, daß dem Rabanus überhaupt die Fähigkeit zu einem Prediger fehlte. Er war ein fleißiger Gelehrter, aber kein Redner...Seine Arbeit bezeichnet einen Tiefpunkt in der Geschichte der Predigt.’ Knaake misunderstood the actual purpose (to cull excerpts from the Fathers) and audience (mainly for readers not hearers) of Hrabanus’ homiliary, and his work is tinged with a strong (Protestant?) bias.

<sup>236</sup> *De institutione clericorum*, ed. Zimpel, pp.34-6, 96.



*De doctrina Christiana* and Gregory's 'Pastoral Care' for his chapters on preaching, dexterously stitching together verbatim excerpts.<sup>237</sup> The foreword to book three specifies what clerics ought to know, how they should conduct themselves, and their duty to teach their flock. Chapters XXVIII-XXXVIII treat rhetoric in relation to preaching: 'The preacher and teacher of the divine Scriptures, the defender of the true faith and conqueror of error ought to teach what is good and the opposite of what is bad'.<sup>238</sup> It is wisdom that is required above eloquence though, because eloquence without wisdom can camouflage twaddle: 'eloquent speakers are heard with pleasure, wise ones with salvation'<sup>239</sup> – the happy medium is to possess both. True wisdom is only obtained through 'understanding and diligently investigating' the sense of the Scriptures. Above all, Hrabanus underscores the necessity of intelligibility for a sermonizer: '[preachers] should take pains first and foremost in all their sermons that they be understood by way of as much clarity of expression as they can, so that it is either the very slow-witted who do not understand, or that the reason lies not in our style of speaking but in the difficulty and subtlety of the things which we wish to explain and demonstrate.'<sup>240</sup> Again, Hrabanus stresses that a preacher's language must be appropriate to the *vulgus*; even colloquialisms are licit in the absence of alternatives: 'What is the benefit of correctness of speech which does not meet with the listener's understanding, since there is no reason at all for speaking if those on whose account we speak so that they may understand do not?'<sup>241</sup> A shrewd preacher can tell by the reaction of his audience when something has been registered and it is time to move on, lest he become a bore.

The greater part of this section is taken up with extracts about the familiar triadic division of styles. 'The best manner of speaking', recaps Hrabanus, 'is one that makes

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<sup>237</sup> Murphy, *Rhetoric*, pp.82-3: 'the work of Rabanus is a significant milestone in the history of preaching because he is the first of many medieval writers to make a pragmatic choice of only those ideas which are useful to him without swallowing the whole system which gave birth to the ideas.'

<sup>238</sup> *De institutione clericorum*, ed. Zimpel, c.XXVIII, p.489: 'Debet igitur divinarum scripturarum tractator et doctor, defensor rectae fidei ac debellator erroris, et bona docere et mala dedocere...'

<sup>239</sup> Ibid., c.XXVIII, p.491: 'Qui enim eloquenter dicunt, suaviter, qui sapienter, salubriter audiuntur.'

<sup>240</sup> Ibid., c.XXVIII, p.492: '...in omnibus sermonibus suis primitus ac maxime, ut intellegantur, elaborant, ea quantum possunt perspicuitate dicendi, ut aut multum tardus sit, qui non intellegit, aut in rerum, quas explicare atque ostendere volumus difficultate et subtilitate, non in nostra locutione sit causa...'

<sup>241</sup> Ibid., c.XXX, pp.492-3: 'Quid enim prodest locutionis integritas, quam non sequitur intellectus audientis, cum loquendi omnino nulla sit causa, si, quod loquimur, non intellegunt, propter quos, ut intellegant, loquimur?'



sure he who hears, hears the truth, and understands what he hears.’<sup>242</sup> Speakers should speak in such a way as to instruct, delight and move their listeners. The need to instruct relates to the subject-matter of the discourse, the other two to style. Unlike pagan orators, everything a Christian preacher declaims is important because it is concerned with salvation. Hence, Cicero’s dictum that small matters should be treated in a restrained style, intermediate matters in a mixed style, and important matters in a grand style does not apply. However, Hrabanus advises the Christian teacher to use the restrained style when teaching, the intermediate when censuring or praising, but ‘when something must be done, and we are speaking to those who ought to do it yet do not wish to, then the things which are important must be spoken of in the grand style, appropriate for swaying minds.’<sup>243</sup> Sometimes the same important matter necessitates a mixture of styles if it is being taught, praised or if contrary minds need to be influenced. For each style Hrabanus provides examples from Scripture, mainly St Paul. The mixed style is embellished with verbal ornament, the grand by ‘ardour of the heart’. Styles may be combined, but knotty problems demand the restrained style. If all this talk of styles in oratory may seem overly pretentious for some of his readership, Hrabanus recognizes that not all are capable of such articulacy:

‘There are however certain people who can recite well, yet are unable to devise what they recite. If they select something composed eloquently and wisely by others, commit it to memory and bring it forth to the people, if they assume that persona, they are not doing anything inappropriate...Nor should such people be deterred by the voice of the prophet Jeremiah, through whom God accuses those who ‘steal His words, each one from his neighbour’. Those who steal take another’s possessions; but God’s word is not foreign to those who obey Him. Rather, the man who lives badly when he speaks well says the words of another.’<sup>244</sup>

Thus it is completely permissible to borrow sermons from others more erudite, so long as one’s behaviour corresponds to what one is preaching: the Word of God, in a sense, is in collective ownership. Indeed, if a preacher is unable to treat a matter wisely or eloquently, ‘he should conduct himself in such a way that he not only acquires a reward

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<sup>242</sup> Ibid., c.XXXI, pp.493-4: ‘Est autem optimus modus dicendi, quo fit, ut qui audit, verum audiat, et quod audit, intellegat’.

<sup>243</sup> Ibid., c.XXXIII, pp.496: ‘Cum vero aliquid agendum est, et ad eos loquimur, qui hoc agere debent nec tamen volunt, tunc ea, quae magna sunt, dicenda sunt granditer et ad flectendos animos congruenter.’

<sup>244</sup> Ibid., c.XXXVI, pp.502-3: ‘Sunt sane quidem, qui bene pronuntiare possunt, quid autem pronuntient, excogitare non possunt. Quod si ab aliis sumant eloquenter sapienterque conscriptum, memoriaeque commendent atque ad populum proferant, si eam personam gerunt, non inproprie faciunt etiam...Nec deterrendi sunt isti voce Hieremiae prophetae, per quem deus arguit eos, qui “furantur verba eius, unusquisque a proximo suo”. Qui enim furantur, alienum auferunt; verbum autem dei non est ab eis alienum, qui obtemperant ei; potiusque ille dicit aliena, qui cum dicit bene, vivit male.’



for himself, but also provides an example to others, so that his pattern of living is, as it were, an abundance of eloquence.’<sup>245</sup> In the final chapter Hrabanus takes up the argument that declamatory success derives ‘more from piety in prayer’ than ‘skill in oratory’. A cleric should pray to God before he preaches in order to decant the wisdom he has imbibed to his audience: in other words, the preacher is a mouthpiece for the Holy Spirit.

These tracts on preaching which foreshadow the later *artes* demonstrate palpably that the Church was taking an interest in providing some kind of rhetorical training for would-be preachers, however elementary. They also show how important Augustine’s *De doctrina Christiana* was in this endeavour: sixteen codices of the work are extant which date to the ninth century, a couple with marginal glosses, possibly by schoolmasters.<sup>246</sup> The little Bavarian treatises reveal that the priorities of ninth-century clergymen were to educate and reprove; the audience’s gratification was incidental. In fact, Hanns-Christoph Picker has argued that Hrabanus was not concerned with popular preaching at all. For Hrabanus, *praedicatio* was an academic exercise in the school, where Holy Writ was studied methodically and the knowledge gleaned was mediated orally with the aid of rhetoric.<sup>247</sup> He reasons that the wide spectrum of meanings of the word ‘praedicare’ is reflected in Hrabanus’s work: though Hrabanus describes the responsibility of bishops and priests to preach, ‘praedicare’ is also used for the duties of lectors and deacons. Hrabanus neither has a place for the sermon in the worship service, nor does he speak of what should form the content of sermons. Above all, nowhere does Hrabanus broach the problem of the vernacular for preaching; rather it is the understandability of Latin that bothers him. Now, Picker’s interpretation is indubitably correct in the sense that the immediate use envisaged by Hrabanus for the rhetorical counsel in this work was to help train young clerics in a scholastic context, but when those tyros destined for the priesthood had finished their curriculum at Fulda and elsewhere, would they not take the principles learned about declamatory skill in Latin and apply it to their own preaching in whatever language? Why should Hrabanus have

<sup>245</sup> Ibid., c.XXXVI, p.502: ‘Si autem nec hoc quidem potest, ita conversetur, ut non solum sibi praemium comparet, sed et praebeat aliis exemplum, ut sit eius quasi copia dicendi forma vivendi.’

<sup>246</sup> M.M. Gorman, ‘The Diffusion of the Manuscripts of Saint Augustine’s “De doctrina Christiana” in the Early Middle Ages’, *RB*, 95 (1985), 11-24.

<sup>247</sup> H.-C. Picker, *Pastor Doctus: Klerikerbild und karolingische Reformen bei Hrabanus Maurus*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für europäische Geschichte Mainz, Abteilung für Abendländische Religionsgeschichte Bd. 186 (Mainz, 2001), pp.196-205 in a subsection entitled ‘Die begrenzte Bedeutung der Predigt’. Picker also downplays the significance of Hrabanus’ collection for Haistulf, contending that it was for the edification of learned readers or the theological instruction of the clergy.



included material on what to preach when it was perfectly obvious from the legislation and his own sermon collection? What of the passages Picker skips over about praying before becoming God's mouthpiece in the act of preaching, the legitimacy of borrowing from the work of others, and most importantly, the references to the *populus*?<sup>248</sup> These surely have an application beyond the school. Thus, although Hrabanus is somewhat restricted by his adherence to Augustine, his selection of material does indicate that for him the key aspects of preaching in a broad sense are empathy with the audience and lucidity of expression.

The next chapter commences the in-depth study of individual sermons from the collection. To start with, we shall look at how the Bible is interpreted and used in the sermons.

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<sup>248</sup> *De institutione clericorum*, ed. Zimpel, c.XXVIII, p.492; c.XXXII, p.495; c.XXXVIII, p.519.



### III. '*Qui scriptura scit, praedicet scripturas*': The Interpretation of the Bible in the Sermons

#### Introduction

The quotation with which this chapter is headed is taken from Theodulph of Orleans's (†821) first capitulary, dated 798-817/18: 'He who knows Scripture, let him preach the Scriptures.'<sup>1</sup> When discussing genre in the introduction to this thesis, I branded the sermons contained in our sermonary as 'exhortative and instructive' in the sense that, primarily, they convey knowledge about the liturgical seasons or information on Christian dogma. As we shall see, in generally undemanding Latin and in straightforward terms these sermons set out to teach first the priests who read them, and then the layfolk who heard them. Their hortatory character stems from the desire of the Church to see that the feasts of the Christian year were celebrated reverentially by the Faithful, in respectful imitation of the Saviour's earthly life. Exegetically, the sermons are not tied to particular scriptural passages, so are not homilies in the narrow sense of the term, but rather are general expository discourses of particular biblical events. Scholars of exegesis and exegetical method, following a tradition begun in the late antique Church, typically distil the four ways in which the Bible can be explained thus: the *sensus historicus* or *literalis*, a simple clarification of the words; the *sensus tropologicus*, the moral application of Scripture to everyday life; the *sensus allegoricus*, expounding concepts prophetically via symbolism, simile and metaphor; and the *sensus anagogicus*, a mystical explanation of words according to their future and eternal significance.<sup>2</sup> The aim of this chapter, perforce largely narrative, is to consider the exegesis in a selection of sermons which run according to the cycle of the liturgical year from Christmas to Lent. Most of the sermons analysed in this chapter are edited here for the first time; a few have been published.

<sup>1</sup> *MGH: Capit. episc. I*, c.XXVIII, p.125: 'Hortamur vos paratos esse ad docendas plebes. Qui scriptura scit, praedicet scripturas; qui vero nescit, saltem hoc, quod notissimum est, plebibus dicat: *Ut declinant a malo et faciant bonum...*[Ps. 33:15-17]. Nullus ergo se excusare poterit, quod non habeat linguam, unde possit aliquem aedificare.'

<sup>2</sup> See, first and foremost, the classic study by H. de Lubac, *Medieval Exegesis: The Four Senses of Scripture*, trans. M. Sebanc and E.M. Macierowski (2 vols, Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1998-2000). Lubac (p.1 and p.271 n.1) cites a mnemonic distich by Augustine of Dacia c.1260 which recalls the medieval doctrine of exegesis: 'Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria, Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.' H. Caplan, 'The Four Senses of Scriptural Interpretation and the Mediaeval Theory of Preaching', *Speculum*, 4 (1929), 282-90 is still very useful.



### Sermons for Christmas and Epiphany

Let us begin appropriately with the first sermon in the collection. The rubric avers that it is a work by Pope Leo the Great (†461) on the Nativity: it is no such thing, but the second paragraph does slip in some lines from a sermon which appears in the collection known as Eusebius 'Gallicanus'. From the very beginning and right the way through the sermon the emphasis is on the Lord's clemency. The sermon begins by explaining that the 'merciful and compassionate Lord' promised through the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament that the human race would be restored to its pristine dignity after the sin of the first man and possess immortality.<sup>3</sup> This promise, the audience is told, He fulfilled mercifully 'hodierno tempore'. For the only-begotten son of God the Father was born to the Virgin. There ensues a recital of orthodox dogma regarding the coequality and coeternity of God and the Son. 'O how great the mercy of our creator the son of God!' exclaims the sermon, 'who deigned to redeem us, lost and forlorn, not with gold, nor silver, nor with any other price but his own life, and to recall us to pristine dignity (i.e. the prelapsarian state)'. This line has a scriptural antecedent (cf. 1 Pet 1:18-19), and also crops up quite regularly elsewhere: for example, in the work of Ambrose (with a nice word-play),<sup>4</sup> in several of Augustine's sermons,<sup>5</sup> those of Caesarius of Arles,<sup>6</sup> and an item in the homiliary of Saint-Père de Chartres.<sup>7</sup> He who was without beginning or end deigned to become a son of man for us, marvels the sermon, so that those who were sons of perdition and death through sin He might make into sons of God. Great indeed was it that He condescended to become man, but much more that He redeemed us by His precious blood; dear indeed that He snatched us from the Devil, but much more dear that He reconciled us to God the Father.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Leo, *Tractatus*, CCSL 138, tract. 24.1, p.109; CCSL 138A, tract. 52.1, p.308.

<sup>4</sup> Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *De Iacob et uita beata*, ed. C. Schenkl, CSEL 32 (Vienna, 1897), lib.1, c.3, p.12: 'Nescis quod redemerit te Christus, non emerit? Non auro et argento redempti estis de uana uestra conuersatione paternae traditionis, sed praetioso sanguine agni...'

<sup>5</sup> Sancti Aurelii Augustini, *Sermones de Vetere Testamento*, ed. C. Lambot, CCSL 41 (Turnhout, 1961), 23A.2, p.322: 'Et misit filium suum, ut redimeret nos, non auro, non argento, sed praetio fusi sanguine sui'; Sancti Augustini *Sermones post Maurinos reperti*, ed. G. Morin, in *Miscellanea Agostiniana vol. I* (Rome, 1930), serm. 213, p.444: 'non auro, non argento, sed sanguine suo'; *ibid.*, sermo 296, p.403: 'non pretio emptas, non auro, non argento, sed sanguine'; *Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique*, ed. F. Dolbeau (Paris, 1996), serm. 16D, p.131: 'non tanti ualet, non auro ualet neque argento, non tanti ualet fides tua; habet magnum pretium: ipse deus est pretium eius.'

<sup>6</sup> Caesarius, *Sermones*, CCSL 103, 73.4, p.309; 85.4, p.352; 93.4, p.384; 112.2, p.462.

<sup>7</sup> Cross, *Cambridge Pembroke College ms. 25*, no.34, p.166. See also Eusebius 'Gallicanus', *Collectio Homiliarum*, CCSL 101, hom. 10.5, p.117.



The second paragraph of this sermon launches with a borrowing of some lines from Eusebius 'Gallicanus'.<sup>8</sup> The sermon declares that Christ could destroy the Devil in the heavens simply by a nod of His head, but then the Devil might complain that he was vanquished by power not justice. Therefore, He consented to die in human form for the human race. The Devil consequently lost his command over humankind, because in Christ the man he found no sin. No one, says the sermon, could have reached paradise if the Son of God had not died for us; nor would the approach to heaven lie open if He had not purified the lower regions with His soul and destroyed the authority of the Devil.

The final paragraph is typical of the Carolingian author's style in that, as we shall see time and again, he winds up with a forceful exhortatory conclusion, drawing on the subject matter of the preceding lines to tease out moral lessons germane to the time of year. Here, the listeners are urged to ponder and toil as much as they can 'in good works and pious behaviour' so that they be worthy receptacles of the good that Christ effected for them. The auditors are urged to order their lives and habits, to avoid desires of the flesh, to renounce drunkenness and bacchanalia, and to preserve sobriety and justice in all things. Since they celebrate the Lord's Nativity, the audience is asked to live with an abundance of mercy, so that they deserve the mercy they seek at the Last Judgement. In this sermon then the foretelling of the Messiah in the Old Testament is explained typologically in terms of Christ's birth, while the tropological sense is used to connect the Nativity to the present and demand wholesome living. This pattern of exegesis is repeated throughout a large percentage of the sermons in this collection, and Carolingian sermons in general.

The other sermons in the collection for the Nativity run along the same lines. Item II in the collection, printed by Folliet,<sup>9</sup> tells of how the true sun, the true light of the whole world, was born today: that is, the true God, the true man was born. The Lord accepted the form of a servant so that the servant might be honoured through the Lord. The heavenly dweller stayed on earth so that a lodging might be prepared in heaven. Like the former sermon, it terminates with an entreaty that on these holy days the lives of the listeners should not be soiled with crapulence or indecent speech (*turpis sermo*); instead, they should live soberly, piously and justly. A further sermon placed in the liturgical cycle after the Nativity but before Epiphany of unknown derivation (no.VIII), printed by Cardinal Angelo Mai from the codex Vaticanus Lat. 479 (no.189), narrates

<sup>8</sup> Eusebius 'Gallicanus', *Collectio homiliarum*, CCSL 101, hom. 18.5, pp.217-8.

<sup>9</sup> Folliet, 'Deux nouveaux témoins', 181-2.



how Adam was created by God so that he would enjoy the eternal bliss of heaven if he obeyed His commands.<sup>10</sup> But, hoodwinked by devilish trickery, he transgressed and lost his angelic dignity. And so he was justly exiled, and in the pilgrimage of this life in which we live, no one until Christ was able to shake off the burden of this sin, but all ‘succumbed to diabolic tyranny and to the dominion of eternal death’. Whence almighty God dispatched his only son into this world, ‘so that he would become liberator of men who was also creator; who indeed having assumed the flesh of our fragility deigned to be born through virginal womb’. Thereupon the audience is reminded that they are celebrating this birth at the present time. Christ revealed himself to be the progeny of God in human form via innumerable signs and miracles. He endured most patiently many insults and injuries from that perfidious people the Jews, thereby providing examples of patience and clemency to us. Here the tropological sense comes to the fore. At the end He was crucified by the Jews, died and was buried; descending to the gates of hell He shattered the door of eternal death, carried the souls of the holy ‘to the paternal seat’ and rose from the dead. Christ ascended to heaven, and opened the doors of the heavenly kingdom to all who do his bidding. Now comes the dénouement: honouring the time of the Nativity with sincere devotion involves everyone petitioning Christ together, so that He may grant the correct faith to us and make us preserve it with good works, converting all here from depravity unto good.

The sermon for the feast of the Circumcision (1 January) was described by Dom Morin, who edited the text from manuscripts including E and F, as ‘a very brief sermon, of no great moment’.<sup>11</sup> He noted that a sermon printed by Mai contained an excerpt from this sermon, which he esteemed to have been ‘stitched together’ by Caesarius of Arles.<sup>12</sup> Luke’s Gospel tells us that the baby Jesus was circumcised on the eighth day after his birth (Lk 2:21). St Paul added that baptism superseded circumcision as a sacrament in which one is circumcised spiritually in union with Christ, freed from one’s former sinful self (Col 2:11). In this sermon the author begins by explaining that Christ wanted to experience the cause of human weakness for the redemption of mankind; He wanted to fulfil all the precepts of the law; He wished to be circumcised in the flesh on the eighth day, not so that He might make his own flesh clean, but so that He might free us from all evil and so that all deeds would redound to our advantage through Him.

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<sup>10</sup> PLS 4:1283.

<sup>11</sup> *Sermones*, CCSL 104, serm. 191, pp.777-9: ‘Sermo brevissimus, nec magni sane momenti...Quem a Caesario consarcinatum esse, ex conclusione inde a l.16 evidenter apparet.’

<sup>12</sup> PLS 4:1213-18, no.112. The section common to both is the second paragraph.



Accordingly Christ's circumcision was a volitional act, a willing gift of blood which prefigures the Passion. This understanding follows in the footsteps of Augustine's declaration that circumcision was 'a seal of righteousness of the faith', but signified also from the very beginning the cleansing in infants of the original sin, just as baptism from its institution began to be of avail for the renewal of man.<sup>13</sup>

Our sermon then takes on a catechetical character, elucidating its theological interpretation by posing questions and offering answers: 'But someone may say: Why was Christ circumcised, or presented lawfully in the temple? We shall reply to him that *he did not come to destroy the law, but to fulfil it* (Mt 5:17): in order that He would not be dissimilar to the fathers from whose race he was begotten; so that the Jews would not make excuses and say: you are different to the fathers, therefore we don't want to believe you.' Thus Christ underwent circumcision to qualify as a true son of Abraham, not, of course, to purify his flesh from sin. In the next section the sermon moves on to query the meaning of the circumcision of Christ: what is it, if not our purity (*castitas nostra*), in which God delights? We are circumcised not in the flesh but in the spirit; every vice is excised in us. Here St Paul's typological parallel with baptism as a sign of a covenant between God and the chosen is not mentioned explicitly, but it is taken for granted. After that the audience is invited to reflect upon the day of their death, because 'for all the wounds of sins there are no more useful medicines to be found than that each one should pay close attention to the hour in which he will pass away from this world.' For how can he who thinks at every moment that he will be called forth from the world commit a grave sin? The sermon concludes in customary fashion with an exhortation that the auditors hurry to the remedy of penance and the medicament of alms, so that they may come before the tribunal of Christ not to be damned but crowned. Hrabanus Maurus includes a similar sermon in his collection, using material from Bede and an apocryphal Augustinian text.<sup>14</sup> He does though add his own conclusion, bidding his audience to 'circumcise yourselves in this circumcision, so that you deserve to become the members of him who wished on this day to be circumcised.' For Hrabanus, this

<sup>13</sup> *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, eds C.F. Vrba and J. Zycha, CSEL 42 (Vienna, 1902), 2.11.24: 'ex quo enim instituta est circumcisio in populo dei, quod erat tunc signaculum iustitiae fidei, ad significationem purgationis ualebat et paruulis originalis ueteris que peccati, sicut et baptismus ex illo ualere coepit ad innouationem hominis...'. See also *De gratia Christi et de peccato originali*, in *ibid.*, 2.32.37; *De natura et origine animae*, eds C.F. Vrba and J. Zycha, CSEL 60 (Vienna, 1913), 2.11.15: 'circumcisio quippe fuit illius temporis sacramentum, quod praefigurabat nostri temporis baptismum.'; *De ciuitate Dei*, eds B. Dombart and A. Kalb, CCSL 47-48 (Turnhout, 1955), 16.26: 'quid enim aliud circumcisio significat quam naturam exuta uestustate renouatam?'

<sup>14</sup> Homilia VI. In Octauis Domini, PL 110:17A-18B; Étaix, 'Le recueil', 130.



means casting off the old in baptism and putting on the new, that is, exchanging sinful works for good.

The following sermon 'infra natiuitatem' copies from a text purportedly by St Basil, bishop of Caesarea (†379), who is perhaps best known as the founder of coenobitic monasticism in the East.<sup>15</sup> The most recent editor of the work, Paul Lehmann, argued persuasively that it was a Latin rendition of a Greek original by the famous translator, Rufinus of Aquileia (†410). Benedict of Nursia seems to have used the *Admonitio* in the prologue (and possibly elsewhere) to his sixth-century Rule.<sup>16</sup> As one would expect, the text has a strongly ascetic bent. The proem states that the author wishes to teach the recipient about 'spiritual warfare' and the ways in which he can serve as a soldier for his king (i.e. Christ). There are chapters on patience, continence, shunning love of the world, humility, pride and so on. For this sermon our author chose to duplicate parts from the chapter on love of God, expunging where necessary any references to *monachi*. Love of God, of course, was for all Christians the supreme commandment. This sermon begins with the reminder that divine Scripture admonishes and encourages us to love God with all our strength (Mk 12:30), and strive to please Him in all our actions. A Christian should strive to please Christ his creator in the same way as a married man hastens to please his wife, only much more so. For God desires to be loved not only in words, but with a pure heart and in just works: he who feigns love of God and does not keep his precepts is a liar. A mendacious person of this sort leads himself astray, because man sees the outward appearance,<sup>17</sup> but God is the examiner (*inspector*) of hearts who 'loves those who serve Him in simplicity of the heart.' Hereupon ensues a series of contrasts between love of Christ and love of one's earthly parents. We love our earthly parents who put up with hardships for us for a short time, but Christ is the best dispenser of all. Our parents prepared for us in this world before our birth, obedience to whom we should foster, but we should love the Lord much more

<sup>15</sup> *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*, PL 103:683D-700A; P. Lehmann, *Die Admonitio S. Basilii ad filium spiritualem*, Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosophisch-historische Klasse, Heft 7 (1955).

<sup>16</sup> See Lehmann, *Admonitio*, pp.8-15 (comparisons with the RB), 16-19 (on Rufinus as translator).

<sup>17</sup> At this point the *Admonitio* reads (p.34): '...seducitur. Deus namque non verborum, sed cordis inspector est, et diligit...'; our sermon reads: '...seducitur, quia homo uidit in facie, Deus autem cordis inspector est, et diligit...' This passage is from 1 Sam. 16:7 (in the Vulgate 1 Reg. 16:7), but the Latin of the Vulgate does not tally: 'homo enim videt ea quae parent, Dominus autem intuetur cor'. This phrase occurs frequently in other works, e.g. Ambrosius Mediolanensis, *Exameron*, ed. C. Schenkl, CSEL 32 (Vienna, 1897), 2.1.3, p.43: 'Non sic deus uidet quemadmodum homo. Deus in corde, homo in facie. Nec sic igitur homo uidet quemadmodum Deus'; Wigbod's *Quaestionum super Genesim ex dictis Patrum dialogus*, PL 93:329B: 'Sed quod vidit homo, vidit in facie, Deus autem inspicit cor'.



who moulded us from our parents by His own hands, and all the good things which are borne towards us every day we should count among His benefits. Let us love our parents as our own flesh (*propria uiscera*) so long as they do not thwart us from serving God says the sermon; if they do, we ought not to prepare a grave for them. We must love Christ over our parents because – and this is where the compiler veers from the source – we are born only through their union, but we gain our spirit and life from the Lord.

The sermon now turns to accentuate God's munificence and clemency. Who can ever describe His bounties, or how much He has bestowed, and does not cease to render daily? Merciful God does not despise the guilty, nor those estranged from Him, but recalls us to eternal life through His grace. Nor does God demand anything from us except that we love Him and we serve Him with undefiled hearts and bodies, in order that He may live in us, and we may remain in Him. God does not seek transitory belongings from us, adds the sermon author, but if we have them we should lavish them on the poor. The peroration repeats that God seeks us and desires to reside in us; it again stresses God's *beneficia* and the necessity to cleave to His love, loving ourselves and our neighbours. This text is clearly well-suited for preaching at a time when the Nativity is fresh in the memory, for it would surely stir up memories of Christ's earthly parents amongst the listeners, but at the same time stress his godhead. For a lay audience the analogy between pleasing a wife and pleasing God seems particularly apposite, as does the comparison between the fealty owed to our parents who brought us into this world and God, who gives us infinitely more than any earthly rewards.

Next in the cycle of the liturgical year comes Epiphany, the manifestation of Christ to the Magi (6 January). In the sermonary this is covered by two texts (X-XI) which bear the name of Augustine.<sup>18</sup> Sermon X consists of citations from a couple of Leo's *tractatus* with an anonymous segment in the middle. It begins with an explanation of the word 'epiphania' and what the congregation are observing today: 'We celebrate Epiphany today, that is the appearance of the Lord the Saviour, when a star of extraordinary brightness appeared in the region of Chaldea to the three Magi, and revealed that the king of all kingdoms was born.' This star, more beautiful than the rest, announced that the 'true light, and true happiness, and true salvation' was born, He who also made the world and stars. The Magi followed the celestial light and reached Christ,

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<sup>18</sup> Both were printed by Mai (nos.140 and 190 respectively) and reprinted in PLS 4:1234-5, 1284-5.



the star of the world. They acknowledged Christ's humanity in his humble birth; in the sky they recognized his majesty. In the unidentified part there is exegesis of the gifts (Mt 2:11): the gold because it is fit for a king; frankincense because He was the 'high priest' (*pontifex*), reconciling us to God; and myrrh indicating that the son of God deigned to become man for our salvation. This triad represents a late antique Christian exegetical tradition signifying the royalty, divinity and humanity of Christ. It seems to surface in the fourth century in the works of Ambrose.<sup>19</sup> To cite only a couple of other examples, Gregory the Great in his homilies on the Gospels expounds the triad thus,<sup>20</sup> as does Isidore of Seville (†636) in his *Allegories*.<sup>21</sup>

The second part of the sermon, which draws from another tract of Pope Leo on the Epiphany, is an exhortatory reminder to the congregation that 'the most hallowed of days upon which the author of our salvation appeared' should be honoured. Let us worship as almighty God in heaven He whom the Magi venerated in the cradle, implores the sermon. In the same way as the Magi offered the Christ Child mystical gifts, we should offer good works. Since He is the lavisher of all good things, He seeks the fruit of our labours: the kingdom of heaven will be reached not by the dormant, but by those striving in His mandates. The audience is directed in a series of imperatives to spurn odium, shun lying, wipe out pride through humility, and quash avarice through generosity. The final few lines seem to be an original contribution by our author, using a passage from Matthew 2:12 ('And having received an answer in sleep that they should not return to Herod, they went back another way into their country') to bring out the moral of the story: 'our region' is 'toward paradise'; we cut ourselves off from it by sinning, so let us return to it through good works.

<sup>19</sup> *De viduis*, PL 16:243D: 'Thesaurus tuus sapientia, thesaurus tuus castitas atque justitia est, thesaurus tuus intellectus bonus: quasi ille thesaurus fuit, de quo magorum viri, aurum, thus, myrrham, cum adorarent Dominum, protulerunt: auro regis potentiam declarantes, Deum thure venerantes, myrrha resurrectionem corporis confitentes.'

<sup>20</sup> Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, ed. R. Étaix, CCSL 141 (Turnhout, 1999), hom. 10.6, p.69: 'Magi uero aurum, thus et myrrham deterunt. Aurum quippe regi congruit, thus uero in Dei sacrificium ponebatur, myrrha autem mortuorum corpora condiuntur. Eum ergo magi quem adorant etiam mysticis muneribus praedicant, auro regem, thure Deum, myrrha mortalem.'

<sup>21</sup> *Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae*, PL 83:117C: 'Magi figuraverunt gentium populos, lucem fidei cognituros, indicantes sacramentorum muneribus Christum, per thus esse Deum, per myrrham hominem passum atque sepultum, per aurum regem omnium saeculorum.'



### Sermons *De quadragesima*

An important part of preaching was to expound the origins of the liturgical seasons. Sermons XXVI and XXVII, intended to be preached prior to the commencement of Lent, talk about Lent and its biblical foundations. The observation of a forty-day fast, explains sermon XXVI,<sup>22</sup> was instituted by Moses, who fasted for forty days and nights so that he might deserve to receive the commandments from God (Ex 34:28; Deut 9:9, 18). Likewise, the prophet Elias (i.e. Elijah) fasted in the desert before he heard God's voice again (3 Kgs (1 Kgs) 19:8). Christ also fasted after being baptized by John in the River Jordan, in order to give us the strength to conquer 'temptations of the Devil and desires of the flesh', and so that we might possess the grace of the Holy Spirit (Mt 4:1-11; Mk 1:12-13; Lk 4:1-13).<sup>23</sup> Just like the Devil tempted and overcame our first parent in paradise, so, seeing Christ hunger for our salvation, he tempted Him in three ways and then rested. The Devil thus lost the power of tempting men and was 'fettered in Hell'. The present-day Church, the audience is told, has changed this forty-day fast, so that Christ's abstention can be imitated as faithfully as possible, and so that the paschal feast can be celebrated worthily by a preceding forty-day cleansing process.

This Lenten time of fasting, says the sermon, invites us 'to the most sacred contest against the Devil, so that we can raise our souls to the Lord, free and unimpeded by worldly anxieties and terrestrial endeavours'. However, because not everyone can fast always, and human frailty often impedes us, we should at least turn away from 'worldly occupations' on these days, and spend some time to smooth the road to heaven. The sermon has words of solace and encouragement for those who may think this difficult, supported by some scriptural ammunition: for the willing every good work is sweet, for the unwilling, burdensome. The final paragraph takes up a similar line of reasoning, using some lines from a *tractatus* of Leo. The way which leads to life is narrow and hard; no one would be able to set foot on that road if Christ had not made

<sup>22</sup> Bouhot, 'Un sermonnaire', 191 n.1 suggests that the author of this sermon borrowed the word 'obseruatio' from Augustine's sermon 205, PL 38:1039, which begins thus: 'Observationem Quadragesimae, solemnem reditu praesentatam, hodierno die ingredimur &c.'

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Gregorius, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, CCSL 141, hom. 16.5, p.113: 'Sed quia diebus lectio congruit, nam quadraginta dierum abinentiam nostri Redemptoris audiimus, qui quadragesimae tempus inchoamus, discutiendum nobis est cur haec ipsa abinentia per quadraginta dierum numerum custoditur. Moyses enim ut legem acciperet secundo, diebus quadraginta ieiunavit. Elias in deserto quadraginta diebus abstinuit. Ipse auctor hominum ad homines ueniens, in quadraginta diebus nullum omnino cibum sumpsit. Nos quoque, in quantum possumus, annuo quadragesimae tempore carnem nostram per abinentiam affligere conamur' – translated as *Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. Dom D. Hurst (Kalamazoo, 1990), p.104; Hrabanus Maurus, *Homiliae*, hom. IX, PL 110:20D-22B (in fact reliant on Gregory, as above); hom. XI, PL 110:24A-25C; Pseudo-Aug., serm. 144, PL 39:2026-7 (reproduced by Alan of Farfa as no.51 in the winter part of his homiliary – see Grégoire, *Homéliaires*, p.153)



himself the way for us. Christ invites us to labour for our deliverance, but also leads us to respite. Christ is the hope of eternal life, from Him we receive a model of patience and fortitude. For if we suffer for Christ on this earth through bodily hardships and mortification of the flesh, we shall reign with Him in eternal repose. What it all adds up to is a straightforward message: Christ the pathfinder on the journey becomes the means whereby the Faithful are able to accomplish it. In other words, it is by fasting in imitation of Christ and the Old Testament figures that they can obtain salvation. Fasting is thus imitative and purgative.

The next sermon in the collection (XXVII) in accordance with its title continues and develops the theme of fasting and good works. The majority of the first section is based, sometimes only loosely, on an authentic *tractatus* of Leo.<sup>24</sup> The sermon launches with the declaration that we have been taught by the example of the Lord that '*Not in bread alone doth man live, but in every word that proceedeth from the mouth of God*' (Mt 4:4). Therefore, we should undertake to fast with eager faith and ready devotion. Then ensues a series of hortatory subjunctives:

'Let our pleasures be works of piety, and let us be replete with those foods which nourish us to eternity, that is in voluntary care of the needy. Let our happiness be in the refreshment of the poor whom our expenditures have sated. Let us take delight in clothing those whose nakedness we shall have covered with the necessary garments. Let our compassion be felt in the sick lying ill, likewise also prisoners and those held in chains, exiles whom we should rescue, orphans and widows whose desolation we assuage.'

No one can excuse himself from helping all these wretched people, warns the sermon, because even if one is hampered by insufficient means, lavishness can still be exhibited by a great will. A readiness to do good will redound to one's credit before God. This phrase, '*Nam uoluntate bona benefaciendi, pro opere facto reputabitur coram Deo*', cannot be traced to the Bible, but turns up regularly in the sermons of Caesarius.<sup>25</sup> Our compiler probably gleaned it from a *florilegium* like that of Pseudo-Bede.<sup>26</sup> Next, alluding to Scripture, the audience is informed that the Lord promised to deliver the kingdom of heaven to a kind soul for a cup of cold water (Mt 10:42; Mk 9:40).

<sup>24</sup> Leo, *Tractatus*, CCSL 138A, tract. 40.4, pp.227-9.

<sup>25</sup> *Sermones*, CCSL 103, 41.5, p.183: '...intellegitur quod uoluntas perfecta faciendi reputabitur pro opere facti...'; cf. also CCSL 104, 168.6, p.690; 199.8, p.807. Its first appearance can be traced back to a letter printed twice by Migne, purportedly by Pelagius, in PL 30:41D and PL 33:118. It also features under the heading 'HIERONIMVS' in Sedulius Scotus, *Collectaneum miscellaneum*, ed. D. Simpson, CCCM 67 (Turnhout, 1988-90), diuisio 13, subdiuisio 32: 'Omnia enim compleuit qui quod potuit fecit, quia uoluntas perfecta faciendi reputabitur pro opere facto.'

<sup>26</sup> *Venerabilis Bedae presbyteri proverbiorum liber*, PL 90:11 12D: 'Voluntas integra benefaciendi, a Deo reputabitur pro opere beneficii.'



The subsequent paragraph fleshes out the idea that all earthly goods are perforce transient, eternal rewards being the only of any import. The first few sentences of this section seem to be an original contribution by our Carolingian author; the latter part is drawn from a letter written by Fulgentius of Ruspe. Let us sow future and heavenly rewards in the present, bids the sermon, since ‘all things *which are seen, are temporal; but the things which are not seen, are eternal*’ (2 Cor 4:18). Our author turns to Fulgentius to bring out the sense of this verse: ‘Just as he who treks toward his homeland always has more of the trail ahead of him until he arrives, so we also, as long as we are in this mortal body, are always pilgrims to ourselves.’<sup>27</sup> Hence the present life is the pilgrim road, explains the sermon: it is by good works, holiness and prayer in the present that we can reach the eternal fatherland when we finish this journey of life. The notion that in our earthly lives we are merely travellers, treading wearily until we reach the goal of heaven and God in the afterlife has biblical foundations (2 Cor. 5:6; Heb. 11:13; 1 Pet 2:11), but it was Augustine (who else?) in his *City of God* who provided the first extensive theological exposition of the concept.<sup>28</sup> In this epic work Augustine divides humankind from Cain and Abel into two cities: the heavenly city, or city of God, and the earthly city. The city of God is a community that transcends space and time, consisting of the elect among humanity currently alive on earth, plus the angels who remained loyal to God and the souls of the elect in heaven. The earthly city comprises those apostate angels who rebelled against God, plus those characterized by a love of self, even to the contempt of God. The city of God by no means equalled the institutional Church, as Augustine viewed the two cities as intermingled in this life; the two will be separated only at the Last Judgement. Augustine depicts the members of the city of God on earth as pilgrims, marooned meantime as wayfarers away from God in the world with all its tribulations.<sup>29</sup> Of course, it is not a real journey which the

<sup>27</sup> The source is Fulgentius Ruspensis, *Opera*, ed. J. Fraipont, CCSL 91 (Turnhout, 1968), epist. IV.5, pp.230-1. A translation of the letter can be found in *Fulgentius: Selected Works*, trans. R.B. Eno, The Fathers of the Church: A New Translation vol. 95 (Washington D.C., 1997), p.95.

<sup>28</sup> See especially the excellent discussion by M.A. Claussen, “Peregrinatio” and “Peregrini” in Augustine’s “City of God”, *Traditio*, 46 (1991), 33-75; E. TeSelle, *Living in Two Cities: Augustinian Trajectories in Political Thought* (Scranton, 1998), pp.45-70.

<sup>29</sup> E.g. *De ciuitate Dei*, eds Dombart and Kalb, lib. 1, prefatio: ‘gloriosissimam ciuitatem dei siue in hoc temporum cursu, cum inter impios peregrinatur ex fide uiuens, siue in illa stabilitate sedis aeternae...’; 15.1: ‘natus est igitur prior cain ex illis duobus humani parentibus, pertinens ad hominum ciuitatem, posterior abel, ad ciuitatem dei...prior est natus ciuis huius saeculi, posterius autem isto peregrinus in saeculo et pertinens ad ciuitatem dei, gratia praedestinatus gratia electus, gratia peregrinus deorsum gratia ciuis sursum...scriptum est itaque de cain, quod condiderit ciuitatem; abel autem tamquam peregrinus non conditit. Superna est enim sanctorum ciuitas, quamuis hic pariat ciues, in quibus peregrinatur, donec



*peregrini* must undertake, but a continuous endeavour to live as best they can in relation to the world as members of the elect, aided by God's grace. That is to say, the citizens of the heavenly city should make proper use of worldly goods, which tempt and seduce, during their sojourn to attain their goal; those of the earthly city have full usufruct, as it were.<sup>30</sup> Later authors, naturally, adopted this idea.<sup>31</sup> It is typical that it is exactly this concept that appears in Fulgentius, who was notorious for swallowing Augustinian doctrine whole.<sup>32</sup>

### Sermons *De pascha*

Sermon LXII, on the Passion, does as it happens filch some lines from Leo's tract LII, but so far as I have been able to divine, the greater part of the text is of indefinite provenance. Most of the sermon is a relatively convoluted dissertation, in sometimes knotty Latin, on the twin (human and divine) nature of Christ, and how this played out in the Passion. It begins with the avowal that 'all the venerable fathers and Faithful in God from the beginning of the world' expected, asked and hoped it would come about that at the end of the world Christ would be born, suffer and die. The Lord's Passion

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regni eius tempus adueniat, cum congregatura est omnes in suis corporibus resurgentes, quando eis promissum dabitur regnum, ubi cum suo principe rege saeculorum sine ullo temporis fine regnabunt'.

<sup>30</sup> The classic elucidation of this idea derives from Augustine's *De doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. R.P.H. Green (Oxford, 1996), 1.4.4, pp.14-17, written in 396: 'Fruī est enim amore inhaerere alicui rei propter se ipsam; uti autem, quod in usum venerit ad id quod amas obtinendum referre... Quomodo ergo, si essemus peregrini qui beate vivere nisi in patria non possemus, eaque peregrinatione utique miseri et miseriam finire cupientes in patriam redire vellemus, opus esset vel terrestribus vel marinis vehiculis quibus utendum esset ut ad patriam qua fruendum erat pervenire valeremus; quod si amoenitates itineris et ipsa gestatio vehiculorum nos delectaret, conversi ad fruendum his quibus uti debuimus nollemus cito viam finire et perversa suavitate implicati alienaremur a patria, cuius suavitas faceret beatos, sic in huius mortalitatis vita peregrinantes a domino, si redire in patriam volumus ubi beati esse possimus, utendum est hoc mundo, non fruendum, ut *invisibilia dei per ea quae facta sunt intellecta* conspiciantur, hoc est ut de corporalibus temporalibusque rebus aeterna et spiritalia capiamus.' See also *De ciuitate Dei*, 1.29: 'familia summi et ueri dei... bonis que terrenis tamquam peregrina utitur nec capitur'; 19.17: 'sed domus hominum, qui non uiuunt ex fide, pacem terrenam ex huius temporalis uitae rebus commodis que sectatur; domus autem hominum ex fide uiuentium... terrenis que rebus ac temporalibus tamquam peregrina utitur, non quibus capiatur et auertatur quo tendit in deum... idcirco rerum uitae huic mortali necessariarum utrisque hominibus et utrique domui communis est usus; sed finis utendi cuique suus proprius multum que diuersus.'

<sup>31</sup> For example, Ps.-Augustine Sermon 69.2, PL 39:1877; Gregory the Great in his *Homiliae in Evangelia*, CCSL 141, hom.11: 'In praesenti etenim uita quasi in uia sumus, qua ad patriam pergimus. Maligni autem spiritus iter nostrum quasi quidam latrunculi obsident' - *Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. Hurst, p.63: 'In this present life we are, as it were, on the road by which we proceed to our homeland'; and his *Moralia in Iob*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143A-B (Turnhout, 1979-85), 18.30: 'Quis autem in hoc mundo peregrinatur populus, nisi qui ad sortem electorum currens, habere se patriam nouit in caelestibus; et tanto magis illic sperat inuenire se propria, quanto hic cuncta quae praetereunt esse a se deputat aliena? Peregrinus itaque est populus, omnium numerus electorum, qui hanc uitam quoddam sibi exsilium deputantes, ad supernam patriam tota cordis intentione suspirant...'; 23.24: 'Via quippe est uita praesens, qua ad patriam tendimus, et idcirco hic occulto iudicio frequenti perturbatione conterimur, ne uiam pro patria diligamus...'

<sup>32</sup> See chapter VI, n.27.



was anticipated and promised in many prophecies and signs of the holy Fathers and prophets. The Passion offered the gift of human redemption, restoring the human race to 'pristine liberty' and 'eternal immortality'. Let us not imagine, beseeches the sermon, that in the Lord's Passion there was only human infirmity, lest we adjudge there to have been manifest a lack of divine power; neither should we envision only the coequal and coeternal form of the only-begotten Father thus, lest we think not true the indignities tolerated by the Lord. Evidently, the true Christ is in both natures, neither the divinity divided from the man in the Passion, nor the humanity estranged from the divinity. The divinity consoled human nature in the Passion, and humanity prevailed in the Passion beyond the manner of nature. Humanity was led astray by the Devil, and 'lost life, lost liberty, lost immortality' which could never be regained save by the grace of the divinity of Christ, and through the Passion of his humanity. Christ wielded such power in his human state, boasts the sermon, that not only did he choose his hour of passing, but lay down his soul with a powerful cry (Mt 27:50), and lived again on the third day through the power of the divinity. This no one had done before Him, nor is anyone going to, because no body can be reawakened unless divine power repairs it. Consequently Christ fulfilled in himself what he had foretold (Jn 10:18).

However, Christ's laying down of his soul was not idle, but performed a great salvation for the human race. Because his soul, the only without sin, 'accompanied and cooperating with the divinity' descended to hell, rescued thence all the souls of the Faithful which were being held there for a debt of sin, and carried them to the celestial kingdoms. Here we have a reference to the 'harrowing of hell', embodied in the Apostles' Creed (*descendit ad inferos*) as an article of faith.<sup>33</sup> The idea that Christ spent the time between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection in the underworld was universal from the earliest times, a result of the Judeo-Christian conviction that the souls of the dead pass to *Sheol* after death; it was inferred from several passages in the New Testament (e.g. Eph 4:8-10; 1 Pet 3:18-20, 4:6).<sup>34</sup> In the early Church, some theologians (e.g. the Alexandrian school) interpreted the descent into hell as Christ going down to the place of the departed where he released all those ancients (i.e. Jews and Gentiles) who died before the Incarnation by preaching and offering salvation; others, most

<sup>33</sup> J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed., London, 1972), pp.378-83.

<sup>34</sup> See further R.V. Turner, 'Descendit ad inferos: Medieval Views on Christ's Descent into Hell and the Salvation of the Ancient Just', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 27 (1966), 173-94; J.J. Campbell, 'To Hell and Back: Latin Tradition and Literary Use of the "Descensus ad inferos" in Old English', *Viator*, 13 (1982), 107-58; M.F. Connell, 'Descensus Christi ad inferos: Christ's Descent to the Dead', *Theological Studies*, 62 (2001), 262-82.



notably Augustine and later Gregory, said that Christ fettered Satan and freed only the just souls detained there who had believed in the imminence of a Redeemer and obeyed the commandments.<sup>35</sup> The latter viewed the Origen-type interpretation as simply undeserved and branded it heretical: why should the unconverted and sinners be offered a second chance of salvation in the nether regions?<sup>36</sup> The story of the harrowing fired the imaginations of many early medieval exegetes, poets and writers: the Latin version of the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus, written sometime between the sixth and eighth centuries, includes a vivid account of Christ's interlude in hell.<sup>37</sup> Our sermon clearly echoes creedal language which the audience would no doubt recognize from the liturgy.<sup>38</sup>

Not only did Christ himself rise up again, continues the sermon, but many bodies of the saints (Mt 27:52) rose to life at the same time with Him. Thus in concert with the first part of the sermon this echoes Christ's participation in human experience, but also his divinity and act of salvation. The final part states that He allotted the power of evading eternal death and of rising again to the eternal joys to all the Faithful who confess, do penance and give alms here for their sins. The theme of confession and penance is something that we shall meet again in the next chapter; it is enough to note its occurrence here. The sermon ends by expressing the hope that Christ's resurrection rekindles the audience in this life, so that they may rise again at the ultimate resurrection with the saints to eternal beatitude.

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<sup>35</sup> E.g. *Sermo CCXLIV. De symboli fide et bonis moribus*, PL 39:2195: 'credite eum ad inferna descendisse, diabolum obligasse, et animas sanctorum, quae sub custodia detinebantur, liberasse, secumque ad coelestem patriam perduxisse'; *Sermo de symbolo*, c.vii. Quid egit in inferno, PL 40:1194: 'Descendit ad inferna, ut Adam protoplastum, et Patriarchas, et Prophetas, omnesque justos, qui pro originali peccato ibidem detinebantur, liberaret; et ut de vinculis peccati absolutos, de eadem captivitate et inferni loco, suo sanguine redemptos, ad supernam patriam et ad perpetuae vitae gaudia revocaret'; Gregory, *Epistola XV. Ad Georgium presbyterum*, PL 77:869C: 'Descendens quippe ad inferos, solos illos per suam gratiam liberavit, qui eum et venturum esse crediderunt, et praecepta ejus vivendo tenuerunt.'

<sup>36</sup> E.g. in the catalogue of heresies compiled by the north Italian bishop Philastrius of Brescia around 380. See Filastrius Brixienensis, *Diuersarum hereseon liber*, ed. F. Heylen, CCSL 9 (Turnhout, 1957), pp.288-9: 'Alii sunt heretici qui dicunt dominum in infernum descendisse, et omnibus post mortem etiam ibidem renuntiassent, ut confitentes ibidem saluarentur, cum hoc sit contrarium dicente propheta dauid: in infernum autem quis confitebitur tibi?... Nam poetas falsos et uanos filosofos qui aestimat posse saluari rebelles dei, errat illis peius et a ueritate dissentit...'

<sup>37</sup> This work enjoyed a modest popularity in the ninth century, though it never seems to have been used as source-material by any early medieval writers. Z. Izydorzczuk, *Manuscripts of the Evangelium Nicodemi: A Census*, *Subsidia Mediaevalia* 21 (Toronto, 1993) lists twelve manuscripts dating s.ix or s.ix-x.

<sup>38</sup> See *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie t. IV.1* (Paris, 1920), cols 682-93.



Sermon LXXII, an unidentified paschal sermon, begins with the distinctive idiom ‘Meminit sanctitas uestra’ which is used thrice by Augustine,<sup>39</sup> twice by Maximus of Turin (†c.465) in his homilies composed between 408 and 423,<sup>40</sup> and in an apocryphal Augustinian sermon from fifth- or sixth-century north Africa for Epiphany, published by Dom Morin.<sup>41</sup> In fact, the style of the sermon (rhythm, antithesis etc.) evokes that of Pseudo-Fulgentius (see chapter VI), and it is possible that its ultimate origin lies in that milieu. The sermon commences by rehashing one of the standard explanations for the etymology of the word ‘pascha’: it is translated by the Latin ‘transitus’ – a passage, or crossing. Mohrmann has shown how in Christian tradition there were two interpretations of *pascha*, both of venerable antiquity: the first put the accent on Christ’s Passion, based on the popular typology of *pascha* = *pati*, *passio* derived from the immolation of the paschal lamb (1 Cor 5:7); the second, anchored in a different etymology of the Hebrew as meaning *transitus*, was favoured by Augustine and emphasized Christ’s (and baptized Christians’) crossing from death to life. Augustine rejected the former interpretation, which was very popular and widespread in his time.<sup>42</sup> The Augustinian etymological description is the one espoused in Carolingian popular sermons.<sup>43</sup> For instance, sermon XII of the little north Italian collection edited by Mercier patiently enlightens the audience as to the meaning of Easter: ‘pascha’ signifies a ‘passage’, and the festivity is so called because the sons of Israel crossed over from Egypt, as did the son of God from this world to the Father.<sup>44</sup> The worshippers

<sup>39</sup> *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus*, ed. R. Willems, CCSL 36 (Turnhout, 1954), tract. 9.1; *In Iohannis epistulam ad Parthos tractatus*, PL 35:1977; *Sermo* 157, PL 38:859.

<sup>40</sup> Maximus Taurinensis, *Collectio sermonum antiqua nonnullis sermonibus extrauagantibus adiectis*, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, CCSL 23 (Turnhout, 1962), sermones 56, 103 [Extrau.]

<sup>41</sup> G. Morin, ‘Deux sermons africains du V<sup>e</sup>/VI<sup>e</sup> siècle avec un texte inédit du Symbole’, *RB*, 35 (1923), 233-45; Grégoire, *Homéliaires*, pp.284-5.

<sup>42</sup> C. Mohrmann, ‘Pascha, passio, transitus’, *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 66 (1952), 37-52, reprt. in eadem, *Études*, i, pp.205-222; D. Gonnet, ‘La Pâque des Pères de l’Église’, *La Maison-Dieu*, 240 (2004), 33-57, at 42-50; M. Corbin, “Il nous a donné sa mort en gage.” Le mystère pascal chez saint Augustin’, *La Maison-Dieu*, 232 (2002), 35-74. See, for example, Augustine’s *In Iohannis euangelium tractatus*, CCSL 36, tract. 55; PL 35:1784-7.

<sup>43</sup> E.g. Pseudo-Eligius hom. IV, PL 87:607A-611D; Hrabanus Maurus, hom. XVII, PL 110:34D-35D. See also K. Leyser, ‘Liutprand of Cremona: Preacher and Homilist’, in idem, *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries*, ed. T. Reuter (London and Rio Grande, 1994), pp.111-24, at p.117. It is also, of course, *de rigueur* in the work of Carolingian exegetes.

<sup>44</sup> *XIV homélies*, ed. Mercier, XII.4, pp.220-2: ‘Iam quia sanctum pascha celebratis, debetis scire, fratres, quid est pascha. Pascha transitus dicitur. Ideo tali nomine vocata est ista festivitas, quia in ipsa transierunt filii Israel de Aegypto, et in ista transiuit Filius Dei ex hoc mundo ad patrem. Et quid vobis prodest quod pascha celebratis, si non imitamini quod colitis, hoc est si non transitis ab Aegypto, id est a tenebris vitiorum ad lucem virtutum et a mundi huius amore ad desiderium caelestis patriae? Sunt enim multi christiani qui gaudent in ista festivitate et colunt hanc sollemnitatem, et tamen male et malo suo, quia non transeunt ex hoc mundo ad patrem, id est non transeunt a mundi cupiditate et a carnali delectatione ad



should imitate the example of the Israelites and cross from Egypt, that is, from the shadows of vice, to the light of virtue; in other words, cross from love of this world and its fleshly delights to love of the celestial fatherland. By the same token, our sermon explains that Christ died in order to prepare the crossing to the kingdom of heaven for us. In a series of striking antithetical clauses we are told that He was sacrificed for us, and reawakened for us; He died on account of our iniquity, but rose again for our justification; dying He paid the debt under which we were lying miserably, rising again He showed the promise in which we should live happily. In addition, sermon LXIX of our collection further includes the same explanation of 'pascha'.<sup>45</sup>

The sermon then proceeds to elucidate the parallels between Christ's death and the sacrament of baptism. His three days repose in the sepulchre is mirrored in the threefold immersion in baptism: we die and are buried in sin. Just as Christ was raised from the dead on the third day through the glory of the Father, so too do we rise again 'into a new and undefiled life', and thus to eternal glory – so long as we comply with His precepts. Therefore, advises the sermon, 'let whoever may desire to be like the death of Christ mortify in himself the desires of the flesh'. In Christ, repeats the sermon, we celebrate the true pascha. Just like the destroyer angel, seeing the doorposts of the sons of Israel smeared with the blood of a lamb, passed over them, so too the Devil seeing our foreheads fortified by the sign of Christ's Passion passes by, and dares not do any harm if he has seen 'beds of the heart fortified by the protection of the will of God'. Christ snatched those whom He liberated from the power of the shadows by His grace from the 'Egyptian affliction'. For just as in times of yore He immersed Pharaoh and the Egyptians in the Red Sea, He works in us through baptism, so that no guilt of past iniquity perdures in us. We follow the true Christ to the Promised Land, just like the sons of Israel did Joshua; we worship the Saviour with the correct faith, and recognize in Him the true substance of the true God and man in one person. Thus the simile compares Joshua, the successor of Moses who led the Israelites across the River Jordan to Canaan, with Christ, who will lead those who have entered into a covenant with God through baptism to eternal life. The conclusion encourages the audience to follow in the

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caelestis patriae amorem. O miseri christiani qui in Aegypto sunt, id est sub potestate diaboli, et gaudent in malis suis. Moneo, quapropter, fratres, ut celebretis pascha, id est transitum faciatis.'

<sup>45</sup> Printed by Mai as no.115, reprt. in PLS 4:1220-1: 'Pascha enim quod hodie celebramus, transitus sive transcensus interpretatur. Nos quoque si veraciter pascha transitum Domini, quo ille de morte ad vitam transcendit, celebrare cupimus, debemus eundem cotidie transitum imitari, quem colimus.' The source for the majority of this sermon is Caesarius, *Sermones*, CCSL 104, serm. 204.1-2, pp.819-20, but the passage just quoted appears to be an original contribution by our author.



footsteps of the example shown by Christ and to demonstrate it in true charity to their brothers. Thus in this sermon the allegorical sense of Scripture comes to the fore: the crossing of the Red Sea is a sign or type of Christian baptism, an idea which was elaborated from the earliest times in the baptismal liturgy.<sup>46</sup> The whole sermon is deftly constructed around the crossover theme: in concert with Christ's passage from death to life, the audience should cross from vice to virtue to keep the feast reverently.

### Conclusion

In this chapter we have seen how our author fulfilled the demand of the Carolingian reform legislation to preach Scripture. In the sermons the events of the Old Testament are connected with the New Testament via the drawing of allegories with Christ's life. The exegesis is both traditional and straightforward. Besides drawing typological parallels between events of the Old and New Testament, the sermons sought to encourage the audience to amend their conduct according to Christ's example. To this end, moral lessons are drawn from the Bible and impressed upon the listeners. In the next chapter we shall move on to examine a series of sermons on the subjects of confession and penance, themes that, as we have seen already many times, crop up over and over again throughout the collection.

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<sup>46</sup> Mohrmann, 'Pascha, passio, transitus', 215-6. On the historical development of the celebration of Easter see Gonnet, 'La Pâque', *passim*.



## IV. 'Confessio et paenitentia': Lay Sinfulness and its Expiation

### Introduction

This chapter will treat a cycle of twelve sermons (XLI-LII) on the subjects of confession and penance, placed liturgically in the collection during Lent. An emphasis on confession and penance for sins committed by the laity in different literary genres was not the least bit unusual in this period – the subject is accentuated for example in Arn's pastoral instruction of c.800,<sup>1</sup> and a sermon preached by him in 806,<sup>2</sup> as well as in other contemporary sermonaries (see below) – but the compiler of our sermonary seems to be nigh on obsessed with the dyad! There are various instances when formulaic exhortations to confess and do penance not present in the original source are interpolated into a sermon, or where a sermon ends with a similarly phrased exhortation. For example, a side by side comparison between sermon LV and its source brings out the point clearly:

LV. DE DISPARATIONE PECCATI.<sup>3</sup>

Caesarius, *Serm.* 18:<sup>4</sup>

Et tamen non agit paenitentiam, nec confessionem scelerum, nec dignatur lacrimis abluere delictorum maculas. Ideo quia non recte quaerit indulgentiam non meretur, ne ergo desperando quis pereat, audiat Dominum dicentem: *Nolo...*

Ideo noli ire in contrarium Deo, nec desperare pro scelerum enormitate; conuertere ad Dominum paenitendo, ac peccata quae commiseras flendo atque confitendo, et ipse ad te reuertitur miserando...

Et differt de die in diem, et subito intrat illi dies extremus mortis: et perit dilatio, et restat damnatio.

4. Ad ambos itaque scriptura loquitur. Desperando volebas perire? Audi dominum dicentem: NOLO...

Coepisti redire a praecipitio desperationis, sed velud in medio sta: nolo te ire in contrario. Nec de peccatis tuis desperatione diffidas, nec de vita longiore confidas. Convertere ergo. Cras, inquit, me converto...

<sup>1</sup> R. Étaix, 'Un manuel de pastorale de l'époque carolingienne (Clm 27152)', *RB*, 91 (1981), 105-30, at 118: 'Et si per neglectum aliquis peccauerit, ipsum sacerdos praedicet et doceat qualiter ad ecclesiam Dei reuertatur, et confessionem suam coram sacerdote Deo offerat, et de neglectis penitentiam agat, et emendatus in ouile sancto sit reuocatus, postquam cessat mala agere, post aliquod tempus iuxta uerbum episcopi uel presbyteri festis diebus non cesset communicare'.

<sup>2</sup> Pokorny, 'Ein unbekannter Synodalsermo', 390: 'Ideoque oportet nosmetipsos primitus condigna emendatione corrigere, dignis quoque castigationibus in confessione et penitentia emendare, et quicquid usque nunc segnus aut negligentius, quam nostra esset necessitas, fecissemus, hoc primitus coram deo et sanctis eius iusta satisfactione ceterisque ad exemplum pleniter emendare.'

<sup>3</sup> E (ff.169<sup>v</sup>-170<sup>r</sup>); K (ff.80<sup>r</sup>-81<sup>v</sup>); M (ff.56<sup>r</sup>-57<sup>v</sup>); W (ff.71<sup>r</sup>-71<sup>v</sup>). Cf. also the ending of a sermon (no.XVIII) for the passion of St Agnes (21 January) in mss K (f. 26<sup>r</sup>) and W (f.21<sup>v</sup>): 'Cuius igitur nos prouocari oportet exemplo in castitate et munditia uiuere, non solum corporis, sed etiam cordis, ut hic in



Our author mines the works of his staple fare, Isidore and Alcuin, to compose this sequence of texts, but also, and more intriguingly, a treatise by the fifth-century African bishop Victor of Cartenna. But more on this anon. Before we come to the texts themselves, it is as well to outline the broad lines of the historiography on penance in order to afford a context for the sermons.

### The Historiography of Confession and Penance

The debate concerning lay confession has in many ways followed similar lines to that of preaching. Some scholars adhere to a minimalist view in which lay people rarely confessed and did penance, while others take a more positive line, arguing that the surviving penitential manuals and the evidence from episcopal capitularies suggests that regular confession was the norm. The twenty-first canon of Innocent III's decree *Omnis utriusque sexus* at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) enjoined annual confession on all adults, giving an authoritative stamp to an existing duty. Conciliar and episcopal enactments from the eighth to tenth centuries repeatedly stress the requirement for penance and confession at Easter, Pentecost and Christmas, and incorporate injunctions that priests carry penitentials. The Bavarian legislation is certainly not lacking in this regard. The so-called *Capitula Bavarica*, for example, contains a chapter which states that the Christian people should be taught to do proper penance for all their sins and not be ashamed to confess their sins to God 'in the holy church in the presence of priests, who stand as witnesses between us and God'.<sup>5</sup> Another chapter exhorts the laity to show that they are worthy to receive the Eucharist through penance and confession.<sup>6</sup> In addition, other capitularies decree that all priests ought to become acquainted with

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praesenti ueniam delictorum per confessionem et paenitentiam, uel per misericordiam mereamur pauperum, et in futuro cum sanctis Dei aeternam gloriam possidere.' (BHL 156).

<sup>4</sup> *Sermones*, CCSL 103, pp.84-5.

<sup>5</sup> *MGH: Capit. episc. III*, p.195, c.II: 'Ut a presbiteris ammoneatur plebs christiana...ut paenitentiam veram doceantur facere de omnibus peccatis suis et non erubescant confiteri deo peccata sua in ecclesia sancta coram sacerdotibus, qui testes adstant inter nos et deum et a quibus documenta et medicamenta salutis nostrae accipere debeamus, quia, *qui abscondit scelera sua, non dirigitur* [Prov. 28, 13] in viam salutis. Melius est enim hic in praesenti erubescere in conspectu unius hominis quam in futuro iudicio coram cunctis gentibus. Unde nos, dilectissimi, monet apostolus dicens: *Confitemini alterutrum peccata vestra et orate pro invicem, ut salvemini* [Iac. 5, 16].' In nn. 11 and 15 the editor notes that *non erubescant...peccata* and *Melius – gentibus* are probably echoes of an *Ordo ad dandam paenitentiam*. Similar lines can be found in Alcuin's letter 131, plus the rite in Halitgar of Cambrai's penitential.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p.196, c.VI: 'Ut sanctum sacrificium sumere non tardent, sed ante aliquantos se dies ad hoc praeparare conentur, abstinentes a fornicatione necnon et licentia coniugali, ut dignos se exhibeant per paenitentiam et confessionem ipsius domini nostri Iesu Christi corpus et sanguinem percipere...'



penitentials and require the ownership of such handbooks.<sup>7</sup> Arn's pastoral instruction states that 'if anyone has sinned through neglect then the priest himself should preach and teach how he may return to the Church of God.'<sup>8</sup> The sinner ought to offer his confession to God before a priest and do penance; then 'corrected, let him be recalled to the holy sheepfold, after he ceases to do evil, after some time according to the word of the bishop or of the priest let him not desist to communicate on feast days.' The councils of Reisbach, Freising and Salzburg held in 800 and the council of Mainz from 813 have nothing much to say on the subject, probably because generally speaking they are concerned with the conduct of canons, monks and clergy, and not the relationship between the clergy and laity.<sup>9</sup> Finally, a synodal sermon probably preached by Arn stresses the obligation of the clergy to amend the conduct of their flock with appropriate correction; the clergy need to deal out suitable punishments in confession and penance.<sup>10</sup> Penance and confession are also the remedies for those people who have indulged in heathen practices by going to 'bad men or women, soothsayers or sorceresses, enchanter or false scriptures, or to trees or springs or anywhere' to seek assistance for 'the death of animals, pestilence, sickness or various other occurrences' when they should have besought aid from God and the saints in church.<sup>11</sup>

However, Murray has questioned the efficacy of the episcopal *acta*, emphasising that they are prescriptive and not evidence of real practice.<sup>12</sup> He bases this argument on

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<sup>7</sup> *Capitula Frisingensia prima*, *ibid.*, p.204: 'Haec sunt, quae iussa sunt discere omnes ecclesiasticos...VII. Paenitentialem.'; *Capitula Frisingensia secunda*, *ibid.*, p.210, c.III: 'Similiter et in doctrina populorum praedicandi, et confessionem peccatorum, qualiter eos doceant remedium peccatorum'. As the editor notes, what is meant in this example is probably the knowledge of a penitential. The link between preaching and confession here is interesting: preaching was one of the primary means available to instruct the laity about sinful behaviour. See also the *Interrogationes examinationis*, *ibid.*, p.215, c.III: 'Benitentialem quomodo scitis vel intellegitis', and the *Capitula Frisingensia tertia*, *ibid.*, p.229-30, c.XXXII: 'Admonemus, ut unusquisque presbiter bene sibi notum...faciat...libellum poenitentialem...ne indoctus et insipiens inveniatur.'

<sup>8</sup> Étaix, 'Un manuel', 118, c.V: 'Et si per neglectum aliquis peccauerit, ipsum sacerdos praedicet et doceat qualiter ad ecclesiam Dei reuertatur, et confessionem suam coram sacerdote Deo offerat, et de neglectis penitentiam agat, et emendatus in ouile sancto sit reuocatus, postquam cessat mala agere, post aliquod tempus iuxta uerbum episcopi uel presbyteri festis diebus non cesset communicare.'

<sup>9</sup> An exception is c.LIII of the council of Mainz, 'Concerning the incestuous', which states that if they have refused to repent they should be expelled from church until they turn back to penance. See *MGH: Conc. I*, no.36, p.272.

<sup>10</sup> Pokorny, 'Ein unbekannter Synodalsermo', 390: 'Ideoque oportet nosmetipsos primitus condigna emendatione corrigere, dignis quoque castigationibus in confessione et penitentia emendare...'

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 393-4: 'Presbyteri per omnia populum ammoneant, non pro mortalitate animalium, non pro pestilentia, non pro infirmitate aliqua neque pro variis aliis eventibus ad malos viros aut feminas aut ad auguriatrices aut maleficas aut incantatores aut falsas scripturas aut ad arbores vel ad fontes auf [sic] alicubi, nisi ad deum et sanctos eius et ad sanctam matrem ecclesiam dei auxilia querere, nisi ad medicos fideles adiutoria pro infirmitatibus variis sine incantatione; et quisquis hoc fecisset, puram inde agant penitentiam et confessionem...'

<sup>12</sup> A. Murray, 'Confession before 1215', *TRHS*, 6<sup>th</sup> series 3 (1993), 51-81.



the deficiency of references to lay confession in *vitae*, *miracula* and *translationes* from the ninth to the twelfth centuries.<sup>13</sup> In reply to Murray, Rob Meens has pointed out that confession might not normally have been mentioned in narrative sources simply because it was a commonplace.<sup>14</sup> In his study of hagiography written between the fifth and the tenth centuries in Gaul, Vogel discovered innumerable examples of different penitential practices taking place concurrently. These included the confession of private or even public sins in a non-sacramental context before a holy person who would intercede with God on the penitent's behalf, as well as confession followed by sacramental absolution immediately afterwards.<sup>15</sup> A recent article by David Bachrach has furthered the debate by looking at the religious experiences of those men serving in the Carolingian armies.<sup>16</sup> He argues that individual soldiers routinely confessed and accepted penances from priests in the field and that 'the religious behaviour of soldiers can provide some insights into the religious practice of the lay population as a whole'.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, as Bachrach does admit,<sup>18</sup> a problem with his argument is that although campaigns may have been frequent and involved 'a significant portion of the lay population', it is surely disingenuous to extrapolate a model of confession on campaign to the situation at home. Many extenuating circumstances would have made confession more likely on the battlefield, for example, the danger of death, and the increased availability of army chaplains.

More convincing as tangible evidence that lay people did participate regularly in confession are the many surviving manuscript books which contain penitentials.<sup>19</sup> Meens has shown that although penitentials were used in an episcopal juridical milieu at

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<sup>13</sup> Though there is a noteworthy exception in the collection of relic-miracles from Fulda written between 842 and 847, suggesting the pastoral influence of its one-time abbot and leading reformer, Hrabanus Maurus. See *ibid.*, 72-3.

<sup>14</sup> R. Meens, 'The Frequency and Nature of Early Medieval Penance', in P. Biller and A.J. Minnis (eds), *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages* (York, 1998), pp.35-61, at pp.53-4.

<sup>15</sup> C. Vogel, 'La discipline pénitentielle en Gaule des origines au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Le dossier hagiographique', *Revue des sciences religieuses*, 30 (1956), 1-26, 157-186. Vogel concluded on p.186: 'Multiples étaient les moyens de se concilier sûrement le pardon divin...l'aveu [correspondait] à une exigence psychologique ou à une ascèse spirituelle que ne venait pas toujours authentifier l'absolution sacramentelle.' See further R. Price, 'Informal Penance in Early Medieval Christendom', *Studies in Church History*, 40 (2004), 29-38.

<sup>16</sup> D. Bachrach, 'Confession in the *Regnum Francorum* (742-900): The Sources Revisited', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 54 (2003), 3-22.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 8. He continues: '...soldiers were unlikely to have adopted entirely new patterns of religious behaviour or participated in religious practices with which they were unfamiliar when they went to war... the religious behaviour of soldiers can be understood to reflect their passive knowledge of, if not their active participation in, similar rites and ceremonies in the course of their normal lives.'

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 21-2.

<sup>19</sup> The best introduction to the genre is C. Vogel, *Les 'Libri paenitentiales'*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 27 (Turnhout, 1978).



synods, the majority were indeed used by 'simple priests in the daily work of pastoral care'.<sup>20</sup> This is substantiated by their mention in catalogues of priests' possessions and church inventories, as well as the well-worn appearance of some manuscripts.<sup>21</sup> One such manuscript is a codex written 860-75 and described by Paxton as 'a coherently organized book aimed at the education of the secular clergy'.<sup>22</sup> The first section of the book contains texts on penance and confession for the clergy to consider when administering the sacrament to the laity; the last section includes the penitentials of Egbert, a 'Bedan' text, Cummean, and both the prologue and first book of Theodore. However, McKitterick has contended that the impact of penitentials in Francia was ephemeral, and that xenophobic Frankish bishops despised their arcane Irish derivation.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, they were contradictory and illegitimate because they did not possess ancient canonical authority and enhanced the spiritual powers of unskilled priests.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, Frantzen vehemently rejected her argument, maintaining that the bishops desired to regulate, not eradicate, the penitentials at the councils of 813 and

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<sup>20</sup> Meens, 'Frequency', 39-47. See also pp.55-61 for his classification of manuscripts and their hypothetical use. However, a recent article by Meens has shown that in the tenth and eleventh centuries, few new texts were composed: copyists preferred to transcribe those of well-known authors. Moreover, the manuscript context of penitentials, included with other legal texts, suggests a shift towards their use in the milieu of the episcopal court and schoolroom. See idem, 'Penitentials and the Practice of Penance in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *Early Medieval Europe*, 14 (2006), 7-21; S. Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance 900-1200* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp.44-50.

<sup>21</sup> For example, in Bavaria, amongst the *ministerium ecclesiasticum* of the priest Egino, among the *pecunia* (property) of the *ecclesiasticus vir* Baldric, and the inventory of the church at Thannkirchen. See Hammer, 'Country Churches', 14-16. The polyptych of Saint-Remi of Reims, drawn up after 848, includes the inventories of five churches. Of these, Ville-en-Selve, Sault-Saint-Remi and Viel-Saint-Remi owned a penitential. See Devroey, *Le polyptyque de Reims*, pp.14, 46, 53-4. On some penitential manuscripts associated with Salzburg see R.E. Reynolds, 'Canon Law Collections in Early Ninth-Century Salzburg', in *Proceedings of the Fifth International Congress of Medieval Canon Law. Monumenta Iuris Canonici Series C: Subsidia vol. 6* (Vatican, 1980), 15-34.

<sup>22</sup> See F. Paxton, 'Bonus liber: A Late Carolingian Clerical Manual from Lorsch (Bibliotheca Vaticana MS Pal. lat. 485)', in L. Mayali and S.A.J. Tibbetts (eds), *The Two Laws: Studies in Medieval Legal History Dedicated to Stephan Kuttner*, Studies in Medieval and Early Modern Canon Law 1 (Washington D.C., 1990), pp.1-30, at p.3. I have not been able to see Y. Hen, 'A Liturgical Handbook for the Use of a Rural Priest (Brussels, BR, 10127-10144)', in M. Mostert (ed.), *Organising the Written Word, Manuscripts and Texts*, Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy 2 (Turnhout, in press). C. Cubitt, 'Bishops, Priests and Penance in Late Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe*, 14 (2006), 41-63, analyses the manuscript and homiletic evidence for penitential pastoral practice in tenth- and eleventh-century England, making a strong case for penance being a regular part of lay life. She points out that although none of the penitential handbooks she scrutinizes provides evidence for parochial practice, such workaday manuscripts were unlikely to survive. However, the assemblages of penitential texts made for bishops, Old English confessional prayers, forms for absolution and directions for the use of confessors all attest 'to an active pastoral church which perceived penance to be central to its work.'

<sup>23</sup> R. McKitterick (née Pierce), 'The "Frankish" Penitentials', *Studies in Church History*, 11 (1975), 31-9, at 32-3.

<sup>24</sup> Compilers selected tariffs from a variety of exemplars according to their own judgement and prejudices. See T.P. Oakley, 'The Penitentials as Sources for Medieval History', *Speculum*, 15 (1940), 210-23, at 219.



829,<sup>25</sup> and the Frankish penitential tradition was vivacious enough to aid the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon reforms.<sup>26</sup> Further, confession and penance should be seen as both a medicament and a punishment: confession was an opportunity for correction and instruction from a spiritual physician, with the emphasis on a new inward disposition to express sorrow for sin, not just superficial repentance: a message that was amplified in other devotional literature that stressed individual responsibility for spiritual welfare.<sup>27</sup>

It is usual to speak of the Carolingian period as one in which a dichotomous system of penance operated.<sup>28</sup> Late antique canonical penance was literally a once in a lifetime opportunity. Penance was enjoined by bishops upon sinners who had, at least in theory, confessed voluntarily. Penitents were ritually expelled from the Christian community, forming a separate *ordo paenitentium*, and only readmitted once they had atoned for their sins. Penitents were afterwards subject to severe restrictions and disabilities; certain occupations were prohibited, as was marriage. This meant it was often postponed to the deathbed. Moreover, public penance was not applicable to the clergy. In contrast, repeatable private confession and penance developed from the sixth-century Irish monastic practice of monks seeking spiritual help from spiritual directors. Penitents confessed to a priest in private who would consult a penitential and prescribe a suitable penance from the tariff. It was not the practice of confession to a priest as

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<sup>25</sup> A translation of the relevant canons from these councils can be found in J.T. McNeill and H.M. Gamer (eds), *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal libri poenitentiales and Selections from Related Documents* (New York, 1938, reprinted 1965 and 1990), pp.399-403.

<sup>26</sup> A.J. Frantzen, 'The Significance of the Frankish Penitentials', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 30 (1979), 409-21.

<sup>27</sup> A.J. Frantzen, *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, 1983), pp.9-10.

<sup>28</sup> There has been much good work done on penance in recent years. See especially H.P. Forshaw, *The Pastoral Ministry of the Priest-Confessor in the Early Middle Ages, 600-1100* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, London, 1975), *passim*; R. Kottje, 'Busspraxis und Bussritus', in *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, 33 (1987), 369-395; M. de Jong, 'Power and Humility in Carolingian Society: the Public Penance of Louis the Pious', *Early Medieval Europe*, 1 (1992), 29-52; M.S. Driscoll, 'Penance in Transition: Popular Piety and Practice', in L. Larson-Miller (ed.), *Medieval Liturgy: A Book of Essays* (New York and London, 1997), pp.121-163; M. de Jong, 'What was Public about Public Penance? *Paenitentia publica* and Justice in the Carolingian World', in *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo*, 44 (1997), 863-902; M. de Jong, 'Pollution, Penance and Sanctity: Ekkehard's Life of Iso of St Gall', in J. Hill and M. Swan (eds), *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout, 1998), pp.145-58; M.S. Driscoll, *Alcuin et la pénitence à l'époque carolingienne*, Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen Bd. 81 (Münster, 1999) - but see the vitriolic remarks of Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp.355-6 n.80, who points out many errors in this book and states that it 'cannot be regarded as a serious contribution to scholarship'; M. de Jong, 'Transformations of Penance', in F. Theuvs and J.L. Nelson (eds), *Rituals of Power from Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2000), pp.185-224; S. Hamilton, 'The Unique Favour of Penance: The Church and the People c.800-c.1100', in P. Linehan and J. Nelson (eds), *The Medieval World* (London and New York, 2001), pp.229-43; R. Meens, 'Introduction. Penitential Questions: Sin, Satisfaction and Reconciliation in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', *Early Medieval Europe*, 14 (2006), 1-6, provides an excellent overview of recent work and trends. The dichotomy idea was popularized by Cyrille Vogel, e.g. in his *Le pécheur et la pénitence au moyen âge* (Paris, 1969), pp.24-7.



such, but the manner in which the priest matched the fault to the tariff which was a novelty.<sup>29</sup> Such penances, however, could hardly be done in secret. The Carolingians revitalized public or canonical penance at the reform councils of 813, reserving it for notorious sins that had violated the public order, while private or secret penance was stipulated for private sins. Nonetheless, as Mayke de Jong in particular has highlighted, this division was never so clear-cut in reality, both before and during the Carolingian period. In the hands of Carolingian kings penance also became part of the reform movement as a means of underpinning the *res publica*. The twin traditions of performing sincere penance in a monastery and monastic imprisonment were fused to create an ideology of penitential expiation: political rebels would willingly offer themselves as humble penitents, appealing to the king's mercy, and make amends for their sins in isolation. Penance though, being the sole preserve of bishops, could be a two-edged sword, as Louis the Pious found out to his cost in 833.

As Sarah Hamilton has pointed out, the disciplinary measures included in rules for monks and canons shared the 'vocabulary and repertoire of gestures' with those of canonical penance.<sup>30</sup> The Rule of Benedict distinguished between lesser and graver faults, and between those committed in public and in secret.<sup>31</sup> The punishment (i.e. the penance) decided by the abbot usually consisted of being prevented from taking part in community life, with a reconciliation ceremony to bring the errant back into the fold.<sup>32</sup> The important point to note is that the Rule concentrates on procedures for infringements of monastic discipline; seldom does it speak of confession and penance for sinful conduct.<sup>33</sup> Liturgical confession and penance was 'much less important' in the monastic life than in the secular Church.<sup>34</sup> It seems, then, that the Carolingian compiler's apparent obsession for interposing phrases exhorting regular confession and penance amid his source material would not be suited to an audience of monks, whose ascetic lives were seen as a form of penance anyway. What of an audience of canons?

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<sup>29</sup> Driscoll, *Alcuin*, p.99.

<sup>30</sup> Hamilton, *Penance*, p.77. For much of what follows I am greatly indebted to chapter three of this work, 'Penance and the Regular Life'.

<sup>31</sup> *Rule of Saint Benedict*, trans. McCann, c.24-5, pp.72-5; c.46, pp.108-9.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.*, c.43-44, pp.102-7.

<sup>33</sup> With the exception of *ibid.*, c.7, pp.44-5; c.46, p.108-9. See Hamilton, *Penance*, pp.82-3, 88; Forshaw, *Pastoral Ministry*, p.76ff. notes that penance in the monastic rules had both therapeutic (i.e. concerned with the individual's struggle against sin) and disciplinary (i.e. concerned with order in the community) dimensions.

<sup>34</sup> Hamilton, *Penance*, p.91.



Canons were ordained clergy living according to some kind of rule (mainly that compiled by Chrodegang of Metz in the mid-eighth century), who were allowed to own private property and formed the cathedral chapter, consequently coming into regular contact with the laity. Chrodegang's original rule demanded that canons confess to the bishop biannually, once at the beginning of Lent and again between the middle of August and the start of November.<sup>35</sup> For minor offences such as appearing late at table or breaking something, a canon had to confess without delay to the bishop or his subordinates, making known his misdeed and receiving a suitable punishment 'according to the manner of the offence'.<sup>36</sup> The interpolated rule clarified the penalty for minor sins as preclusion from eating with the rest of the community on that day and not taking part in the church services.<sup>37</sup> The punishment for grievous sins encompassed flogging, imprisonment and public penance the monastic way, with exclusion from the oratory and the refectory and prostration outside the church.<sup>38</sup> However, as Hamilton points out, the later ninth or tenth century interpolated rule also includes a liturgical *ordo* for the reconciliation of penitents who have undergone public penance and another for private penance. In the latter the *monachi* (i.e. canons) are urged to confess each Sabbath to the bishop or prior.<sup>39</sup> Accordingly, in the interpolated rule it seems that liturgical *ordines* for both public and private penance were used alongside penance and confession as matters of internal discipline. Claussen has written that for the canons in Chrodegang's rule, confession was undertaken willingly 'as a tool for improvement and restoration'.<sup>40</sup> But like the rules for monks, confession and penance served to correct faults so as to safeguard the proper order and functioning of the community.

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<sup>35</sup> PL 89:1104C-D, c.XIV, *De confessionibus*: 'Ita constituimus ut in anno, vel binas vices clerus noster confessiones suas ad suum episcopum pure faciat, eis temporibus, una vice in initio Quadragesimae ante Pascha, illa alia vice a medio mense Augusto usque Kalend. Novembris; inter his diebus cum episcopus licentiam habuerit, et cui necesse fuerit, alio tempore suam confessionem ad episcopum, vel ad alium sacerdotem cui episcopus decreverit facere, quandocunque voluerit et opus habet, faciat.' I did not have access to the new edition and translation of the three surviving versions of Chrodegang's rule (*Regula Originalis Chrodegangi, Institutio Canonicorum, Regula Longior Canonicorum*) by Jerome Bertram as *The Chrodegang Rules: The Rules for the Common Life of the Secular Clergy from the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (Aldershot, 2005).

<sup>36</sup> PL 89:1106B-C, c.XVIII, *De his qui in quibusdam levioribus delinquant*.

<sup>37</sup> (From the interpolated rule) PL 89:1070C-D, c.XXVIII, *De his qui in quibusdam levioribus culpis delinquant*.

<sup>38</sup> Original rule, PL 89:1105B-D, c.XV, *De gravioribus culpis*; interpolated rule, PL 89:1070D-1071B, c.XXIX, *De gravioribus culpis*.

<sup>39</sup> Hamilton, *Penance*, pp.100-2.

<sup>40</sup> Claussen, *Reform*, pp.73-9.



### Sources

The most interesting source used for the sermons on penance is the treatise *De paenitentia* by Victor, bishop of Cartenna in Mauretania, north-west Africa, about the middle of the fifth century.<sup>41</sup> For Poschmann, the main issue surrounding this work was the question of the repeatability of canonical penance in the fifth century. The tract emphasizes the importance of confession before God as a prerequisite for forgiveness of sins, not before a priest, but like David, via the publication of one's sins in the penance itself. The cure, that is, the forgiveness of sins, follows immediately after the confession. Poschmann again underlines the fact that here Victor does not mean priestly absolution, but that a long and hard penance is demanded as a requirement for God's forgiveness. Victor's words show that he clearly had public penance in mind; nevertheless Poschmann finds no evidence for the possibility of a second church penance after reconciliation, despite references in the text to God's mercy which can be given to anyone who has sinned again – Poschmann argues that this refers to a personal penance and an inner conversion through God's limitless forgiveness. Of course, a different system of reiterable penance operated in the ninth century: perhaps Victor's work was chosen precisely because, with the minimum of revision, it could also pertain to the changed circumstances.

Four sermons are extracted from Alcuin's letter 131, written initially as a treatise on the importance of confession for the boys of the monastery of Saint Martin at Tours maybe as early as 789.<sup>42</sup> In 802 Alcuin sent his friend Arn a copy of the treatise, along with another of his tracts *De fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis*, originally addressed to Charlemagne. Alcuin divulges in his accompanying letter that Arn had almost certainly previously requested a copy, seemingly for pedagogical usage: 'I consider that it by itself can also suffice for your youths...By no means let that little book escape

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<sup>41</sup> The secondary literature on this particular work is sparse. The only extended treatment I have been able to find is in B. Poschmann, *Die abendländische Kirchenbusse im Ausgang des christlichen Altertums*, Münchener Studien zur historischen Theologie, Heft 7 (Munich, 1928), pp.166-171. Victor's work is often misattributed to the African bishop Victor of Tunnuna (†c.570) or Pseudo-Ambrosius, for instance in the twelfth-century manuscript London, *British Library*, Burney 281, f.1ff. Gennadius of Marseilles, who continued Jerome's *De viris illustribus*, confirms that Victor of Cartenna 'scripsit...de Poenitentia Publicani librum unum, in quo et regulam vivendi poenitentibus juxta Scripturarum auctoritatem instituit...' PL 58:1103A.

<sup>42</sup> See now Driscoll, 'Ad pueros sancti Martini', 37-61; Driscoll, *Alcuin*, pp.147-166. For Bullough's estimation of the scholarly value of Driscoll's work see above, n.28. On Bullough's dating of the letter see chapter II, n.28.



your hands, but let it be copied (*scribatur*) in every possible way.’<sup>43</sup> In the same year Alcuin again wrote to Arn explaining that he had dispatched a certain Fredegisus to him with another *manualis libellus* containing, amongst other works, his *epistola de confessione*. Alcuin asks Arn to receive Fredegisus benevolently, and to remind the scatterbrained Fredegisus to hand over the little book lest he forget.<sup>44</sup> These letters reveal a great deal about Carolingian scholarly networks and book exchange, but more importantly they show that Arn was in possession of at least two copies of Alcuin’s treatise and was encouraged by Alcuin to broadcast it. The reworking of portions of this treatise into sermons here hints at yet another link to Arn and Salzburg. Moreover, on another occasion, at Easter 799, Alcuin wrote to Arn wishing that his clergy ‘should encourage everyone to a pureness of confession, to the compunction of penance, because this is a second baptism in church, so that he who has erred in any misdeed after the first [baptism], may be corrected in this second [baptism].’<sup>45</sup> As Driscoll has shown, Alcuin was an ardent aficionado of regular auricular confession to a priest as the intermediary between God and humankind, absolutely not God alone.<sup>46</sup> A penitent’s interior disposition was equally important for Alcuin, a mechanical confession and perfunctory penance was not enough: a sincere inner conversion and attendant change

<sup>43</sup> MGH: Epp. IV, no.258, p.416: ‘Sed illam [epistola de confessione vel penitentia] direxi, quam pridem habui filiis sancti Martini, quorum est multitudo magna, dictatam atque conscriptam, quae sola vestris quoque iuvenibus sufficere posse arbitror...Qui libellus nullatenus vestras effugiat manus, sed omnimodis scribatur, ut habeatis, quia necessarius est valde fidem volentibus scire catholicam...’ See also Driscoll, *Alcuin*, p.77: ‘On sait qu’Arn était très favorable à la confession et à l’usage des pénitentials, car il demanda à son ami, Alcuin, un traité sur la confession. Arn...tombait d’accord avec son ancien maître sur la nécessité de la confession au prêtre.’

<sup>44</sup> MGH: Epp. IV, no.259, p.417: ‘Direxi dilectioni vestrae per Fredegisum filium meum manualem libellum multa continentem de diversis rebus...Quem libellum posui in manus Fredegisi filii mei. Tu quaere illum ab eo, ne forte in oblivione habeat propter alias occupationes tibi eum reddere...Plura misissem in eum, nisi festinatio eius praeveniret me, ut non habebam tempus eum ordinare, sicut dispositum habui...Obsecro clementissimam benignitatem vestram, o dilectissime Aquila, ut filium meum Fredegisum benigne suscipiatis...’ See also Diesenberger and Wolfram, ‘Arn und Alcuin’, p.105: ‘Aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach war der Brief aus dem Libellus manualis, der für Salzburg gedacht war, die Quelle der vier Predigten im Würzburger Codex und seinen verwandten Handschriften.’

<sup>45</sup> Ibid., no.169, p.278: ‘Hortenturque singuli ad confessionis puritatem, ad poenitentiae compunctionem, quia hoc secundum est bapisma in ecclesia, ut qui post primum in aliquo erravit delicto, in hoc secundo corrigatur.’

<sup>46</sup> Driscoll, *Alcuin*, pp.45ff. On the penitential sermons in our sermonary, cf. *ibid.*, pp.132-3, where Driscoll notes that there is no evidence that it was intended for liturgical usage, but rather that it was ‘probablement employé par les moines comme source d’édification spirituelle’ (p.133 n.168). Driscoll rightly stresses the strong Alcuinian influence on the compiler, but was not aware of Folliet’s article, and puzzlingly states that, ‘Selon l’auteur [Bouhot], ce sermonnaire...a été probablement employé dans une communauté monastique’ (pp.132-3 n.167). This is odd, because Bouhot (p.218) in fact says, ‘Cet ouvrage avait un but pratique: fournir des modèles aux prédicateurs’. Here I can agree with Bullough in his criticism of the work.



of conduct was necessary. The rest of the sermons draw on Isidore and Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*, as is the compiler's wont.

### Sermons XLI-LII

The first of the five sermons culled from Victor of Carthage's work *De paenitentia* commences with the declaration that doing penance for sins is 'a salubrious and necessary thing'. Penance imparts a 'salvific cure' to the heart; it is condemnation of an earlier time, and promised correction in future. Accordingly, penance is restorative and has a reformatory action. Penitents are encouraged to confess their misdemeanours to God: 'spread out the secrets of your iniquity to God, lay bare the secrets of your heart, and remove the lid of the tomb of your soul.' This is because God knows all things that have been done in secret; even if one's tongue has not spoken of them, one's conscience cannot hide them. It is in vain, says sermon XLVII, to consider that one's sins are hidden within the walls of one's heart: 'Everything that you think is hidden lies open to God: though you may be able to avoid human eyes in regard to sins, whatever you have done in secret can in no way escape God's notice.' Similarly, sermon XLIV highlights that everything we do is known to God, nor is anything hidden from Him before it be done; yet God still prefers us to 'reveal the secret of our heart to Him by confessing and to bring forth the deeds with penance', so that 'He may cover up the nudity of our shame by the gift of his leniency'. This sermon offers a biblical analogy, which it summarizes and simplifies: David committed adultery with Uriah's wife Bethsabee, then killed Uriah to cover it up. However, David knew that his sin was clear to God and he confessed straightaway, immediately gaining pardon for his sins. The moral is clear and is elucidated: 'let us convert to the Lord, and let us confess to the Lord, while we bide our time in the passage of the world, and let us prove our repentance by confessing to our judge.'

This cycle of sermons is concerned with repeatable 'private' confession and penance for 'private' sins. This is shown clearly by several references to confessing before priests, such as in an original addition to sermon XLVII where it glosses a passage from Matthew: '*Come to me, all of you who are tired from carrying heavy loads, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke and put it on you* (Mt 11:28-29), that is, bring your hearts and bodies under the yoke to accomplish my commands. *And learn from me humility* and repent your sins, and confess your misdeeds before God, before a priest, and you shall find respite for your souls.' Likewise sermon XLVII avers that God



gives an occasion to accuse ourselves of sins in the presence of a priest, lest the Devil should accuse us in His presence at the Last Judgement. Finally, sermon XLIX alludes to 'the faithful witness of your penance, the Lord Himself and a priest of the Lord'.

The audience is bidden to prepare themselves for the office of confession by ordering their thoughts in their own minds and censuring themselves. This need for soul-searching and interior reflection on one's errant conduct is prevalent throughout the sermons. 'Be concerned for your salvation', commands sermon XLIX, 'if you do not take care of yourself, who else will be helpful for your salvation?...It is a great infidelity not to take care of your salvation.' It is good, says sermon XLVI, that each one should judge himself in this life, and take up that judgement by holding his misdeeds in contempt. Seek yourself at first, so that what you seek, you may find; and when you have found it, you may seek nothing without yourself. The rather trite analogy of confession being akin to the humdrum act of consulting a doctor recurs in several sermons. 'How can a doctor heal a wound', enquires sermon L, 'that a sick man is ashamed to reveal? For God desires our confession, so that He may have just reason of forgiving.' Sins are wounds which the medicament of confession heals: 'In fact you will be able to obtain of man the perfect favour of a remedy, if you do not hide the wounds of your conscience from the doctor. Your confession is the remedy for your wounds and the most certain help for your salvation. An ill person asks for a remedy from the doctor, who often works hard on a doubtful remedy for the sick man.' Just as a sick man seeks to recuperate, so sinners are urged to confess and be healed by 'the most pious doctor'. 'Let us recall therefore our sins,' urges sermon XLIV, 'so that we can escape the abyss of hell. Let us repent from the faith, let us pray from the heart, let us bewail from the entrails, just like the prophet says: *Come let us adore and fall down: and weep before the Lord that made us* (Ps. 94:6).'

The underlying principle behind confession is that we will not be put on trial according to the sins confessed in this life at the Last Judgement. Receiving pardon for sins in this world obviates the need to atone for them in the afterlife, as sermon LII spells out:

'The days of this life are passing, and just like smoke the glory of this world vanishes, and the last hour in which dust returns to dust and the spirit returns to the Lord who gave it, to be judged according to his works, is uncertain for each one of us. The soul will hear whatever it did in secret when it was joined to the flesh here below, if one does not confess here in the world while one may. The diabolical accuser who had counselled the soul to sin will take the stand against us, if we have neglected to anticipate the face of the judge in confession. For whatever sins we humbly confess, the Devil does not



have the power to charge against us. Act now rich and poor, old and young, free yourselves from diabolical slavery.'

It is not provident to put off confession, because you will be judged as you are on the last day, which of course, is known only to God. Although men's conscience be known to God, He prefers it that confession be made audibly.

The role of God's mercy is stressed all the way through these sermons. Confession is efficacious: that is, forgiveness from God immediately follows the confession. Sermon XLII for instance begins by insisting that the audience ponder the works of divine mercy: 'For the clemency of our judge desires that the guilty do not die, but escape damnation.' God does not wish the death of a sinner, but that they be converted. A number of quotations from Scripture which verify this are adduced, including an oft-quoted passage from Isaiah: 'I am he that blotteth out thy transgressions, and will not remember thy sins.' What, asks the sermon, can be found sweeter than this inducement to confession? This passage is further elucidated: 'memory of your deed shall not remain if you do not forget your error: and the magnitude of your crime will be erased if you, pricked by its recollection, do not cease to confess to my ears'. The lesson is clear: God forgets sins that we remember with remorse. In a similar vein sermon XLI juxtaposes earthly and divine justice: worldly judges soon direct one who confesses to punishment, but before God pardon follows at once; if one confesses and does penance, one not only eschews suitable punishments of revenge, but gains pardon and eternal beatitude. Sermon XLIII states that as soon as we play upon God's tenderness by confession and penance, He will open the door of His mercy to us. Confession is spoken of in more or less mechanical terms; the penitent can anticipate an automatic response from God, as in sermon XLVIII: 'But God heals without effort, giving the remedy of pardon without delay...For He alone knows the fragility of His creature, He who awaits only one thing, your confession. There will be no delay in being healed.'

Penance and confession are obligatory because, as our author adds himself in sermon XLIV, 'no one can be without sin, as long as he is surrounded by this mortal flesh.' Thus it is recognized that earthly life itself is intrinsically sinful, but by recalling one's sins one can truly 'escape the abyss of hell'. Sermon XLVII begins by apportioning blame to the Devil for the allures of the world: 'many are the snares of devilish deceit, in desire of the flesh and in other vices of human fragility'. A passage in



sermon XLV, which incorporates another original addition, emphasizes the innately corrupt nature of worldly things:

‘I wish that you would tell me, what is the glory of present things, what are the fruits of this time, what is the use of perishable riches...For in fact every good of this world is perishable, glory of this world is fugitive, delight of this world is extremely harmful, desire of this world is empty and transient, and they lead all those trusting in them to the fire of eternal death. Therefore that good should be loved, that glory embraced, that always to be desired, which no time cuts short, no passage lays waste...Let us therefore shun pompous allurements of this world, and let us reject desires of transitory glory...’

The inspiration for the above passage is obviously Scripture (e.g. 2 Cor 4:18; Col 3:1-10), but it also foreshadows the Augustinian idea of concupiscence which we will encounter in the next chapter. Sermon XLIII actually enumerates specific vices for which restitution must be made. It first asks: ‘Why do we not hurry to emerge from the depths of luxury, from the whirlpool of worldly pleasure...and to take respite from acts full of filth?’ The sins propounded include ‘ambition of worldly pomp’, ‘worldly concupiscence’, being ‘polluted in luxury’ and ‘immersed in drunkenness’. Our author contributes a couple himself for good measure, perhaps aware of some specific mores of his lay audience: they are ‘lost in perjury’, ‘laid waste in odium and homicide, and perverted by other vices.’

What then are the sorts of practical things that can one can do to atone for sin?

Some of these are set out in sermon XLIX:

‘Afflict the body with fasts, and strain to renew the beauty of your soul. Let care for the body be considered of little account; but the body itself is the special adornment of holiness. Devotion to keeping watch, in prayer and in praise of God, is an imitation of the angelic life. Frugality in eating is the food of the soul. If you have something from which you can extend a hand to the poor (for the hand of a poor man is the treasury of Christ), visit the sick, console the grieving, receive pilgrims, refresh those who suffer from hunger or thirst.’

Thus it is the self-denying act of fasting that is the redemptive work *par excellence*, though prayer, almsgiving and charity are also salutary actions. Sermon XLIII tells the audience to, ‘Mourn in sackcloth and ashes, pray always in fasting, fast in prayer, erase sins with alms. Because the things with which the body is afflicted and the beauty of the soul may be restored are precious to God.’ The same types of good works are recommended in sermon XLV, which includes many original additions by our author:

‘Let us wash ourselves therefore with the baptism of penance, so that we can see the Lord with clean heart; let us withdraw evil ways from our souls by confessing our sins and weeping. Let us learn to do justice, let us seek judgement, let us snatch away whatever long-suffering injustices we can, let us assist orphans, let us defend widows



from the powerful and oppressive, and let us comfort those placed in chains or prisons and let us provide assistance to them most willingly, let us redeem captives if we can, and let us recall them to liberty or to their original native land, and let us have concern for all poor and pilgrims just as we can. Let us offer pardon to the offenders amongst us from our hearts, and so doing we may deserve to receive in advance for ourselves what has been promised, which are the rewards of eternal life.'

Penance here, as it was in the early Church when the once-only rule operated, is likened to a second baptism. Admonitions like the ones above added by our author are a commonplace in Carolingian capitularies and conciliar legislation. The so-called 'Missi cuiusdam admonitio' (802?), itself in the form of a sermon, is a typical example: 'give alms to the poor as you are able. Entertain strangers; visit the sick; be merciful to prisoners...redeem the captive, help the oppressed, defend the cause of the widow and orphan; render righteous judgment...'<sup>47</sup> Sermon XLIII discusses the austerity of penance compared to previous luxury. Although it may seem harsh after the delights of the world, it is like a salve: 'Bitter indeed is the taste of the antidote, but what is disagreeable to the throat is salvific and life-giving. So the punishment of penance is harsh, but it is accomplished more easily, if the manner of the fault is treated [in confession]'

Yet it is not enough to perform penances like these perfunctorily. Penance must be done sincerely and contritely, as sermon LI clarifies: 'True penance is not judged by the number of years, but by the bitterness of the soul...Although penance may be of a short time, if it is conducted with the inmost bitterness of the heart, it is not despised by God the just judge, who considers secrets of the heart. For God does not require so much a length of time, as he weighs the integrity of penitents.' Hence the accent is again on the interior temperament of the penitent: one has to feel mental anguish, a compunction of the soul. In addition, it is no use simply doing penance and repeating the same sin. Sermon XLVI contends that penance is only done properly when the malfeasance is condemned and deprecated so it is not committed again in future: 'He does penance worthily, who mourns his guilt with a legitimate penalty, namely by condemning and by crying over what he has done, by bewailing to the same depths as

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<sup>47</sup> *MGH: Capit. I*, no.121, p.239: '...aelemosina facite pauperibus secundum vires vestras. Peregrinos suscipite in domos vestras, infirmos visitate, in is qui in carceribus sunt misericordiam prevete...Redemite captivos, adiuuate iniuste oppressis, defendite viduas et orphanos; iuste iudicate...' For the translation see P.E. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Ontario, 2004), no.14, pp.93-4. Buck, *Admonitio et praedicatio*, pp.397-401 presents a new edition of the capitulary from Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale*, lat. 4613 and Cava dei Tirreni, *Biblioteca della Badia*, 4; he discusses the text, which he dates 802(?), on pp.157-238, 376-94.



was the degree of his proclivity to sin. He does penance worthily, who deplores past evils thus, so that he may not commit them again in future. For he who bewails sin and again permits sin is like someone roughly washing a brick, which makes more clay the more he washes.' We must do penance now, reiterates the sermon, because after death there is no chance.

Other Carolingian sermonaries, do, naturally, contain admonitions to confess and perform penance,<sup>48</sup> but they do not contain material on the subject on the same scale as our collection.<sup>49</sup> In Pseudo-Boniface, for instance, there are merely scattered allusions to the matter. The second sermon tells the audience that those who are not afraid to sin, neither care to confess nor emend their ways by penance, are servants of the Devil. Those that do the latter, in contrast, are sons of God and heirs of eternal beatitude.<sup>50</sup> A passage in sermon VIII notifies the listeners that all sins can be erased by fasting, prayer, abstinence and confession. No one, it adds, can rest secure in their sins, because no one can foreknow their last day; therefore, one should confess and do penance, since God forgives if we are not slow in repenting.<sup>51</sup> Mercier's little collection incorporates a text to be preached at Lent with guidance equivalent to our sermons. The time is at hand, it warns, when you ought to confess your sins to God and to a priest, and blot them out through fasting, prayers, tears and alms.<sup>52</sup> Why does a sinner blush

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<sup>48</sup> E.g. in the 'Italian homiliary' the importance of confessing and doing penance features in seventeen of the sermons – see Martin, *Italian Homiliary*, p.478. On sin in the 'Eusebius Gallicanus' collection see Bailey, *Preaching and Pastoral Care*, pp.140-75. This collection is interesting because, unlike our collection, it was compiled in a period before reiterable private penance, when the restrictions on penitents discouraged laypeople from entering the *ordo paenitentium* until near death. The sermons followed the Augustinian idea that sin was inevitable after baptism, but that one's earthly life itself should be a life of self-imposed repentance and expiatory works to earn salvation (though of course for Augustine salvation depended on the grace of God). This notion was embraced enthusiastically by Caesarius too.

<sup>49</sup> On sermons concerned with penance see further Forshaw, *Pastoral Ministry*, pp.212-6. She sagely remarks (p.212): '...the priest-confessor could find ideas not only for his own instruction and better understanding, but also for the instruction of his people, whether from the pulpit or the confession seat.'

<sup>50</sup> Sermo II.3, PL 89:847A-B: 'Igitur illi qui peccare non metuunt, nec sua peccata curant confiteri, vel per poenitentiam emendare, servi sunt diaboli; qui vero se a peccatis custodire curant, vel sua peccata per confessionem et poenitentiam abluere, et in mandatis Dei vivere gaudent, hi sunt filii dilectionis Dei et haeredes aeternae beatitudinis.'

<sup>51</sup> Sermo VIII, PL 89:859B: 'Similiter jejuniis, et orationibus, et abstinentia carnalium desideriorum, et in confessione et poenitentia omnia possunt deleri peccata. Sed nullus in peccatis suis securus jaceat, quia nemo ultimum praescire poterit diem, sed surgat per confessionem et poenitentiam, et revertatur ad dominum Deum suum, quia pius est ad ignoscendum, si nos pigri non erimus ad poenitendum.' See also sermo III.4, PL 89:849D-850A: 'Et si quis in quolibet peccato lapsus ceciderit, citius per confessionem resurgat, et purget se in poenitentiam, quia Dei misericordia dives est ad ignoscendum peccanti, si se convertere vult ad viam iustitiae...'

<sup>52</sup> *XIV homélies*, ed. Mercier, Sermo in Quadragesima VII.1, p.186: 'Ecce nunc tempus adest, in quo et peccata vestra confiteri Deo et sacerdoti, et per ieiunia et orationes et lacrimas atque elemosinas delere debetis. Quare erubescat peccator manifestare peccata sua, quae et Deo et angelis omnibus atque cunctis electis animabus sunt nota et manifesta? Confessio a morte animam liberat, confessio paradisum aperit,



for shame to disclose his sins when they are known to God, all the angels and the souls of the elect? Putting the rhetorical device of anaphora to good use, the sermon insists that confession frees the soul from death, opens paradise, bestows hope of salvation. Moreover, true penance is anguish of the soul, bitterness of the heart for wrongs done; it is to bewail past evils and not to commit them again. Hrabanus Maurus too brings in some references to the medicament of confession and penance in the course of his collection. In his sermon XIII he touches upon the remission of sin committed after baptism through 'confession and true penance and good works'.<sup>53</sup> In sermon XXVI he instructs his audience to prepare the way for the Lord to their hearts, and 'take away the discredit of sins through confession and penance'.<sup>54</sup> Finally, he includes a sermon (LV) specifically on 'confession and penance and compunction of the heart', sandwiching Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis* chapters XI-XIII between his own prologue and conclusion.<sup>55</sup> Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés includes a few sermons in his collection on penance, but these are apparently for public penitents.<sup>56</sup> One rather unusual item is entitled 'Sermo in porta ecclesiae ad penitentes nondum adeptos reconciliacionem', an exhortatory and consolatory sermon for those who had not yet completed their penances and were waiting to be absolved by the bishop.<sup>57</sup> The Pseudo-Eligius collection likewise has a series of long sermons explicitly addressed in the rubrics to public penitents on Holy Thursday.<sup>58</sup>

What exactly did confession in the ninth century involve? Confession was encouraged at the beginning of Lent. Although unsurprisingly each *ordo* varied, there were usually these stages: first, the sinner is questioned about his faith and sins; next come prayers and the imposition of a penance, generally fasting, though this is usually

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confessio spem salvandi tribuit...His verbis ostenditur quia non meretur iustificari qui in vita sua peccata non vult confiteri. Illa vero confessio vos liberat quae fit cum paenitentia. Paenitentia vera est dolor cordis et amaritudo animae pro malis quae quisque commisit. Paenitentia est et mala praeterita plangere et plangenda iterum non committere...' See also sermo I.2, p.152; sermo III.3, p.164; sermo VI.2, pp.182-3.

<sup>53</sup> Homilia XIII, PL 110:28D-29A: '*Remissionem peccatorum*, quae nobis praestatur munere Redemptoris pleniter in baptismo per fidem, et ea quae post baptismum committimus per confessionem et veram poenitentiam ac bona opera speramus dimitti.' See also homilia XIX, *ibid.*, 39B: 'praeoccupemus faciem Domini in confessione...'

<sup>54</sup> Homilia XXVI, *ibid.*, 52B: 'Praeparemus quoque et nos viam Domino venturo ad corda nostra, tollamus offensiones peccatorum per confessionem et poenitentiam...' Similarly in homilia XXIX, *ibid.*, 56A: 'Mundemus conscientiam nostram ab operibus mortuis, et praeparemus nos ad confessionem tanti nominis.'

<sup>55</sup> Woods, *Critical Edition*, pp.274-83.

<sup>56</sup> 22 *Predigten*, ed. Önnersfors, nos.7-9, pp.100-9.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, no.10, pp.110-12.

<sup>58</sup> Homilia VI, PL 87:612D-613C; homilia VII, *ibid.*, 613D-614B; homilia VIII, *ibid.*, 614B-627A; homilia XI, *ibid.*, 630A-638C.



at the priest's discretion and there was sometimes the possibility of commuting or redeeming fasts for other more manageable good works or money payments;<sup>59</sup> finally, absolution and reconciliation followed the imposition of the penance, though in some rites the reconciliation stage took place separately on Maundy Thursday – a hangover from the system of public penance.<sup>60</sup> A simple rite for administering confession preserved in the so-called *Paenitentiale Sangallense simplex* (St Gall) of the eighth or ninth century, and *Paenitentiale Floriacense* (Fleury) from the beginning of the ninth century, may be taken as an illustrative guide.<sup>61</sup> First of all the priest should encourage the penitent with the 'word of salvation', telling him how the Devil fell from angelic dignity and how man was expelled from paradise. Next he should explain that Christ came into the world for human salvation, conquered the Devil after the Resurrection and redeemed the world from sin. The priest then describes how Christ bequeathed the grace of baptism through the apostles to wash man from his sin, and how sinners can obtain the rewards of eternity by confessing to priests, but those that do not confess are sent into hell forever to be tormented. Finally, the priest recounts that Christ will come at the end of the world to render to each according to his deeds (Rev 22:12). Thereupon the priest interrogates the penitent, enquiring if he believes in the Resurrection and all the things he has just been told; he is next asked if he trusts in the confession judgement of

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<sup>59</sup> The penitential of Halitgar, bishop of Cambrai (817-31), composed c.830 at the invitation of Ebo, archbishop of Rheims, to rectify the contemporary confusion, begins with instructions on how bishops or priests ought to receive penitents. The penance *par excellence*, as already mentioned, was fasting: this the priests should also do, lest they be accused of imposing onerous burdens they themselves were unwilling to do. However, Halitgar prescribes a series of redemptions for cash if the penitent is unable to fast. Text in PL 105:694C-697C. Translated in McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, pp.295-302. On the background to this penitential see R. Kottje, *Die Bussbücher Halitgars von Cambrai und des Hrabanus Maurus: Ihre Überlieferung und ihre Quellen* (Berlin, 1980), pp.4-5. Kottje dates the work to the second quarter of the ninth century on palaeographic evidence from the two oldest manuscripts. See further T.P. Oakley, 'Alleviations of Penance in the Continental Penitentials', *Speculum*, 12 (1937), 488-502. On the significance of the numbers used for the tariffs derived from Old and New Testament symbolism as well as almsgiving as a commutation of penance see A. Angenendt, T. Braucks, R. Busch, and H. Lutterbach, 'Counting Piety in the Early and High Middle Ages', in B. Jussen (ed.), *Ordering Medieval Society: Perspectives on Intellectual and Practical Modes of Shaping Social Relations*, trans. P. Selwyn (Philadelphia, 2001), pp.15-54, at pp.23-38.

<sup>60</sup> On *ordines* and their common features see Forshaw, *Pastoral Ministry*, pp.222-56, 299-327; Kottje, 'Busspraxis', 388-392 is adamant that reconciliation takes place only after the penance has been done – this is borne out by evidence from Halitgar's penitential in PL 105:704C-704D. Hamilton, 'The Unique Favour of Penance', p.233, and eadem, *Practice of Penance*, p.3ff., on the other hand, points out that the question of whether the penitent received immediate absolution at the time of confession or whether he had to wait to be absolved and reconciled with the Church in a separate procedure by a bishop after he had performed his penance remains as yet unresolved. Forshaw's exhaustive inventory of *ordines* proves that they varied on this point, as they did in most others.

<sup>61</sup> *Paenitentiale minora Franciae et Italiae*, ed. R. Kottje, CCSL 156 (Turnhout, 1994), pp.97-8, 119. Translated in McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance*, pp.280-82. For more comment, see Driscoll, *Alcuin*, pp.88ff.



the priest to gain pardon from God. If the penitent acquiesces, the priest questions him about his sins. Both parties ought then to prostrate themselves before the altar, and if the penitent can remember them, they should recite a series of Psalms together, with the penitent preferably groaning and weeping. Afterwards they should rise together and once more the priest should enquire if the penitent believes in pardon for the confession and if he is willing to accept penance. The penitent must promise in words to observe as far as he can whatever will have been decided. Afterwards, the priest or deacon says the collects above his head, and then, prostrate again, the penitent is commended to God (the reconciliation).<sup>62</sup> At this point the duration of the penance he ought to observe is affirmed to the penitent, according to his guilt or devotion.

### Conclusion

In sum, our sermons promulgate a consistent and persuasive rationale for confession. All sins that we commit, even though they may be unbeknownst to nobody but ourselves, are known to God. This being so, the most merciful Lord has provided a salubrious method of reparation. If sins are confessed promptly before priests forgiveness follows immediately. The concept of self-help pervades the sermons: the audience needs to be proactive and take responsibility for their own salvation. If the possibility of confession is neglected in this present life, those sins which we inevitably commit will come back to haunt us at the Last Judgement. Penance is only done properly when it involves metanoia, a reorientation of one's way of life, a spiritual conversion. As already mentioned, these sermons on confession and penance seem, in concert with the collection as a whole, to be aimed at a lay audience, but there is no reason why they could not also apply to clerics. Rob Meens has said: 'How far the rite of confession penetrated medieval society is therefore an indication of the nature and extent of that society's religious beliefs.'<sup>63</sup> Of course, the mere presence of frequent exhortations throughout the sermons to confess and do penance and the presence of these sermons on those very themes cannot support the argument that lay people regularly confessed. It does confirm though that whoever commissioned and compiled this sermonary viewed confession and penance as fundamental to the lives of his audience, and felt the need to scavenge for texts which could form the basis of sermons

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<sup>62</sup> As Forshaw, *Pastoral Ministry*, p.322 notes, in this *ordo* the reconciliation (rather unusually) precedes the imposition of the penance.

<sup>63</sup> Meens, 'Introduction. Penitential Questions', 1.



explaining why confession and penance were essential and what they accomplished. These sermons also attempt to regulate the practice of confession and penance by insisting on confession to a priest. In the next chapter we will look at four unedited sermons on almsgiving, the paramount expiatory act of penance, and see how it is integrated within the Augustinian theory of concupiscence.



## V. Four Pseudo-Augustinian Sermons '*De concupiscentia fugienda*'

### Introduction

As we have seen, the original author of the texts upon which our compiler based his sermons is usually indicated, on the whole accurately, in the rubrics. The sources for the greater part of the collection have now been identified, but there remain a few unedited sermons for which no source is known. It is just possible that certain of these might be original Carolingian compositions, but it does not seem very likely. Although the compiler sometimes shows a great deal of autonomy in reworking his source material, any aspirations to originality among Carolingian sermonists were firmly subordinated to the aim of providing an authoritative corpus culled from orthodox authors. In the first part of the sermonary appear an interesting series of four hitherto unedited and unattributed sermons, numbered XII-XV, with which this chapter will be primarily concerned. All four masquerade under the name of Augustine.<sup>1</sup> As noted by Nicole Bériou, it was a common practice for scribes to attribute texts of unknown, or unappealing, provenance to celebrated authors.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, it is possible that the compilers believed the attributions to be true.<sup>3</sup> This chapter will give an account of their contents, and seek to demonstrate that they are the work of the same anonymous author. It will be argued that the core notion of concupiscence present in the sermons should be interpreted in the context of Augustinian doctrine on the subject. An analysis of Augustine's teachings and a brief study of some of his sermons on almsgiving will reveal the extent to which our anonymous sermon writer was influenced, either directly or indirectly, by Augustine. It is also suggested that certain other items in the collection might emanate from the same source as these sermons. The sermons should never be

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<sup>1</sup> The four sermons are listed as nos. 2431-2434 in *Clavis patristica pseudoepigraphorum medii aevi*, vol. I. *Opera homiletica, pars A (Praefatio) (Ambrosius – Augustinus)*, ed. I. Machielsen, CCSL (Turnhout, 1990), pp.541-3. On the vast corpus of Pseudo-Augustinian sermons see the perceptive remarks of A.G. Hamman, 'La transmission des sermons de saint Augustin: les authentiques et les apocryphes', *Augustinianum*, 25 (1985), 311-327.

<sup>2</sup> N. Bériou, 'Les sermons', in J. Berlioz (ed.), *Identifier sources et citations*, L'atelier du médiéviste, 1 (Turnhout, 1994), pp.201-209, at p.208.

<sup>3</sup> C. Lambot, 'Critique interne et sermons de saint Augustin', *RB*, 79 (1969), 134-47, at 135-6: 'Moins encore que l'antiquité, le moyen âge était capable de distinguer le vrai du faux...Autour de lui [Florus of Lyons] et dans la suite, on continua à tenir pratiquement pour augustinien tout sermon intitulé *Sermo s. Augustini*. Nulle critique, nulle défiance même.'



isolated from the historical milieu in which they were compiled. In the final part of this chapter I will attempt to locate these sermons in the context of advice given to the laity on almsgiving by ninth-century churchmen.

### Later Reception

The four sermons in question feature in the manuscripts E, F, K, M, and W. Furthermore, all are included in Robert of Bardi's *Collectorium sermonum sancti Augustini*.<sup>4</sup> Robert was chancellor of the Sorbonne from 1336 until his death in 1349. In addition to some other minor Augustinian works, Robert collected and put together a compilation of Augustine's sermons, of which his work sometimes provides unique manuscript testimony. Given its enormous size, the work was divided into two volumes: it used to be thought that only the first part survived,<sup>5</sup> but a manuscript containing the second part comprising the last three sections was discovered in the University Library of Valencia, ms 481 (V).<sup>6</sup> At Robert's behest, the monk John of Fayt (†1395) compiled an index to the *Collectorium*, of which two copies now survive in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.<sup>7</sup> John's aim was to provide a book to which preachers and those engaged in scholastic activity could have frequent recourse in order to locate sermons easily.<sup>8</sup> In his *Tabula* the four sermons newly edited here appear as numbers 21-24 in the fifth section of the *Collectorium*.<sup>9</sup> Robert did not glean these sermons from the manuscript Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 14445, but from another similar collection.<sup>10</sup> As Pozzi has pointed out, Robert was more an assiduous collector than a philologist, content to

<sup>4</sup> See G. Pozzi, 'Roberto de' Bardi e S. Agostino', *Italia medioevale e umanistica*, 1 (1958), 139-53; idem, 'Il Vat. lat. 479 ed altri codici annotati da Roberto de' Bardi', *Miscellanea del Centro di studi medievali*, 2 (1958), 125-65; idem, 'La "Tabula" di Jean de Fayt al "Collectorium" di Roberto de' Bardi', *Italia sacra*, 15 (1970), 257-311.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. A. Wilmart, 'Easter Sermons of St Augustine', *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 28 (1927), 113-144, at 120-1. The first volume is extant in Paris, *Bibliothèque nationale*, lat. 2030; Vatican, Lat. 479; Toledo, Cap. LVIII.

<sup>6</sup> See Pozzi, 'Roberto', 140; idem, 'Il Vat. lat. 479', *passim*; D. Marcelino Gutiérrez del Caño, *Catálogo de los manuscritos existentes en la Biblioteca Universitaria de Valencia* (3 vols, Valencia, 1913), i, p.17, no.607 (40). The call number of this manuscript is now no.481. Pozzi has shown that this manuscript is the counterpart to Vatican, Lat. 479: that is, both were originally Bardi's own annotated copies before being separated in the fourteenth century.

<sup>7</sup> Lat. 2031 and 2032. 2031 is a fourteenth-century manuscript of 104 folios, measuring 335x235mm, written in an Italian script in 2 columns. 2032 is also fourteenth-century, 157ff., 415x305mm, written in a 'southern' (*méridional*) script in 2 columns. See *Catalogue général des manuscrits latins publié sous la direction de Ph. Lauer* (7 vols, Paris, 1939-), ii (nos. 1439-2692), p.287.

<sup>8</sup> Pozzi, 'La "Tabula"', 263.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 304: 'Incipiunt tituli sermonum quinte partis eiusdem Collectorii de ordinamentis et impedimentis ecclesie sive fidelium et de retributionibus ultimis bonorum et malorum.'

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 262: 'Quasi certamente il Bardi non usò il codice, ma esso rappresenta bene il tipo di collezione impiegata.'; Pozzi, 'Roberto', 145, 147; J. Lemarié, 'Homélies inédites de saint Chromace d'Aquilée. Deuxième série', *RB*, 73 (1963), 181-243, at 190, 210.



assemble and organize.<sup>11</sup> He undoubtedly took these sermons' attribution to Augustine at face value. There is no trace of these sermons in Bartholomew of Urbino's (†1350) *Milleloquium sancti Augustini*, a giant compendium containing approximately fifteen thousand excerpts from writings that Bartholomew regarded as Augustinian, arranged under one thousand subject headings.<sup>12</sup> Bartholomew undertook considerable research in compiling his *Milleloquium*, using Robert's *Collectorium* as one of his sources. Sermon XIV did, however, find its way into the late medieval manuscript Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 14635 (R), a theological miscellany made up of acts from church councils, sermons and expositions of the Lord's Prayer and the creed.<sup>13</sup> The relevant section of the manuscript is fourteenth-century and its provenance is St Emmeram, Regensburg.

In addition, some lines from the first part of sermon XII are incorporated into sermon 130 of Hrabanus Maurus's homiliary addressed to the Emperor Lothar (847-55), entitled 'HOMILIA CXXX. HEBDOMADA X POST PENTECOSTEN. Lectio Epistolae ad Corinthios'.<sup>14</sup> This massive homiliary commented on the Gospel and Epistle readings of the liturgical year, and was compiled from the writings of the Fathers at the emperor's request.<sup>15</sup> Around 854-5 Hrabanus sent to Lothar the first book of the work, of which only one incomplete manuscript now survives. Homily 130 appears in the second volume of the homiliary, of which no manuscript is today known, but it was published in Cologne in 1626 and re-edited in the *Patrologia latina*. Hrabanus's source for this homily, as for many others, was the collection of homilies on the Epistles known as Pseudo-Bede (no.84).<sup>16</sup> This homiliary dates from the first quarter of the ninth century and was published by J. Gymnicus at Cologne in 1535.<sup>17</sup> It comprises 124 homilies encompassing the entire liturgical cycle. The manuscript

<sup>11</sup> Pozzi, 'La "Tabula"', 258-9; idem, 'Roberto', 152-3.

<sup>12</sup> Bartholomew of Urbino, *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Hipponensis episcopi Milleloquium veritatis a F. Bartholomaeo Urbinate episcopo digestum* (2 vols, Brescia, 1734). For a useful summary of Bartholomew's intentions and methods of composition see R. Arbesmann, 'The Question of the Authorship of the "Milleloquium veritatis sancti Augustini"', in *Paradosis: Studies in Memory of E.A. Quain* (Fordham, 1976), pp.169-187, at pp.169-174; and also B.M. Peebles, 'The Verse Embellishments of the "Milleloquium sancti Augustini"', *Traditio*, 10 (1954), 555-66, at 555-7.

<sup>13</sup> Clm 14635 (Em G 19), s.xiv-xv, ff.203, 220x150mm, 2 cols, prov. St Emmeram, Regensburg, ff.80<sup>v</sup>1-83<sup>v</sup>2 sermo, inc.: Audi ergo homo qui huius saeculi. See R. Kurz, *Die handschriftliche Überlieferung der Werke des heiligen Augustinus. Band V/2: Bundesrepublik Deutschland und Westberlin, Verzeichnis nach Bibliotheken*, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 350 (Vienna, 1979), p.361.

<sup>14</sup> PL 110:394-5.

<sup>15</sup> See Étaix, 'L'homélaire', 211-240.

<sup>16</sup> Barré, *Les homéliaires*, p.307.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., pp.6-10.



witnesses attest to its widespread diffusion and probable composition in Bavaria. A comparison of the text from all three is revealing:

<i>XII. De concupiscentia fugienda. Omilia sancti Augustini:</i>	Hrabanus Maurus, <i>Homilia CXXX. Hebdomada X post Pentecosten. Lectio Epistolae ad Corinthios:</i> <sup>18</sup>	Pseudo-Bede, <i>Dominica XI. Paulus ad Corinthios. I Cor. 10:</i> <sup>19</sup>
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Beatus apostolus Paulus, in cuius ore ad nostram salutem locutus est Christus, noxiam nobis concupiscentiam deuitare docet dicens: *Magna est enim pietas cum sufficientia. Nihil enim intulimus etc.* Ecce uerax medicus, nobis a Domino destinatus, ostendit salubria quae tenenda sunt nobis, demonstraui noxia, quae necesse est, ut caueantur a nobis, ut agnoscentes pestiferam radicem ex qua mentis infirmitas pullulat, adtendamus qualiter salus nostra diuino munere reparetur.

Ecce quam peritus medicus apostolus Paulus coelestis medici Christi veri veraxque discipulus, qui ad removendam diuturnam infirmitatem nostram, et ad instaurandam in nobis corporis et animae sanitatem nobis a Domino destinatus, ostendit salubria quae tenenda sunt, ubique in praedicatione sua demonstraui quae noxia, quae cavenda sunt, unde in praesenti lectione quam audistis, sub figura infidelis Israelitici populi nos admonet dicens: *Fratres, non simus concupiscentes malorum, sicut et illi concupierunt.* Nam illi propter malam cupiditatem in deserto prostrati sunt, ita ut nullus ex illa innumerabili plebe qui de Aegypto exierant nisi duo terram repromissionis intrarent, quod nobis in eorum figura cavendum est; Aegyptus enim hunc mundum significat, unde nos sumus per abrenuntiationem diaboli et omnium operum eius egressi, et omnibus concupiscentiis carnis abnegantes, Deo nos servituros promisimus, ut terram repromissionis,

Ecce quam peritus medicus apostolus Paulus, coelestis medici Christi ueri, ueraxque discipulis, qui ad remouendam diuturnam infirmitatem nostram, et ad instaurandam nobis corporis, et animae sanitatem, nobis a domino destinatus, ostendit salubria, quae tenenda sunt ubique in praedicatione sua, demonstrauique noxia, quae cauenda sunt. Vnde in praesenti lectione quam audistis, sub figura infidelis Israhelitici populi nos admonet dicens. [Fratres, non simus concupiscentes malorum, sicut et illi concupierunt.] Nam illi propter malam cupiditatem in deserto prostrati sunt, ita ut nullus ex illa innumerabili plebe qui de Aegypto exierant, nisi duo terram repromissionis intrarent. Quod nobis in eodem figura cauendum est. Aegyptus enim hunc mundum significat. Vnde nos sumus per abrenuntiationem diaboli, et omnium operum eius egressi, et omnibus concupiscentiis carnis abnegantes, deo nos servituros promisimus, ut

<sup>18</sup> PL 110:394D-395B.

<sup>19</sup> Ps.-Bede, *Homiliae ueneralis Bedae...in D. Pauli epistolas & alias ueteris & noui testamenti lectiones*, ed. J. Gymnicus (Cologne, 1535), no.84, pp.198-201.



*Radix omnium malorum, inquit, est cupiditas quam quidam appetentes errauerunt a fide et inseruerunt se doloribus multis. O radix pestifera per quam a fide disceditur, et infelix anima doloribus innumeris implicatur! Fugienda est, fratres mei, rerum temporalium insana cupiditas quae mortiferis hominem laqueis inretitum in hoc saeculo excaecat, distentit et cruciat; in futuro autem inextinguibilibus mancipat flammis et sempiternis facit deputare suppliciis. Cupiditas enim est...*

quod est regnum coeleste, sive terram viventium, mereamur in haereditatem percipere; si autem in deserto, hoc est in vasta mundi solitudine post sponsionem quam Domino fecimus iterum ad concupiscentiam mundi labimur, timendum est nobis, ne claudatur subita mortis interruptione, porta regni coelestis, quae nobis aperta est, quo usque in justo permanemus opere, et voluntate fugienda est, fratres charissimi, rerum temporalium insana cupiditas, quae mortiferis hominem laqueis irretitum in hoc saeculo ut exerceat distentat, et cruciat, in futuro autem inextinguibilibus mancipat flammis.

*Neque idololatrae efficiamini...*

terram repromissionis, quod est regnum coeleste, siue terram uiuentium, mereamur in haereditatem percipere. Si autem in deserto hoc est in uasta mundi solitudine, post sponsionem quam domino fecimus, iterum ad concupiscentiam mundi dilabimur, timendum est nobis ne claudatur subito mortis interruptione porta regni coelestis, quae nobis aperta est, quousque in iusto permanemus opere, et uoluntate.

Sequitur: [Neque idolatrae efficiamini...]

Thus Hrabanus reproduces the text of the entire Pseudo-Bedan homily almost verbatim, apart from the passage ‘fugienda est...mancipat flammis’ which does not appear in the edition printed by Gymnicus.<sup>20</sup> This presents difficulties: the compilers of the Pseudo-Bedan homiliary and the Würzburg sermonary might have had access to a common source which was adapted differently by each, or perhaps the compiler of the sermonary used Pseudo-Bede and supplemented this with a different source.<sup>21</sup> The relevant part of sermon XII is considerably shorter, inserting some scriptural quotations but omitting completely the middle section; after ‘flammis’ the sermon deviates completely. The Pseudo-Bedan homily is therefore in all probability closer to the original source. This shows that the compiler of our sermonary took great liberty with his source material,

<sup>20</sup> Raymond Étaix has noted though that the texts in Gymnicus’s edition are often abridged and a few homilies were omitted. See Étaix, ‘Le sermonnaire carolingien’, 133.

<sup>21</sup> Lemarié and Étaix in *Chromatii Aquileiensis Opera*, CCSL 9A (Turnhout, 1974), pp.xvi-xvii state that the sermonary of Würzburg uses Pseudo-Bede, yet no sermons by Chromatius are common to both the Würzburg sermonary and Pseudo-Bede. As we shall see in the next chapter, the text of sermon LXXVII in W and E varies considerably from that which appears in the Pseudo-Bedan homiliary and the Udine manuscript (M). Again, it seems that the compiler of the Würzburg sermonary and that of Pseudo-Bede might both have had access to a common source, adapted in different ways.



and consequently, caution must be exercised when attributing stylistic features to the original author.

### Sermons XII-XV *De concupiscentia fugienda*

The first sermon in the series entitled 'On shunning concupiscence' begins with a scriptural citation from the Apostle Paul's first letter to Timothy, which 'teaches us to avoid harmful concupiscence'. Christ is the physician who, through Paul, reveals what is beneficial and must be upheld, and what is harmful and must be avoided. Love of money is the 'pestilential root' from which a 'weakness of mind sprouts'. Those that covet money err from the faith and their souls are entwined with countless sorrows. Therefore 'insane greed of worldly things' must be shunned, because it 'blinds, tears apart and tortures' men in this world and leads them into the Devil's snares, that is, temptation. In future, greed will lead to 'unquenchable flames' and 'perpetual punishments' in hell. Cupidity is personified as the 'mother of quarrels' and 'ancestress of disputes'. *Cupiditas* can be manifested in anyone, for no end of wealth constrains it, nor is it reduced by abundance or dearth; it can be brought about equally by financial losses or profits. Again, the sermon exhorts to shun *cupiditas* and to listen to the salubrious advice in Mt 6:19-20 where worldly treasures such as garments, money and possessions are contrasted to treasures which are invested in the heavenly kingdom. Give little things to receive immeasurable things, commands the sermon: give transitory goods to obtain everlasting goods. The way to do this is to give alms to the poor and perform good works, because by giving something to the deprived in this life treasure is sent on ahead to heaven to be enjoyed in future. Eternal life can be acquired by donating to the poor such 'perishable property' (*isto caduco commodo*) that is going to be given up on earth.

Sermon XIII commences with the admonition that it is necessary to believe with 'indubitable faith' and to hold constantly 'untiring caution' for the purpose of abhorring *cupiditas*. Through cupidity the first man contrived a pact of damnation with the Devil and confirmed the treaty with death, thus losing the gift of eternal beatitude and being made a slave 'of miseries and of death'.<sup>22</sup> Blinded by carnal desire (*carnali cupiditate*) he scorned the divine precepts and ate the food of the forbidden tree. Accordingly, as much as every miser is made richer by accruing money, he becomes poorer and more

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<sup>22</sup> This is an allusion to the fact that Adam transmitted physical death to the entire human race by his sin. See Gen 2:17; Gen 3:3, 19; Rom 5:12.



wretched: even though his wealth seems to increase, acquisitiveness begets misery. By yearning to increase his wealth, an avaricious person deprives himself of security and happiness: a miser is never satisfied with what he has; he seeks to plunder the possessions of others. A miser should not flatter himself with the Christian name because such an appellation is empty and meaningless if he does not show 'the truth of the Christian name by deeds.' With an implicit allusion to the Gospel,<sup>23</sup> the sermon avers that those who do not feed the hungry, slake the thirst of the thirsty, supply hospitality to pilgrims nor bestow garments to the naked will not acquire the reward of eternal beatitude. The auditors are urged to 'attend Christ in a poor man' and demonstrate themselves to be 'faithful payers-out to the poor'. No want of the poor should shatter the hope of blessed reward, because whatever people expend to the poor in His name they are in turn investing in 'a rich Lord'. If the listeners have dedicated themselves faithfully to the Lord in the world, He will enrich them with great wealth in heaven; if they give Him money on earth, He will grant them the eternal kingdom.

The subsequent sermon opens with a forthright address to those that have worldly wealth, offering to divulge how they can safeguard their possessions and not lose them when they perish. In accordance with Scripture,<sup>24</sup> no place on earth is completely free from every anxiety, because wherever money is concealed in the earth it will always be subject to the rapacity of thieves and the depredations of nature. The safest place to store treasure fearlessly has been prepared by the Lord. The Gospel passage revealed what ought to be avoided and shunned. The audience has the safest place where wealth can be stored untroubled (*intrepidus*). Christ is the 'richest and most faithful lord' to whom wealth can be entrusted worry-free. The person of this counsellor should not seem worthless because Christ is the counsellor of God the Father, who made all things from nothing. A series of rhetorical questions ensues: 'How does Christ not reserve riches for you in heaven, He who was deemed worthy to be a pauper on earth for you? How does He deny your wealth to you, He who lay down His soul for you? Look here, whenever you are about to leave from this world, is it proper that you should leave all your things to others, and you, void and empty, should depart henceforth from here?' The argument is that action should be taken now, before death is upon us and it is too late. The sermon proceeds to satirize some imaginary objections to earthly largesse:

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<sup>23</sup> Mt 25:35-46.

<sup>24</sup> Mt 6:19.



‘Perhaps you say that you wish to leave all your possessions to your children. Do this therefore, and asked by friends to grant all your things to your children while still alive you perchance will reply: As long as I am in this world I cannot give away my things. Surely I have not acquired them to be tormented by poverty afterwards?’

Yet, by amassing wealth and attempting to transmit it intact to one’s children one is actually a slave to avarice, because not wishing to be poor in this life for a short time subjects one to eternal poverty. The sermon then asks: ‘You who care anxiously how you may finish that brief life, why do you not think how you may possess eternal, glorious and sumptuous happiness?’ Finally, the audience is urged to make God favourable to them by directing something to Him so that they can leave ‘safely’ from this world. In the context of the Last Judgement, the sermon commands that the listeners render ‘this judge’ favourable to them before they start to render account for their acts.<sup>25</sup> Part of their wealth should be sent on ahead if they do not want to remain in ‘eternal need’. Whatever is placed in the hands of the poor on earth you save intact for yourself in heaven.

The last in this sequence of sermons further discourses on the themes of *cupiditas* and *avaritia*. It launches with the warning that the audience beware lest ‘mind or thought’ should cling to ‘useless and harmful desires’, in order to evade tumbling into ‘the chasm (*praecipitium*) of death’. A harmful desire of transient things, which is the origin of all evil, must be shunned in every possible way. Every miser with amassed riches is but a pauper: he may be rich but paradoxically he also wants. A miser hides away his amassed riches and dreads to impart things that are only going to go to waste. He is burnt by the fire of desire to seize others’ property, and is tormented by fear lest he lose what he has acquired. A miser is wretched while he fears for his own things, more wretched while he covets others’ property, yet most wretched when he desires to seize things he is unable to possess forever. This is because, as the sermon explains, with the passing of every day this frail human life nears its end.<sup>26</sup> An improvident miser promises himself a longer life, but the day is going to come for the miser when he is unable to have money and suffers inescapable punishment. The auditors are exhorted to ‘shun the evil of avarice’, ‘avoid the deadly contagion’ and ‘obtain eternal life without bound’. By pursuing good works with ‘joy and happiness’ and expending to paupers ‘those earthly necessities’, they can acquire the kingdom of heaven ‘at a cheap price’.

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. Mt 12:36; Rom 14:12; 1 Pet 4:5.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. 1 Jn 2:15-17.



Judges, traders, the richest, the ordinary and lowest, masters, slaves, and every man and woman are encouraged to prepare for the possession of the heavenly kingdom, 'because in that place the character of the sharer never restricts the owner, where all equally will possess the whole extent of love.' It is not an abundance of means but a pureness of will that acquires the heavenly kingdom, because God does not only consider how much somebody ought to give but 'from how great a will he may have given'. Therefore, it is necessary that he who has more should give a greater amount, and he who has only small means should be good-willed in heart, because 'God loves a cheerful giver', whom He will make a 'perpetual owner of the heavenly kingdom.'

Thus among the sermons there is not only continuity in argument, but also unity of vocabulary and style: there can be no doubt that all four sermons originally came from the pen of the same author, albeit with an unknowable number of Carolingian modifications. It would be entirely consistent with the compiler's method to harvest a sequence of sermons from the same place: he does this, for instance, with a string of five sermons (XLI-XLV) on penance and confession fashioned from the work *De paenitentia* of the fifth-century African bishop Victor of Cartenna. The principal theme which permeates these sermons is that worldly possessions are ephemeral. Hence in sermon XII they are termed 'perishable, heirless property' (*caducum*): they are relinquished when one dies to children who will also inevitably perish and so on. Only heavenly treasures are eternal and are not lost when one dies. A practical way to invest in heaven is to give alms to the poor and perform good works, because by giving something to the deprived in this life you build up a store of merits or treasure in heaven to be enjoyed in future. Another recurrent argument is that riches do not lead to happiness: a miser always burns with the fire of desire to seize the assets of others and is tormented by fear lest he lose what he has acquired. In essence, worldly goods cannot provide contentment.

The conjecture that these sermons derive from a single author also receives support from an analysis of their Latinity, which contains some distinctive stylistic features. Caution should be exercised here though because there is no way of knowing the extent to which the Carolingian compiler altered his source material: sometimes he remains all too faithful to his source; at other times, he shows considerable freedom. However, the recurrence of certain characteristics in all four sermons is perhaps a fair indication that they are indicative of the original author and not the redactor. First of all, comparable phrases recur, such as 'Fugienda est, fratres mei, rerum temporalium insana



cupiditas' in sermon XII and 'Ideo fugienda est omnimodis rerum transeuntium nociua cupiditas' in sermon XV. There is a similar emphasis on the redeeming nature of Christ's blood, or death, in the doxologies of sermons XIII, XIV and XV. There are some striking instances of alliteration, such as in sermon XII, '*deuitare docet dicens*', from sermon XIII, '*miseriarum mortisque mancipium...carnali cupiditate caecatus*', sermon XIV, '*pellax putredo*', and from sermon XV, '*potest perpetuo possidere...pecuniam potest, et patitur poenam*'.<sup>27</sup> The author reveals a predilection for anaphora, the repetition of the same word at the beginning of successive clauses or sentences. The best illustration comes from sermon XV: '*et ad comparandam talis regni possessionem, omnis intentissime currite, omnis alacriter festinate. Currat iudicator, currat negotiator, currat ditissimus, currat mediocris et infimus, currat dominus, currat et seruus, currant generaliter omnis masculus et femina*'. There are also instances in sermon XII, '*Date...Date...Instate...Date*', sermon XIII, '*et ita per cupiditatem perdidit uitam, perdidit beatitudinem sempiternam*', and sermon XIV, '*ostendit quod caueas, ostendit quo fugias...Ecce habes tutissimum locum...habes ditissimum et fidelissimum dominum*'. The literary contrivance known as polyptoton, repeating a cognate of a word in close proximity, crops up in sermon XV, '*...et regnum caelorum uili uobis pretio comparate; et ad comparandam talis regni possessionem, omnis intentissime currite, omnis alacriter festinate...sed puritas comparat uoluntatis*', also in the same sermon, '*Miser est igitur auarus dum formidat suis, miserior dum inhiat alienis, ut quid autem miserrimus cupit rapere...*', in sermon XIII, '*Nam augescente pecunia, securitas minuitur, rabies egestatis augetur*', and finally in sermon XIV, '*Nec tibi consilarii...consiliarius...consilio*'. On the other hand, the use of *Quapropter* to pass to a new thought and bring the sermon to a close with an exhortatory climax, common to sermons XII and XIV, is something for which the Carolingian author is surely responsible: it also features, for instance, in sermons XI, XXI, XXVII and LXI. A parallel method of structuring the sermons by drawing to a close with 'Ideoque' appears elsewhere (e.g. sermon I).

The author's fondness for word-play and rhyme is noteworthy. The type of word-play employed is paronomasia, using phonetically alike words, or words that are etymologically related, but differ in meaning. In sermon XII for instance there is a series

<sup>27</sup> For definitions of rhetorical terms I follow L. Arbusow, *Colores Rhetorici: Eine Auswahl rhetorischer Figuren und Gemeinplätze als Hilfsmittel für akademische Übungen an mittelalterlichen Texten* (Göttingen, 1948); R.A. Lanham, *A Handlist of Rhetorical Terms* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1991).



of plays on words with *copia* and *inopia*, *efficio* and *effero*, *salubris* and *saluator*: 'Quae nullo copiarum termino concluditur, neque *copia* neque *inopia* minuitur. Nam sicut inruentibus damnis uehementior *efficitur*, ita succedentibus lucris acrius *effertur*. Quapropter, fratres karissimi, fugite malum cupiditatis, audite consilium *salubre* Domini *saluatoris*'. The beginning of sermon XIV plays on the meanings of *pereo* and *perdo*, 'ut nec tu *pereas*, et quod uideris habere non *perdas*', and a line in sermon XV with the similar sounding *successus* and *decessus*, '*Successu* quippe *decessu* dierum, uita hominum festinat ad terminum'. There are good examples of rhyming substantives in sermon XV, 'Currat *iudicator*, currat *negotiator*...Regnum enim caelorum non *copia* facultatis, sed puritas comparat uoluntatis...Et cui sit parua *facultas*, sit in corde magna *uoluntas*.' Antithesis is ubiquitous: the author frequently juxtaposes contrasting words or ideas in parallel clauses. A good example comes from the end of sermon XII, 'Date hic *parua* ut accipiatis *immensa*. Date *transitoria* ut adquiratis *aeterna*', but there are others in sermon XV, such as, '*Abundat* et *eget*', and in sermon XIII, 'Magnis enim uos copiis ditabit in *caelo*, si uos ei fideliter dederitis in *saeculo*.' Taken as a whole, the style of these sermons is forceful and direct: imperatives, jussive subjunctives and gerundives abound. Sermon XIV addresses the audience directly, and includes a diatribe against likely protestations. Their biblical quotations are from the Vulgate, except for the *versio antiqua* variant *exterminat* for the Vulgate reading *demolitur* in sermon XIV.<sup>28</sup> In sum, the recurrence of all these idiosyncratic rhetorical features in each of the sermons strongly suggests that they were adapted from the work of the same author.

### Augustine and Concupiscence

From the sketch of the sermons' content it is perceptible that their core theoretical framework is supplied by a notion of concupiscence which resembles that expressed in the works of Augustine. The idea that a moral feebleness had infected humanity as a result of the Fall was not novel, but it was Augustine, as in so many other areas, who provided the clearest exposition of the doctrine.<sup>29</sup> For Augustine, weakness of will was

<sup>28</sup> Mt 6:19. See P. Sabatier, *Bibliorum sacrorum latinae versiones antiquae* (3 vols, Reims, 1743), iii, p.35.

<sup>29</sup> On this subject see for example F.-J. Thonnard, 'La notion de concupiscence en philosophie augustinienne', *Recherches augustinienes*, 3 (1965), 59-105; A. Sage, 'Péché originel. Naissance d'un dogme', *Revue des études augustinienes*, 13 (1967), 211-248; idem, 'Le péché originel dans la pensée de saint Augustin, de 412 à 430', *Revue des études augustinienes*, 15 (1969), 75-112, esp. 91-97; J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (5<sup>th</sup> ed., London, 1977), pp.361-6; P. Burnell, 'Concupiscence and Moral Freedom in Augustine and before Augustine', *Augustinian Studies*, 26 (1995), 49-63; P. Burnell, 'Concupiscence', in *Augustine Through the Ages: An Encyclopedia*, gen. ed. A.D. Fitzgerald (Grand



an inherited consequence of Adam's sin, along with the penalty of death. Our first parents lived in the Garden of Eden in a state of tranquillity and felicity: they loved God, feared neither ill-health nor death and wanted for nothing.<sup>30</sup> They would have remained in this state of bliss had they not transgressed God's instruction not to eat the fruit from the tree of knowledge of good and evil.<sup>31</sup> However, God made man from nothing and imbued him with free will. Since man was made from nothing and lacked the perfect nature of God it was possible for him to sin, although he could have willed not to.<sup>32</sup> Only the nature of God is unchangeable because it was not made. Obedience, says Augustine, is the mother of all the virtues in a reasonable creature, whilst the fulfilment of its own will in preference to the Creator's is destruction.<sup>33</sup> Adam's evil act was preceded by an evil will, which sprang from pride. 'What is pride', asks Augustine, 'but an appetite for a perverse kind of elevation? For it is a perverse kind of elevation indeed to forsake the foundation upon which the mind should rest, and to become and remain, as it were, one's own foundation. This occurs when a man is too well pleased with himself; and he is too well pleased with himself when he falls away from that immutable good with which he ought rather to have been pleased than with himself.'<sup>34</sup>

The quintessence of Adam's sin was in allowing his will to be directed by pride and love of self rather than love of God.

Since the sin was a despising of God's authority and the defiance of a single undemanding precept when sin might so easily have been avoided, it was just that punishment followed.<sup>35</sup> The consequences of Adam's sin for humanity were twofold. Firstly, God had created man with the potential for immortality had Adam obeyed His commands.<sup>36</sup> Augustine firmly refutes the suggestion that Adam had a natural body and would have died in body regardless of his iniquity, with only death of the soul being the outcome of his sin. He wrote: 'The death of the body also is from sin. If Adam,

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Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, 1999), pp.224-227; J. Rist, 'Augustine of Hippo', in G.R. Evans (ed.), *The Medieval Theologians* (Oxford, 2001), pp.3-23, at pp.8-9, 16-18; J. Yates, 'Was there "Augustinian" Concupiscence in Pre-Augustinian North Africa?', *Augustiniana*, 51 (2001), 39-56; M. Verschoren, 'The Appearance of the Concept Concupiscentia in Augustine's Early Antimanichaean Writings (388-391)', *Augustiniana*, 52 (2002), 199-240.

<sup>30</sup> *De ciuitate Dei*, eds Dombart and Kalb, 14.10.

<sup>31</sup> Gen 2:9; 2:17.

<sup>32</sup> *Contra Iulianum (Opus Imperfectum), tomus posterior, libri IV-VI*, ed. M. Zelzer, CSEL 85/2 (Vienna, 2004), 5.35, 38, pp.232-3, 234-7; English translation: *Answer to the Pelagians, III: Unfinished Work in Answer to Julian*, trans. and notes R.J. Teske, ed. J.E. Rotelle, The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, I/25 (New York, 1999), pp.559, 560-2.

<sup>33</sup> *De ciuitate Dei*, 14.12.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid., 14.13. English translation: *The City of God against the Pagans*, ed. and trans. R.W. Dyson (Cambridge, 1998), p.608; see also sermons 159B.11; 198.33.

<sup>35</sup> *De ciuitate Dei*, 14.12; 14.15.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid., 13.1; 14.1.



therefore, had not sinned, he would not have suffered death even of the body, and therefore he would also have had an immortal body.’<sup>37</sup> Augustine maintains that although Adam had a natural body, it was to be made into an immortal and spiritual body through God’s gift of the tree of life, on the condition that Adam would not sin.<sup>38</sup> Adam suffered death of the soul when God, the soul’s life, deserted it, and later suffered death of the body when the soul, decayed by age, abandoned the body. The death of the whole man is constituted by both these deaths. A second death occurs at the Resurrection when the body and soul are reunited and suffer everlasting punishment.<sup>39</sup>

Secondly, it was through Adam’s disobedience that a proclivity to sin was also transmitted to posterity.<sup>40</sup> Human nature itself was vitiated in Adam and both punishments conveyed to the whole of humankind by conjugal union: ‘whatsoever sprang from their stock should also be subject to the same penalty. For nothing could be born of them which was not what they themselves had been...man the parent is the same thing as man the offspring’.<sup>41</sup> Augustine teaches that *carnalis concupiscentia* in the sense of the lust of sexual arousal first appeared as a result of the Fall.<sup>42</sup> Having wilfully disobeyed God, the souls of our first parents lost the command exercised over their flesh: carnal desires formerly subject to the will surfaced when the will, being free, went against God.<sup>43</sup> When Adam and Eve violated the divine precept and lost their privileged state, this led to their bodies becoming of ‘a diseased and fatal character’, and consequently subject to the same desire in animals to copulate and produce offspring to take the place of those who die.<sup>44</sup> Fittingly, it is disobedience that is the sentence for the primal disobedience:

‘what is the retribution for disobedience if not disobedience itself? For what is man’s misery if not simply his own disobedience to himself, so that, because he would not do what he could, he now cannot do what he would?...For who can count the many things that a man wishes to do but cannot? For he is disobedient to himself: that is, his very mind, and even his lower part, his flesh, do not obey his will. Even against his will his

<sup>37</sup> *De Genesi ad litteram libri duodecim*, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 28 (Vienna, 1894), 6.22. English translation: *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, trans. J.H. Taylor, vol. I books 1-6, Ancient Christian Writers no.41 (New York, 1982), p.203.

<sup>38</sup> *De Genesi ad litteram*, 6.23-25.

<sup>39</sup> *De ciuitate Dei*, 13.15; sermons 62.2; 65.4-8; 173.2; 180.8; 273.1; 306.5; 335B.5; 344.4. See further J.C. Plumpe, ‘Mors secunda’, in *Mélanges Joseph de Ghellinck* (2 vols, Gembloux, 1951), i, pp.387-403.

<sup>40</sup> *De ciuitate Dei*, 13.12-13; 14.1; see also sermon 359B.7.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.3; *City of God*, trans. Dyson, p.543. See also 13.14.

<sup>42</sup> See for example his tract addressed to Simplicianus, bishop of Mainz (b.c.320-400), written in 396: ‘sed concupiscentia carnalis de peccati poena jam regnans, universum genus humanum tanquam totam et unam conspersionem originali reatu in omnia permanente confuderat.’ PL 40:126, 1.20.

<sup>43</sup> *De ciuitate Dei*, 13.13; 14.12; 14.23.

<sup>44</sup> *De Genesi ad litteram*, 11.32.



mind is often troubled; and his flesh endures pain, grows old, and dies, and suffers all manner of things which we should not suffer against our will if our nature were in every way and in all its parts obedient to our will. For, now, the flesh is in such a condition that it simply cannot serve our will. And what difference does it make how this comes about, provided only that we confess that it is through the justice of the Lord God, Whom we refused to serve as His subjects, that our flesh, which once was subject to us, now grieves us because it will not serve us?<sup>45</sup>

Thus the key aspect of concupiscence for Augustine is the incapability of the human mind and flesh to submit to the will. This gives rise to pernicious sexual lust: the will has no control over our procreative organs and engenders the shame of nakedness originally felt by our first parents when their 'eyes were opened' through sin. Evil concupiscence, that is sexual lust, is the means by which Adam's sin is imparted.<sup>46</sup>

Yet concupiscence is not the same as deliberate sin. Concupiscence is the latent sin that dwells in us all and effects evil desires. If the will does not consent to sin and keeps the members in check, sin cannot achieve its purpose. However, if the will yields to the desires, it is indeed we who are sinning:

'If we had no unlawful desires, neither we nor sin itself would do anything wrong in us. When the impulse of illicit desire makes itself felt, however, then even though we do not consent to it and it is therefore not we who are at work, we are nonetheless said to be acting because the desire is not some invasion by a nature not our own, but a symptom of our own sickness. We shall be completely healed from this disease only when we become immortal in soul and body.'<sup>47</sup>

Although baptism removes the guilt of sin, this frailty of will, or concupiscence, remains the human condition, and mankind is solely dependent on God's grace for salvation.<sup>48</sup>

In Augustine's opus, *cupiditas* is often used in conjunction with *concupiscentia*. The two, however, have slightly different shades of meaning. *Cupiditas*, says Augustine, is nothing but a 'love of transient things';<sup>49</sup> it is the 'wicked (*improbis*) will' that is the cause of all evils: it conceives avarice, which 'must be understood in regard

<sup>45</sup> *De ciuitate Dei*, 14.15; *City of God*, trans. Dyson, pp.612-13.

<sup>46</sup> *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, eds C.F. Vrba and J. Zycha, CSEL 42 (Vienna, 1902), 1.5.6; 1.6.7; 1.22.24.

<sup>47</sup> *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, eds E. Dekkers and J. Fraipont, CCSL 40 (Turnhout, 1956), psalmus 118, sermo 3.1; English translation: *Expositions of the Psalms, 99-120*, trans. M. Boulding, ed. B. Ramsay, The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, III/19 (New York, 2003), p.352. Cf. sermons 30.4-6; 53A.12; 77A.2-3; 128.12-13; 151.1-7; 152.2; 154.8-13; 154A.2-4; 155.2; 155.9, 12-13; 156.2, 6-7, 12; 163.6; 163A.2; 335J.2-4.

<sup>48</sup> *De nuptiis et concupiscentia*, 1.25.28; 1.26.29; *De peccatorum meritis et remissione et de baptismo paruulorum*, eds C.F. Vrba and J. Zycha, CSEL 60 (Vienna, 1913), 1.39.70; 2.28.45.

<sup>49</sup> 'nihil aliud est cupiditas nisi amor rerum transeuntium'. *De diuersis quaestionibus octoginta tribus*, ed. A. Mutzenbecher, CCSL 44A (Turnhout, 1975), quaestio 33, p.48.



to all things which are desired immoderately, wherever anyone wishes more than is sufficient'.<sup>50</sup> In the *City of God* an amplification of this definition can be found: *cupiditas* is the generic word for all desires.<sup>51</sup> As Augustine makes clear in one of his sermons, *carnalis cupiditas* encompasses far more than desires of the flesh alone:

'He [St Paul] gives the name of sin, you see, to that from which all sins spring, namely to the lust of the flesh. Whatever kinds of sin there are, in words, in deeds, in thoughts, they spring from nothing else but unlawful pleasure. So if we stand up to this unlawful pleasure, if we don't consent to it, if we don't provide it with our members to be its weapons, then sin doesn't reign in our mortal bodies [cf. Rom 6:12]. Sin, after all, first has to lose its power to reign, and that is how it fades away...Here, you see, it loses its power to reign when we *don't go after our lusts* (Sir 18:30)...'<sup>52</sup>

For Augustine then carnal desire, evil desire and unlawful pleasure are all synonymous and are the fountain from which all sins spring. Sins are manifested in many different guises, but all arise from concupiscence: the innate human tendency to seek satisfaction independent of God, either in lusts of the flesh or anything lusted after immoderately.<sup>53</sup>

For Augustine, love is to crave something for its own sake.<sup>54</sup> Every craving has an object, a 'good'. Once we have this 'good', our desire ends unless threatened by its loss, whereupon our desire to have turns into a fear of losing. Craving, or love, is the human desire to gain possession of the 'good' which will make us happy. So long as we desire temporal things we are bound by craving and fear.<sup>55</sup> *Cupiditas* is human love seeking happiness in a sphere that cannot provide fulfilment: the sphere of transitory things which originate and perish independently of man, or which man will lose anyway

<sup>50</sup> 'avaritia enim...in omnibus rebus quae immoderate cupiuntur intellegenda est, ubicumque omnino plus vult quisque quam sat est. Haec autem avaritia cupiditas est, cupiditas porro improba uoluntas est.' *De libero arbitrio*, ed. W.M. Green, CCSL 29 (Turnhout, 1970), 3.17, pp.303-4.

<sup>51</sup> *De ciuitate Dei*, 14.15: 'uoluptatem uero praecedat appetitus quidam, qui sentitur in carne quasi cupiditas eius, sicut fames et sitis et ea, quae in genitalibus usitatus libido nominatur, cum hoc sit generale uocabulum omnis cupiditatis.'

<sup>52</sup> Sermon 155.1, PL 38:841: 'Hoc enim peccati nomine appellat, unde oriuntur cuncta peccata, id est, ex carnali concupiscentia. Quidquid enim est peccatorum in dictis, in factis, in cogitationibus, non exoriuntur nisi ex mala cupiditate, non exoriuntur nisi ex illicita delectatione. Huic ergo illicitae delectationi si resistamus, si non consentiamus, si membra velut arma non ministremus; non regnat peccatum in nostro mortali corpore. Peccatum enim ante regnum perdit, et sic perit...Hic enim regnum perdit, quando post concupiscentias nostras non imus.' English translation: *Sermons (148-183) on the New Testament*, translation and notes E. Hill, ed. J.E. Rotelle, The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, III/5 (New York, 1992), p.84.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. 1 Jn 2:16-17.

<sup>54</sup> For what follows, see H. Arendt, *Love and Saint Augustine*, ed. and trans. J.V. Scott and J.C. Stark (Chicago and London, 1996), esp. pp.9-23. Arendt bases her exposition largely on what Augustine wrote in his *De diversis quaestionibus* (388-96). See *Eighty-three Different Questions*, trans. D.L. Mosher, The Fathers of the Church, A New Translation, vol. 70 (Washington D.C., 1982), chs 33-6, pp.62-71. See also W.R. O'Connor, 'The *Uti/Frui* Distinction in Augustine's Ethics', *Augustinian Studies*, 14 (1983), 45-62.

<sup>55</sup> E.g. sermon 68.10.



when he dies.<sup>56</sup> As Augustine says in sermon 177: 'In Adam too the root of all evils was avarice. You see, he wanted more than he had received, because God had not been enough for him.'<sup>57</sup> *Caritas*, right love, seeks a state of fearlessness from not obtaining what is desired nor fear of losing it, which can only be achieved in eternity. Therefore, it is only in our love of God that we find permanent and enduring happiness without the fear of loss. In *De doctrina Christiana* Augustine states:

'To enjoy something is to hold fast to it in love for its own sake. To use something is to apply whatever it may be to the purpose of obtaining what you love – if indeed it is something that ought to be loved. (The improper use of something should be termed abuse.)...So in this mortal life we are like travellers away from our Lord: if we wish to return to the homeland where we can be happy we must use this world, not enjoy it... in other words, to ascertain what is eternal and spiritual from corporeal and temporal things.'<sup>58</sup>

Augustine continues further on: 'By love (*caritas*) I mean the impulse of one's mind to enjoy God on his own account and to enjoy oneself and one's neighbour on account of God; and by lust (*cupiditas*) I mean the impulse of one's mind to enjoy oneself and one's neighbour and any corporeal thing not on account of God.'<sup>59</sup> Thus *caritas* is the correct use of worldly possessions for the proper enjoyment of God, which brings happiness and is what should be loved. *Cupiditas*, on the other hand, is the illicit enjoyment of temporal things *propter se*, which should in fact be used as a means to attain the end of happiness.<sup>60</sup> Augustine elaborates:

'A righteous will, then, is a good love; and a perverted will is an evil love. Therefore, love striving to possess what it loves is desire; love possessing and enjoying what it loves is joy; love fleeing what is adverse to it is fear; and love undergoing such adversity when it occurs is grief. Accordingly, these feelings are bad if the love is bad, and good if it is good...It is, however, an established usage that, when we employ the

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<sup>56</sup> Cf. 1 Cor 7:31.

<sup>57</sup> Sermon 177.9, PL 38:959: 'et in ipso adam radix omnium malorum auaritia fuit. Plus enim uoluit, quam accepit, quia deus illi non suffecit.'; *Sermons (148-183) on the New Testament*, trans. Hill, p.286. Cf. sermon 96.2; *De trinitate*, ed. W.J. Mountain, CCSL 50-50A (Turnhout, 1968), 9.8, pp.304-5.

<sup>58</sup> *De doctrina Christiana*, ed. J. Martin, CCSL 32 (Turnhout, 1962), 1.4: 'Frui est enim amore inhaerere, alicui rei propter se ipsam. Uti autem, quod in usum uenerit, ad id, quod amas obtinendum referre, si tamen amandum est. Nam usus illicitus abusus potius uel abusus nominanda est...sic in huius mortalitatis uita peregrinantes a domino, si redire in patriam uolumus, ubi beati esse possimus, utendum est hoc mundo, non fruendum...hoc est, ut de corporalibus temporalibusque rebus aeterna et spiritalia capiamus.' English translation: *De doctrina Christiana*, ed. and trans. R.P.H. Green (Oxford, 1995), pp.15-17. See also sermon 21.1, 3, *Sermones*, ed. Lambot, pp.276-280.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid., 3.10: 'Caritatem uoco motum animi ad fruendum deo propter ipsum et se atque proximo propter deum: cupiditatem autem motum animi ad fruendum se et proximo et quolibet corpore non propter deum.'; *De doctrina Christiana*, trans. Green, p.149.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. sermon 61.11, PL 38:413: 'Ergo non sperare in incerto diuitiarum, sed in Deo vivo, qui praestat nobis omnia abundanter ad fruendum: temporalia, et aeterna. Sed magis ad fruendum, aeterna; ad utendum temporalia. Temporalia, tanquam viatoribus; aeterna, tanquam habitatoribus. Temporalia, unde bona faciamus; aeterna, unde boni efficiamur.'



words *cupiditas* or *concupiscentia* without adding what it is that is desired, they signify “desire” in a bad sense.’<sup>61</sup>

In fact, Augustine’s two cities are formed of two loves: the earthly city by love of self and contempt of God; the heavenly by love of God and contempt of self.<sup>62</sup> That is, a love of what is temporal and changing, against a love of what is unchanging and eternal.

How does Augustine’s theology translate into the practical advice on almsgiving he gives in his sermons? A fragment of a lost Augustinian sermon ‘De eleemosyna’ is most interesting in this regard, because it contains a similar line of reasoning and terminology comparable to these sermons.<sup>63</sup> Augustine begins by quoting Proverbs 22:2: ‘The rich and the poor have this in common: the Lord made them both’. Augustine then says that the rich can be relieved from their burdens by giving to the poor what they have accrued by their labours.<sup>64</sup> He then directs his audience to ‘give from what you have, to receive what you do not have.’<sup>65</sup> What the audience does not have is eternal life: if they give, it will be given to them. Augustine compares a beggar (*mendicus*) knocking at the door of a rich man with a rich man knocking on heaven’s door. He then constructs an imaginary scene in which a poor man says to a rich man: ‘I ask for bread, and you do not give, you ask for life, and you do not receive. Let us consider, which of us may suffer the greater loss, I, cheated from a morsel or you, deprived from eternal life?...I, burning with hunger or you, burnt by fire and surrendered to greedy flames?’<sup>66</sup> Augustine next appeals directly to the rich to listen to his advice: they must redeem their sins with alms; they are not to brood upon gold because, quoting the Bible, ‘naked you emerged from your mother’s womb, naked you are going to return into the earth’.<sup>67</sup> The argument follows that the rich should grant money whether collected by fair means or foul to reach the heavenly kingdom. An allusion is drawn

<sup>61</sup> *De ciuitate Dei*, 14.7; *City of God*, trans. Dyson, p.592; *Enarrationes in Psalmos*, psalmus 118, sermo 8.3-4.

<sup>62</sup> *De ciuitate Dei*, 14.4; 14.28.

<sup>63</sup> F. Haffner, ‘Unveröffentlichtes Fragment einer Verlorenen Predigt des Hl. Augustinus’, *RB*, 77 (1967), 325-8. It has been accepted as genuine by P.-P. Verbraken, *Études critiques sur les sermons authentiques de saint Augustin* (Steenbrugis and The Hague, 1976), p.17. The fragment appears in an eleventh-century manuscript, Vatican, lat. 492. It also, in fact, crops up in sermon 57 of the sermonary compiled by Hrabanus Maurus for Haistulf of Mainz. See R. Etaix, ‘Un fragment augustinien transmis par Raban Maur’, *Revue des études augustiniennes*, 28 (1982), 253-6. Hrabanus reproduces the text almost verbatim.

<sup>64</sup> Haffner, ‘Fragment’, 326: ‘Eia, diues, oneribus potes releuari dando pauperibus, quod adquisisti laboribus.’

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 326: ‘Da ergo ex eo, quod habes, ut accipias, quod non habes.’

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, 326: ‘Clamat enim pauper et dicit tibi: “Peto panem, et non das, petis uitam, et non accipis. Videamus, quis nostrum maiore damno laboret, ego, qui fraudor bucella an tu, qui priuaris uita eterna?...ego, qui ardeo fame an tu, qui exurendus es igne et flammis edacibus mancipandus?”’

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, 327: ‘Noli incubare auro; nudus existi de utero matris tuae, nudus es rediturus in terram.’



between giving somebody ten *solidi*, for which one would receive three hundred later, and investing in the Lord by giving ‘a morsel, a coin, a shirt’: God will return the investment with interest and bestow ‘perpetual riches’ upon the giver. For, as Augustine says, ‘what does a rich man have, if he does not have God? What does a poor man not have, if he has God?’<sup>68</sup>

Augustine also treats the subject of *eleemosyna* in his sermon 60, probably inspired by the events of 410 and preached at Carthage in 412.<sup>69</sup> Sermon 60 commences by stating that every man who is in any trouble and incapable himself of choosing the correct course of action looks out for a prudent person from whom he should accept counsel.<sup>70</sup> Whom can one find more prudent than Christ? Augustine describes the life of mortals as a harsh condition: ‘What else does being born here mean, but entry into a wearisome life?’<sup>71</sup> Everyone must drink from the cup that Adam pledged for us, because his sinful transgression cast the whole human race ‘into the days of vanity’. What is the point in men vexing themselves with temporal tribulations, which will soon pass because men are mortal, when they should be concerned to evade those things that abide and endure without end? Amassing earthly treasures for oneself is equally pointless, because one does not know for whom one is acting. Man frets and is anxious to acquire riches, but for whom? This passage is worth quoting at length:

‘You are accumulating wealth, and you don’t know who you are piling it up for. Or if you do know for whom, please, I implore you, tell me too. I’m listening. Who is it? If you are not being disturbed in vain, tell us who you are accumulating wealth for. “Myself,” did you say? You have the nerve to say that, doomed to die as you are? “My children,” did you say? You have the nerve to say that about those who are doomed to die? Remarkable family loyalty, a father making a fortune for his children; or rather, remarkable absurdity: one doomed to die making a fortune for others doomed to die. If the reason you are not doing it for yourself is that you are going to die and leave behind whatever you amass, it’s exactly the same case with your children; they are going to succeed you, but they are not going to stay forever. I won’t raise the question what your children are like, the possibility of what has been amassed by avarice living [*sic*] squanders what your drudgery has amassed. But I leave that aside. It’s quite possible your children will turn out well, they won’t be dissolute; they will keep what you’ve left

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 327: ‘Quid enim habet diues, si deum non habet? Quid non habet pauper, si deum habet?’

<sup>69</sup> PL 38:402-9; better edition and comments in C. Lambot, ‘Sermons LX et CCCLXXXIX de s. Augustin’, *RB*, 58 (1948), 23-52. Translation: *Sermons (51-94) on the New Testament*, translation and notes E. Hill, ed. J.E. Rotelle, The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, III/3 (New York, 1991), pp.132-137. On the date, see P.-M. Hombert, *Nouvelles recherches de chronologie augustiniennne*, Collection des études augustiniennes. Série Antiquité - 163 (Paris, 2000), pp.243-52.

<sup>70</sup> A comparable emphasis on Christ’s counsel appears in sermon XIV. See also Augustine’s sermon 345.2-3.

<sup>71</sup> Lambot, ‘Sermons’, 37, ll.21-2: ‘Quid est aliud hic nasci, nisi ingredi laboriosam uitam?’



them, they will increase what you have kept for them, they won't squander what you have amassed. Your children are equally absurd if they do this...'<sup>72</sup>

Thus Augustine emphasizes the temporary nature of this present life on earth, and derides any notion that accumulating worldly riches through avarice can be of any use for the person enriched, or for his progeny, because they will all eventually pass away. Furthermore, Augustine continues to say that they may be laying up treasure for 'a thief...a brigand...a pirate.'<sup>73</sup> Augustine then moves on to exhort his listeners to seek and ask for counsel with him, taking the advice of Christ to allay their anxieties. Next, Augustine quotes the scriptural passage from Mt 6:19-21, which advocates laying up treasure in heaven, 'where your treasure is, there too will be your heart'. What more, asks Augustine, are you waiting for? The matter is clear, and the counsel lies open, but greed lies hidden, or what is worse, it too lies open. For plunder, avarice and malice to hoard treasure do not cease, he declares. Treasure is put in the earth when your heart is in the earth: treasure is put by earth in earth, after God's words to Adam, 'Earth you are, and into the earth shall you go'.<sup>74</sup> The audience should hear the voice of warning, for Christ who has given such counsel in the Gospels does not want them to lose what they have, but to caution them lest they should lose it. The sermon ends with a refrain to the audience to transport their treasures to heaven.

Augustine's sermon 389 also deals with the subject of almsgiving.<sup>75</sup> In this sermon Augustine begins by stating that he is going to speak to the audience about obtaining heavenly bread, for just as earthly bread is necessary for our earthly lives, so too our souls need to feed on heavenly bread. The bread to which Augustine refers is spiritual nourishment, a personal acceptance of Christ's teaching which will lead to the salvation of one's soul. We should not become conceited about our good works of charity though, warns Augustine, it is the poor who are doing us a favour by receiving our alms. If we have anything to give, and we do not give it, we will leave it behind and

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<sup>72</sup> Ibid., 39, ll.60-71: 'Quia thesaurizas et nescis cui congregas. Aut si scis cui, obsecro te, dic et mihi. Audiam te. Cui? Si non uane conturbaris, dic cui thesaurizas. Mihi, inquis. Hoc audes dicere moriturus? Filiis meis, inquis. Hoc audes dicere de morituris? Magna pietas: thesaurizat pater filiis; immo magna uanitas: thesaurizat moriturus morituris. Si propterea non tibi, quia moriturus dimittis quidquid colligis, haec causa est et filiorum: successuri sunt, non permansuri. Omitto dicere qualibus filiis, ne forte quod congregauit auaritia perdat luxuria...Forte boni erunt filii tui, luxuriosi non erunt; seruabunt quod dimisisti, augebunt quod seruasti, non perdent quod congregasti. Filii tui sunt pariter uani, si hoc faciunt, si te patrem in hoc imitantur.'

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., 40, ll.91-2: 'Forte, inquam, furi, forte latroni, forte praedoni.'

<sup>74</sup> Gen 2:19.

<sup>75</sup> PL 39:1701-4; see also the new edition by Lambot cited in n.69; *Sermons (341-400) on Various Subjects*, translation and notes E. Hill, ed. J.E. Rotelle, The Works of Saint Augustine: A Translation for the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, III/10 (New York, 1995), pp.404-411.



perhaps even lose it while on earth by 'one incursion of the enemy'. A little tongue-in-cheek Augustine remarks: 'Nobody said to the enemy, "I'm keeping it for my children"''.<sup>76</sup> He continues:

'Now what did our Lord Jesus Christ say, what did he say, brothers and sisters, to that rich man who was asking his advice about how to obtain eternal life? What did he say to him? "Lose everything you have"? Certainly, even if he had said, "Lose your temporal possessions, to acquire eternal ones..." All the same, he didn't say to him, "Lose everything you have." He could see, after all, that he was in love with his wealth. He didn't say, "Lose it," but "Transfer it where you won't ever lose it. Are you in love with your treasures? Are you in love with your wealth? Are you in love with your estates? Whatever it is you love, you have it here on earth; you have what you love in a place where you can lose it, and be lost yourself. My advice to you is: transfer it to heaven. If you keep it here, you will lose what you have, and you will perish together with what you lose; but if you keep it there, you haven't lost it, but you will yourself follow what you have sent ahead. So my advice is, Give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven. You won't be left without any treasure, but what you hold on to so anxiously on earth, you will keep in heaven with nothing to worry about at all. So transfer it. I'm giving you advice on how to keep it, not on how to lose it...it's not a question of making a loss, but of making a profit.'<sup>77</sup>

Augustine goes on to compare grain being stored in damp ground and treasure in heaven: a knowing friend will recommend that grain be stored above ground lest it should rot, just as God advises to store treasure in heaven where the heart is, lest the heart too should rot in the earth. Next, the audience is regaled with the story of a man who sold a *solidus* and distributed a tiny amount of the proceeds to the poor. The Devil dispatched a thief to steal away the whole amount from the man, hoping to elicit curses at his rash charity. The man however cursed himself for not giving the whole lot away to a place where thieves could not touch it.<sup>78</sup> Give money to the poor, advises Augustine, for by spending it on food the poor are the porters who transfer it from earth to heaven where it cannot be lost. Those who have been generous in giving will take possession of the heavenly kingdom at the end of the world, because sins are redeemed

<sup>76</sup> Lambot, 'Sermons', 46, ll.90-3: 'Quam multi enim subito bona omnia perdiderunt, quae studiosissime recondebant! Uno impetu hostili uniuersi thesauri diuitum perierunt. Nemo dixit hosti: Filiis meis seruo.'

<sup>77</sup> Ibid., 47, ll.104-21: 'Quid enim dominus noster Iesus Christus, quid dixit diuiti illi quaerenti consilium de capessenda uita aeterna? Quid ei dixit? Dixit ei: Perde quod habes? Plane etiam si hoc diceret: Perde temporalia ut acquiras aeterna. Non ei tamen dixit: Perde quod habes. Videbat enim illum amatorem rerum suarum. Non ait: Perde, sed ait: Migra ubi non perdas. Amas thesauros tuos? Amas pecuniam tuam? Amas diuitias tuas? Amas praedia tua? Quidquid amas in terra habes. Ibi habes quod amas, ubi perdas et pereas. Consilium do: migra in caelum. Hic si habeas, perdes quod habes, peribis cum eo quod perdes; ibi autem si habeas, non amisisti, sed sequeris quo misisti. Consilium ergo do: Da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in caelo. Non sine thesauro remanebis, sed quod habes in terra sollicitus, habebis in caelo securus. Migra ergo. Consilium do seruandi, non perdendi. Habebis, inquit, thesaurum in caelo, et ueni, sequere me, et ducam te ad thesaurum tuum. Non est dispendium, sed compendium. Euigilent homines, audiant...migrent in caelum.'

<sup>78</sup> Augustine tells an almost identical story in sermon 107A.6.



by alms. Finally, Augustine recommends that the congregation give earthly bread and knock at the door of the heavenly bread.

Augustine preached often on the subject of giving to the poor, and certain themes crop up over and over again in his sermons.<sup>79</sup> For example, the notion that the rich must not be despised if they are compassionate and perform good works: a rich man can also be poor if he is humble at heart and abandons himself to God, for this sort of poverty is the spiritual opposite of pride.<sup>80</sup> Likewise, the poor must not boast and be proud of their poverty.<sup>81</sup> An avaricious desire to become rich can lead to destruction.<sup>82</sup> Riches may seem attractive but they are perilous and lead to untold worries: the poor man, on the other hand, is carefree.<sup>83</sup> We brought nothing into the world and cannot take anything with us, but if we store up riches in heaven they will be preserved safely for us.<sup>84</sup> This is portrayed as a profitable financial investment: we give earthly things to receive eternal rewards at a favourable rate of interest.<sup>85</sup> The poor are the porters who carry wealth to the heavenly bank via their efficacious prayers for the donors.<sup>86</sup> It is pointless to hoard wealth on earth for one's children because we are all going to die, and earthly wealth is subject to all kinds of deprivations.<sup>87</sup> One should give according to one's means, for God does not take into consideration people's means, but the willingness with which they give.<sup>88</sup> Alms can help to propitiate God and cleanse us of the inevitable sins we commit in daily life.<sup>89</sup> Finally, Augustine identifies Christ with

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<sup>79</sup> Indeed, it has been calculated that out of Augustine's extant and authentic sermons, 113 have almsgiving as their primary theme or mention it in some capacity. See R.D. Finn, *The Christian Promotion and Practice of Almsgiving in the Later Roman Empire (313-450)* (Unpublished D.Phil. thesis, Oxford, 2001), pp.169-73. Finn concludes (pp.172-3) that this high level of promotion, 'present to a greater or lesser degree in one fifth of the sermons, makes the theme at least as prominent as, and arguably more prominent than, Augustine's promotion of asceticism...and certainly more prominent than promotion of virginity and monastic life...this promotion was a conventional feature of his winter and Lenten preaching...[and] at designated times of fasting...such winter and Lenten exhortation to give alms coincided with a time of likely food shortages and high prices before the new harvest'.

<sup>80</sup> Sermons 14.1-5; 39.4; 61.10-11; 85.2-3; 114B.11-13; 177.7; 345.1; 346A.6; 389.3.

<sup>81</sup> Sermons 14.2-4; 36.7; 85.2; 114B.11-13; 346A.6.

<sup>82</sup> Sermons 14.7-8; 25A.2; 38.6; 39.3; 50.6; 61.10; 85.6; 177.6.

<sup>83</sup> Sermons 14.6; 36.5; 53A.2; 60.3; 259.5.

<sup>84</sup> Sermons 14.6-7; 15A.5; 18.3; 39.2, 5-6; 42.2; 53A.5; 60.5-6; 61.9; 86.2, 10-11; 113.5; 114A.3; 177.1-2, 7; 259.5; 302.8; 337.1; 339.3; 345.2; 359A.14; 367.1-3; 389.4; 390.1. See also Mohrmann, *Die altchristliche Sondersprache*, pp.48-9: 'Ein weiterer beliebter Gedankengang ist bei Augustin folgender: jeder will seine Schätze schützen, damit man sie ihm nicht stiehlt. Weil aber kein irdischer Mensch seine Schätze hinreichend bewahren kann, ist Gott der beste Hüter...man soll seine Schätze bei Gott im Himmel aufheben.'

<sup>85</sup> Sermons 38.8; 42.2; 61.11; 86.1, 3-5; 107A.2; 177.10; 239.5; 335C.9; 350B.1; 390.2. Cf. Prov 19:17.

<sup>86</sup> Sermons 18.4; 25A.4; 38.9; 53A.6; 107A.2; 114A.4.

<sup>87</sup> Sermons 9.20; 14.8; 38.8; 60.2-4; 86.8-9; 177.11; 259.5; 389.4.

<sup>88</sup> Sermons 39.6; 42.2; 85.6; 86.17; 105A.1-2; 107A.7-9; 114B.11-13; 346A.6; 359A.12.

<sup>89</sup> Sermons 9.17; 39.6; 42.1; 198.56; 261.10; 350B.1; 389.6.



the poor, basing his exposition on Mt 25:31-46, and almsgivers with those who will possess the heavenly kingdom.<sup>90</sup>

Many of the ideas mentioned above such as identifying the poor with Christ, portraying almsgiving as usury, and protesting at the accretion of wealth on the grounds of providing a legacy were widespread among the Church Fathers;<sup>91</sup> but it was Augustine above all who emphasized the worthlessness of earthly possessions, seeing man's attempt to find satisfaction in intrinsically evanescent material goods as a result of the concupiscence inherent in the human condition. A comparable emphasis is present in the four sermons edited here. In sermon XII concupiscence is the harmful (*noxius*) condition which causes us to crave riches when we should be content with food and raiment. If concupiscence is the underlying ailment, the symptom is *cupiditas*: it is the pestilential root of all evils, the progenitor of faithlessness and affliction of the soul. What is *cupiditas*? It is the demented desire of temporal things: things which only bring wretchedness in this world and interminable hell-fire in the next. This insane craving for temporal things has no upper limit, no nadir. Sermon XIII explains that it was through *cupiditas* that the first man forged a pact with the Devil, so losing the gift of immortality and becoming a slave, or a possession (*mancipium*), of miseries and death. Adam was 'blinded' by 'carnal cupidity'. How so? Adam disdained God's precepts and made a decision not governed by reason: he could not see beyond himself. He let love of self and a desire for exaltation independently of God dictate his actions. Thus he opted to live according to the flesh, not the Spirit.<sup>92</sup> So is every miser afflicted by the 'miseries' inherited from Adam: an elemental frailty of will underpins his avariciousness. A miser yearns to possess more than is sufficient for his circumstances. He thinks it will lead to happiness; he dreads to lose it once acquired. Yet, possession only leads to increased desolation because gratification is being sought in a sphere which, without God, cannot provide it. Hence in sermons XIII and XV a miser may be materially wealthy but

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<sup>90</sup> Sermons 9.21; 18.4; 25.8; 38.8; 39.6; 41.7; 42.2; 95.7; 113B.4; 114A.4; 123.4; 137.2; 178.4; 206.2; 236.3; 239.4; 259.5; 345.4.

<sup>91</sup> On almsgiving in general see further R. Dolle, 'Un docteur de l'aumône, saint Léon le Grand', *La vie spirituelle*, 96 (1957), 266-284; H. Rondet, 'Richesse et pauvreté dans la prédication de saint Augustin', *Revue d'ascétique et de mystique*, 30 (1954), 193-231, esp. 205-212 and 218-234; B. Ramsey, 'Almsgiving in the Latin Church: The Late Fourth and Early Fifth Centuries', *Theological Studies*, 43 (1982), 226-259, esp. 226-230 and 247-249; A. Fitzgerald, 'Almsgiving in the Works of Saint Augustine', in A. Zumkeller (ed.), *Signum Pietatis: Festgabe für Cornelius Petrus Mayer O.S.A zum 60. Geburtstag* (Würzburg, 1989), pp.445-459; B. Leyerle, 'John Chrysostom on Almsgiving and the Use of Money', *Harvard Theological Review*, 87 (1994), 29-47; R. Newhauser, *The Early History of Greed: The Sin of Avarice in Early Medieval Thought and Literature* (Cambridge, 2000), esp. pp.xii, 16-17, 27-8, 88-95; Finn, *Christian Promotion and Practice of Almsgiving*, esp. pp.157ff.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Rom 8:1-17.



spiritually he is a pauper: he fears for his riches; he dreads poverty; he covets the wealth of others, assuring himself that he will live long enough to enjoy his lucre. Therefore in these sermons, just as in Augustine, concupiscence is the overarching moral malady which allows *cupiditas* to reign: man's proclivity to turn from God to find fulfilment in material things, in this case, worldly wealth.

Like Augustine, our author foresees a beneficial use for earthly possessions. They ought to be 'used', not 'enjoyed'. That is, temporal goods should be used to obtain eternal life, and should not be revelled in for their own sake. The way to do this, as the sermons repeatedly state, is to give to the poor on earth in order to build up treasure in heaven. Temporal goods are described as 'trivial' and 'transitory' in comparison to what is 'immeasurable' and 'eternal'. God will reward with interest in heaven whatever is given to the indigent on earth. These sermons, just as Augustine does, emphasize that earthly possessions are fleeting: they are given up when one dies and are susceptible to loss. The whole thrust of sermon XIV is that there is a way to save worldly possessions, a carrot oft dangled by Augustine. It is definitely not by stockpiling wealth in order to leave it intact as a legacy to one's children: it is by 'using' the wealth in this life and perhaps being poor for a short time that one avoids eternal poverty. In any case, as sermon XV affirms, human life itself is fragile and with every passing day hurtles towards its end. The mortality of one's offspring renders the bequest of one's estate futile. The fundamental message is that by giving to the poor the rich are investing in their own future life in heaven. Yet it is not just the rich who can do this: the portals of heaven are open to anyone, as long as they give willingly according to their means. Furthermore, the somewhat conventionalized portrayal of Christ as a poor man encapsulates the Augustinian belief that in almsgiving one recognizes all Christians as members in Christ.

Besides these governing concepts which clearly owe a debt to Augustinian thought, there are perhaps certain textual parallels in these sermons of Augustine and other authors. For instance, in his sermon 389 Augustine urges his flock to give thanks that something so precious as heaven can be bought *tam uili pretio* (at so cheap a price).<sup>93</sup> Equally, the congregation is implored in sermon XV to purchase the kingdom of heaven *uili pretio* (at a cheap price). Caesarius of Arles also spoke in similar terms in

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<sup>93</sup> Lambot, 'Sermons', 46: 'age illi gratias, qui rem tam pretiosam tam uili pretio te fecit emere.'



one of his sermons,<sup>94</sup> as did Gregory.<sup>95</sup> Augustine's fondness for word-play is well-known, and in several places, including sermon 60, he takes the opportunity to contrast *copia* (plenty) and *inopia* (dearth).<sup>96</sup> This recalls an analogous play on words from sermon XII. Jerome also used the same phrase, as did Caesarius.<sup>97</sup> The word-play in sermon XV in the fatalistic line 'Successu quippe decessu dierum, uita hominum festinat ad terminum' has an echo in Augustine's work *Contra Secundinum*.<sup>98</sup> The antithesis of *minuo* and *augeo* is used by Augustine in his sermon 61 to illustrate how one can do good by disbursing gold and silver to the poor to increase justice.<sup>99</sup> Similarly, sermon XIII contrasts an increase in money with a lessening in security and growing fear of poverty. A like line can be found in John Cassian and in Caesarius.<sup>100</sup> The idea of an abyss, or chasm, of death in sermon XV is a metaphor which usually occurs in the context of heretics. This is the case, for instance, in the work of Filastrius of Brescia (†before 397) and Augustine.<sup>101</sup> It also appears in the work *Admonitio ad*

<sup>94</sup> *Sermones*, CCSL 104, serm. 182.3, p.741: 'Quam parvo constat regnum caelorum! Quam vili pretio tanta possessio proponitur! Proponitur enim in terra, quod possideas in caelo: proponitur in tempore, quod possideas in aeternum.'

<sup>95</sup> Cf. Gregorius Magnus, *Moralia in Iob. Libri I-X*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143 (Turnhout, 1979), lib. 8.43, p.436; *Homiliae in Hiezechielem prophetam*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 142 (Turnhout, 1971), lib.2, hom. 9.16, p.370; *Regula pastoralis*, 3.35, PL 77:120A.

<sup>96</sup> Lambot, 'Sermons', 38: 'ecce undique lucra confluunt, et more fontium nummi currunt; ubique ardet inopia, undique fluit copia'. See also his sermon 210.10, PL 38:1053: 'uoluntaria copiosi inopia, fiat necessaria inopis copia'; and sermon 301A, PL 46:876: 'inter magnas carnis copias inops anima gemebat'; *Confessionum libri tredecim*, ed. L. Verheijen, CCSL 27 (Turnhout, 1981), lib.1.12, p.11, 'ad satiandas insatiabiles cupiditates copiosae inopiae'; *Epistulae*, ed. A. Goldbacher, CSEL 34.2 (Vienna, 1898), 104, p.584, 'eis tamen insatiabiliter inhiando, ut uestrorum ipsorum uerbis utar auctorum, neque copia neque inopia minuitur'. Cf. Gregorius, *Moralia in Iob. Libri XI-XXII*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 143A (Turnhout, 1979), lib.22.3, p.1095: 'omnem praesentis uitae copiam inopiam deputant'

<sup>97</sup> Hieronymus, *Commentarius in Ecclesiasten*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 72 (Turnhout, 1959), ch.5, v.9, pp.294-5, at p.295: 'semper auarus eget, et nobilis historici, quod auaritia neque copia neque inopia minuatur'; *Epistulae*, ed. I. Hilberg, CSEL 55 (Vienna, 1912), 108.20, p.335: 'quae nullis expletur opibus et, quanto amplius habuerit, plus requirit et neque copia neque inopia minuetur'; Caesarius, *Sermones*, CCSL 103, serm. 35.3, p.153: 'sed quanto plus crescit rerum copia, tanto plus augetur cupiditatis inopia.' The line can be traced back to Sallust: 'auaritia pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit: ea quasi venenis malis inbuta corpus animum que virilem effeminat, semper infinita <et> insatiabilis est, neque copia neque inopia minuitur', *De coniuratione Catilinae*, ed. A. Kurfess (Leipzig, 1957), 11.3, p.11.

<sup>98</sup> 'sic ortu et occasu, decessu atque successu rerum temporalium certis ac definitis tractibus, donec recurat ad terminum praestitutum, temporalis pulchritudo contextitur.' *Contra Secundinum*, ed. J. Zycha, CSEL 25 (Vienna, 1891), 15, p.928; sermon 87, PL 38:538: 'ut aliquanto plures dies uiuat cum decessuro successurus'. Cf. sermon 313D.2: 'uita enim ista, fratres dilectissimi, uelimus nolimus transit, currit: abnegemus ergo nos ipsos in hac temporali uita, ut in aeternum uiuere mereamur'; and also Augustine's statement about death *De ciuitate Dei*, 13.10.

<sup>99</sup> Sermon 61, PL 38:410: 'uide quid minuatur, quid augeatur. Minuitur pecunia, augetur iustitia.'

<sup>100</sup> Iohannes Cassianus, *De institutis coenobiorum et de octo principalium uitiorum remediis*, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 17 (Vienna, 1888), lib.7, c.7, p.133: 'cum pecuniae etenim incremento rabies cupiditatis augetur'. Caesarius echoes this line in sermon 222.5, CCSL 104, p.881.

<sup>101</sup> Filastrius Brixienensis, *Diuersarum hereson liber*, ed. V. Bulhart, CCSL 9 (Turnhout, 1957), c.115: 'in praecipitium mortis descendunt perpetuae'; Augustinus Hipponensis, *Contra Gaudentium*, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 53 (Vienna, 1910), 27.30: 'Ad diabolum sine dubio pertinetis, cum tria genera mortis,



*spiritualem filium* attributed to Basil, used by the compiler for sermon IX; a comparable theme occurs in sermon XLIII. In sermon XII Christ is depicted as the ‘truthful (*uerax*) physician’ who prescribes what is healthy and to be upheld, and demonstrates what is harmful and to be beware of. Spiritual health (*salus*) can be restored by divine favour if *cupiditas*, the ‘pestilential root’ from which sprouts an ‘infirmity of mind’, is recognized and avoided. The idea of Christ as *medicus*, popular in Christian Africa since Tertullian, is also a principal theme in Augustine’s writings, particularly his sermons.<sup>102</sup> The term is frequently employed in the contexts of Christ healing man’s disease of pride by teaching humility and saving mankind by the medicament of his own blood. The idea that Christians must prove themselves worthy of the appellation ‘Christian’ through good deeds is widespread in Augustine and Caesarius.<sup>103</sup> Possibly there is a faint resonance of Fulgentius of Ruspe’s (†532) *De caritate dei ac proximi* in sermon XV.<sup>104</sup> Finally, the presence of the word *iudicator* in sermon XV should be noted for it is uncommon: it is employed here for rhyme.<sup>105</sup>

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aquam ignem praecipitium, in uestris mortibus frequentatis’; *Contra litteras Petiliani*, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 52 (Vienna, 1909), 2.49.114, p.87: ‘Duae sunt maxime uiles atque usitatae mortes eorum qui se ipsos interimunt, laqueus et praecipitium’. See also sermon 313E.5. Cf. Mohrmann, *Die altchristliche Sondersprache*, p. 162: ‘Während man das Herabstürzen praecipitium oder praecipitatio nannte und die Donatisten, welche sich herabgestürzt hatten, praecipitati, nennt Augustin diejenigen, welche sich herabstürzten sowie diejenigen, welche diese verehrten, praecipitatores. Das wort fand ich sonst nirgendwo in dieser Bedeutung. Augustin verwendet es gelegentlich in der Bedeutung von “Vernichter”, besser vielleicht von “Leugner”, immer in dem festen Ausdruck: *praecipitator liberi arbitrii*’.

<sup>102</sup> A list of the occurrences of this concept in Augustine’s works is provided by R. Arbesmann, ‘The Concept of “Christus medicus” in St. Augustine’, *Traditio*, 10 (1954), 1-28. See also T.F. Martin, ‘Paul the Patient, *Christus Medicus* and the “*Stimulus Carnis*” (2 Cor. 12:7): A Consideration of Augustine’s Medicinal Christology’, *Augustinian Studies*, 32 (2001), 219-256.

<sup>103</sup> The *nomen christianum* as a theme crops up in Augustine, for instance in sermons 58.3 (PL 38:394), 71.2, 4 (PL 38:446, 448), 88.16 (PL 38:548), 300.2 (PL 38:1377), 351.8 (PL 39:1544), 353.4 (PL 39:1562), 363.3 (PL 39:1637), but the context here matches rather more closely its occurrence in the sermons of Caesarius of Arles, *Sermones*, CCSL 103, serm. 13.1, pp.64-5; serm. 16.2-3, pp.77-8; serm. 42.4, p.187; CCSL 104, serm. 159.5, p.653; serm. 192.3, p.781. See also W.M. Daly, ‘Caesarius of Arles, A Precursor of Medieval Christendom’, *Traditio*, 26 (1970), 1-28, at 10-11.

<sup>104</sup> ‘Possessio enim est bonorum ista communis, non terrena utique sed caelestis; et ideo nullum in ea facit angustiari persona consortis...quem non tenuerit cupiditas mundana captium’, sermo 5.6, ed. J. Fraipont, CCSL 91A (Turnhout, 1968), p.922.

<sup>105</sup> See A. Souter, *A Glossary of Later Latin to 600AD* (Oxford, 1949), s.v. ‘iudicator’, who refers to two incidences. The first is in Augustine’s *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus CXXIV*, tract. 95.3, though only in the manuscript(s) and in the accusative form ‘iudicatore’. In both the *Patrologia latina* edition (PL 35:1872) and the *Corpus Christianorum* edition (CCSL 36, ed. R. Willems (Turnhout, 1954)) the text runs, ‘non uidebitis iudicandum, sed iudicaturum [mss. iudicatore]’. The second appears in sermon XVII *De caeco nato* of the sermon collection known as Pseudo-Fulgentius (PL 65:880D): ‘Venit liberator qui fuerat iudicator’. On this collection see most recently R. Grégoire, *Homéliaires liturgiques médiévaux: analyse de manuscrits* (Spoleto, 1980), pp.89-125. Searching the *Patrologia latina* database for ‘iudicator’ revealed only one additional hit: in Victor of Pettau’s (†305) *Scholia in Apocalypsin Beati Joannis*, PL 5:338D: ‘Non enim seducere poterit populum circumcisionis, nisi legis sit iudicator’. The Library of Latin Texts CLCLT-5 (release 2002) database does not contain the word ‘iudicator’.



There remains the task to enquire whether any other unidentified sermons in the collection might derive from the same source whence these four came. If so, it would mean that the Carolingian compiler had access to a thus far unknown homiliary besides those which are already known, such as that of Alan of Farfa and a manuscript containing a number of Chromatius's sermons.<sup>106</sup> Here the idiosyncratic doxologies which contain references to Christ's blood, or death, are suggestive. None of Caesarius's sermons terminate in this fashion,<sup>107</sup> and judging by the *explicit*s of other contemporary Carolingian sermonaries this style appears unique to certain items from this collection:

Sermon	Doxology	Collectorium
XIII:	'qui nos suo praetioso sanguine redemit'	V, 22
XIV:	'qui nos adquisiuit sanguine suo'	V, 23
XV:	'qui nos propria morte redemit'	V, 24
XXIV:	'sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem Domini ad remedium percipit animae suae' <sup>108</sup>	
XXV:	'qui proprio nos redemisti sanguine' <sup>109</sup>	II, 102
LXI:	'illic quo nos sua morte reduxit misericors Dominus Deus noster'	
LXXI:	'qui nos redemit sanguine suo, et qui nos glorificavit pretio suo' <sup>110</sup>	II, 171

These conclusions obviously evoke Scripture;<sup>111</sup> yet the expression 'quos praetioso sanguine redemisti' also appears in the hymn *Te Deum laudamus*,<sup>112</sup> and the line 'sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem' in the liturgy of the Mass. If these doxologies were by the Carolingian author then one would expect them to be dotted throughout the collection, not confined to particular groups of anonymous sermons. In addition, both sermons XXIV and XXV include a simile likening the days in Lent to messengers (*nuntii*) which herald the arrival of Easter.<sup>113</sup> This too is evocative of the same provenance. The phrase 'ne in mortis praecipitium deuoluamur' in sermon XV resembles closely a line from an unidentified passage in sermon LXI: 'in tam

<sup>106</sup> See J. Lemarié, 'La diffusion des oeuvres de Chromace d'Aquilée dans les "scriptoria" bavarois du haut moyen âge', in *Aquileia e l'arco alpino orientale. Antichità altoadriatiche IX* (Udine, 1976), pp.421-435.

<sup>107</sup> See T.L. Amos, 'Caesarius of Arles, the Medieval Sermon, and Orthodoxy', *Indiana Social Studies Quarterly*, 35 (1982), 11-20.

<sup>108</sup> Compare the appearance of polyptoton in this unidentified sermon (E ff.143<sup>r</sup>-144<sup>r</sup>; F ff.13<sup>r</sup>-14<sup>v</sup>; W ff.29<sup>v</sup>-31<sup>r</sup>) seemingly a characteristic of our enigmatic author: 'Nullaque tam grauis sit culpa, quae non propter Deum *dimittatur*, quia et nobis Deus nostra non *dimittit*, nisi nos *dimittamus* debitoribus nostris...'

<sup>109</sup> Printed by Mai, no.141, reprt. in PLS 2:1235-6.

<sup>110</sup> Mai, no.155, reprt. in PLS 2:1253-4.

<sup>111</sup> Rev 5:9: 'et redemisti nos Dei in sanguine tuo'; 1 Pet 1:19: 'sed pretioso sanguine quasi immaculati Christi'.

<sup>112</sup> Composed by Nicetas of Remesia, fl.400. Edited in *The Oxford Book of Medieval Latin Verse*, newly selected and edited by F.J.E. Raby (Oxford, 1959), pp.16-17.

<sup>113</sup> XXIV: 'quasi nuntii praecurrentes Dominicae passionis salutare munus adportant' (mss E ff.143<sup>r</sup>-144<sup>r</sup>; F ff.13<sup>r</sup>-14<sup>v</sup>; W ff.29<sup>v</sup>-31<sup>r</sup>); XXV: 'quia quasi optatissimi nuntii aeternae nobis vitae gaudia praefigurant.'



profundum mortis barathrum deuoluti'.<sup>114</sup> The line 'per cupiditatem perdidit uitam, perdidit beatitudinem sempiternam' from sermon XIII has an equivalent in an unidentified section of sermon LXII: 'Quia humanitas a diabolo seducta, perdidit uitam, perdidit libertatem, perdidit immortalitatem'.<sup>115</sup> Observe also the polyptoton in sermon XI, another for which no source can be detected.<sup>116</sup> All this points to the existence of a now lost late antique collection which was profitably mined by our Carolingian compiler. The original author of these sermons, some of whose traits the Carolingian compiler preserved, wrote in a uniform style and was manifestly a transmitter of Augustinian doctrines.<sup>117</sup>

### Almsgiving in Carolingian Bavaria

It is axiomatic that the meaning of a text changes according to the milieu in which it is received. How might an early-ninth-century Bavarian audience have understood these texts? These sermons could have been preached directly as they stand, or read and meditated upon by a priest who might subsequently give advice to the laity based on

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Hieronymus, *Commentariorum in epistolam ad Galatas libri tres*, PL 26:414B: 'barathrum mortis propter nos descendit'; Iohannes Cassianus, *Collationes XXIII*, ed. M. Petschenig, CSEL 13 (Vienna, 1886), 3.5, p.72: 'in profundum mortis barathrum conciderunt'. Note that a broadly comparable phrase for which the redactor was accountable crops up in sermon LVIII, edited by Saliou, 'Du légendier au sermonnaire', 294: 'Si igitur, dilectissimi, aeternae damnationis baratrum uolumus deuitare...'

<sup>115</sup> Mss E ff.175<sup>v</sup>-176<sup>v</sup>; W ff.79<sup>v</sup>+88<sup>r</sup>-88<sup>v</sup>. Étaix, 'Le sermonnaire carolingien de Beaune', 133, notes that sermons LXI and LXII draw upon sermon 49 of this collection, made up of lines 1-52 and 73-95 of Leo's *tractatus* 52. Sermons LXI and LXII only reproduce a few lines of Leo's *tractatus*, the bulk of their content being unidentified.

<sup>116</sup> Mai, no.190, reprt. in PLS 2:1284-5: 'Et qui sua virtute mortuos coram hominibus *suscitavit*, cuiusque nutu omnes mortui *resuscitantur*, spontanea voluntate pro nobis mortem crucis *sustinuit*. Et ideo haec omnia et alia quam plurima dignatus est *sustinere*...'

<sup>117</sup> Some of the stylistic mannerisms of our author such as word-play are characteristic of sermons composed by African authors, although the caveat should be borne in mind that these are too widespread a feature of the sermon genre in general to serve as indicative facets of particular eras. The character of preaching in Africa between the fourth and sixth centuries was illuminated by Jean Leclercq in a series of articles in the 1940s. Commenting on the various texts to which he ascribed an African provenance, Leclercq contended that Augustine's impact ran deep both in terms of ideas and style: parallelism, word-play, dialogue, apostrophe, diatribe and *nominalia uerbalia* are among the characteristics which typify this genre. See J. Leclercq, 'Deux sermons inédits de s. Fulgence', *RB*, 56 (1945-6), 93-107; idem, 'Aux origines du cycle de Noël', *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, 60 (1946), 7-26; idem, 'Prédication et rhétorique au temps de saint Augustin', *RB*, 57 (1947), 117-31; idem, 'Les inédits africains de l'homiliaire de Fleury', *RB*, 58 (1948), 53-72; idem, 'Sermons de l'école de s. Augustin', *RB*, 59 (1949), 100-113. On the problems and history of attributing medieval Latin texts see the interesting article by F. Dolbeau, 'Critique d'attribution, critique d'authenticité. Réflexions préliminaires', *Filologia Mediolatina*, VI-VII (1999-2000), 33-61. Newhauser, *Early History of Greed*, pp.73-9, notes that in northern Italy in the fourth and fifth centuries there was an outpouring of preaching against *avaritia/cupiditas* in response to contemporary exigencies and as a way of converting the barbarians from a 'materially oriented way of thinking'.



their content.<sup>118</sup> Recently, Van Egmond has widened the boundaries for the possible audiences of hagiography by pointing out that we should not take too restricted a view: people could become acquainted with the texts through private reading, listening to a reading in church, or having episodes from a *vita* recounted to them by someone outside of church who had heard or read it.<sup>119</sup> These tenets could equally apply to sermons.

It was argued by Walter Ullmann (somewhat anachronistically) that some aspects of the modern welfare state and social legislation have antecedents in the Carolingian period.<sup>120</sup> Ullmann contended that churchmen attempted to turn basic Christian tenets into 'socially realizable measures' at ecclesiastical assemblies, promulgating corporate decrees based on their experience of working amongst their flocks. As Ullmann pointed out, one of the most important facets of this legislation was care of the poor. Those unable to support themselves had a claim to be maintained by others, principally through the tithe, of which one-quarter usually went to the poor.<sup>121</sup> Besides the tithe, there were the alms proper, of which our sermons speak and with which we are chiefly concerned. Egon Boshof has examined the institutional basis of charity, detailing the practical arrangements for hostels and tithes and the theory behind them.<sup>122</sup> Although the obligations to care for the needy and be merciful were a part of Christian teaching, Marxist historians have seen the intensive efforts at poor relief (*Armenfürsorge*) in the eighth and ninth centuries as symptomatic of the widespread development of a 'feudal order'.<sup>123</sup> Frankish rulers and churchmen sought to curb the social tension that could arise amongst the oppressed rural population and ameliorate the plight of those who, having been dispossessed of their property and lured into ties of dependence by both ecclesiastical and secular lords, were forced to turn to robbery and begging. Along similar lines runs Bosl's argument that *pauper* in the legislation does not necessarily denote impoverishment, but is used in a technical sense to mean those at the bottom of the social order who are 'exposed to the grasp of the powerful' and need

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<sup>118</sup> On the expectation of bishops that priests should teach their flock see C. van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Utrecht, 2003), esp. pp.127-31.

<sup>119</sup> W.S. Van Egmond, 'The Audience of Hagiographical Texts: Some Questions Revisited', in M. Mostert (ed.), *New Approaches to Medieval Communication* (Turnhout, 1999), pp.41-67.

<sup>120</sup> W. Ullmann, 'Public Welfare and Social Legislation in the Early Medieval Councils', *Studies in Church History*, 7 (1971), 1-39.

<sup>121</sup> On tithes in the Carolingian period see G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes: From their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1964), pp.31-56.

<sup>122</sup> E. Boshof, 'Untersuchungen zur Armenfürsorge im fränkischen Reich des 9. Jahrhunderts', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 58 (1976), 265-339.

<sup>123</sup> S. Epperlein, 'Zur weltlichen und kirchlichen Armenfürsorge im karolingischen Imperium: Ein Beitrag zur Wirtschaftspolitik im Frankenreich', *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 1 (1963), 41-60.



the king's protection against their feudal lords.<sup>124</sup> To see the welfare policy of the Carolingian kings and clergy as an exercise in damage limitation to minimize the disruptive impact of incipient 'feudalism' is too ideologically conditioned and narrow. What of the measures taken at a local level to deal with the problem?<sup>125</sup> What sort of advice did the Church offer the laity and how was it communicated?

The so-called 'Capitula Bavarica' contains fifteen articles, extracted from a previous meeting (*concilium*), which were pronounced at an assembly convened to celebrate a feast day.<sup>126</sup> The text does not include a date or place of promulgation, but it seems likely that it comes from either Regensburg or Salzburg and dates to between 800 and 813, based on its affinity with other contemporary Bavarian material and internal evidence. It is clear that the original recipients of the text were the diocesan priests, but significantly the pronoun 'nos' is used from time to time in apposition to the *sacerdotes*, by which it is possible to infer that the announcer is rephrasing the material to address an audience which included members of the laity.<sup>127</sup> The articles deal with local pastoral matters, and nestling amongst them is one which states: 'That they [i.e. the Faithful] should value a munificence of alms, because it is agreed to be the greatest help of eternal salvation.'<sup>128</sup> The tenth article recommends that 'our munificence of alms should endure through the four fasting seasons in the year' which are then listed.<sup>129</sup> This instruction is echoed at the councils of Reisbach, Freising and Salzburg which took place in 800. The fourth chapter reads:

'Moreover they have decided that with the advice and wish of all almsgiving is to be performed on four occasions in the year for the cure of souls, that is on the Sunday

<sup>124</sup> K. Bosl, 'Potens und Pauper: Begriffsgeschichtliche Studien zur gesellschaftlichen Differenzierung im frühen Mittelalter und zum "Pauperismus" des Hochmittelalters', in idem, *Frühformen der Gesellschaft im mitteralterlichen Europa: Ausgewählte Beiträge zu einer Strukturanalyse der mittelalterlichen Welt* (Munich, 1964), pp.106-134, at p.111: 'Arm sind letztere nicht, weil sie keinen Besitz hätten, mittellos wären, sondern weil sie dem Zugriff des Mächtigen ausgesetzt sind, der oft unverantwortlich und straffrei über ihren Leib und ihr Gut verfügt.'

<sup>125</sup> U. Lindgren, 'Caritas und Fürsorge in Bayern', in W. Brandmüller (ed.), *Handbuch der Bayerischen Kirchengeschichte, Band I. Von den Anfängen bis zur Schwelle der Neuzeit* (St. Ottilien, 1999), pp.1080-1107, at pp.1080-2 covers this period only very summarily.

<sup>126</sup> The proem runs: 'Quia igitur, dilectissimi nobis, propter honorem domini nostri iesu christi ad istam sanctam sollemnitatem conuenistis, oportunit nobis uidetur, ut ea quae sancti patres et fratres nostri et ecclesiastici uiri in eorum statuerunt concilio obseruandum ob uarias necessitates quibus praemimur, ut cum dei adiutorio et miseratione quisquis ista obseruare uoluerit, a domino indulgentiam adipisci meruerit.' See *MGH: Capit. episc. III*, pp.189-98.

<sup>127</sup> E.g., *ibid.*, c.II: '...sacerdotibus, qui testes adstant inter nos et deum...'

<sup>128</sup> *Ibid.*, c.VIII: 'Ut aelymosinarum largitatem diligant, quod maximum esse constat salutis aeternae subsidium.'

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, c.X: 'Ut per III<sup>or</sup> tempora in anno ieiunia nostra aelymosinarum largitas sustentet, id est in sabbato ante palmas et in sabbato pentecosten et in sabbato III. istius mensis seu ad istam festiuitatem et in vigilia natale Domini.'



before Palm Sunday, Whit Sunday, the third Sunday in September and on the nearest Sunday to the Lord's nativity; and this is to be done publicly not for human praise or vain reward of glory, but for eternal recompense and on the model of Christian people, whence the Lord Himself said in the Gospel: *So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father who is in heaven.* And let nobody reluctant or unwilling do this, but by a voluntary judgement let each one strive to impart according to his means, because God will not ask how much, but with how great a will it may be brought forward, because the good will shall be reckoned according to the performance of the act.<sup>130</sup>

Thus the donation of money or food to the poor had become regularized and institutionalized. The adverb '*publice*' is crucial, for it implies that a formal ceremony might have taken place on the appointed occasions in front of the whole congregation. Almsgiving was viewed as essential to leading a Christian life and obtaining salvation. Charitable contributions were expected of everyone who was able to give something: it is consistently stressed that it is not the quantity that is important but the sincerity of the deed. Incidentally, chapter thirteen of this council advocates that the tithe should be divided into four parts, one for the bishop, one for the clerics, the third for the poor, with the fourth applying to the fabric of the church.<sup>131</sup>

In a sermon preached probably by Arn at an unknown Bavarian synod similar themes crop up. Fasts, prayers and alms are to be performed in tandem at Lent and 'nobody should presume to invite another to his banquet on these days unless to relieve the poor and needy, and not to get drunk.'<sup>132</sup> Again, the sermon emphasizes that everyone should give alms according to their ability.<sup>133</sup> Moreover, in his pastoral instruction dating from 798-800, Arn forbids his clergy to accept alms or money from anyone who has been excommunicated 'for certain crimes'; their 'memory' or 'name' should also not be written, a reference to *libri memoriales*, nor donations offered for

<sup>130</sup> MGH: *Conc. I*, no.24, pp.207-8, c.4: 'Statuerunt etiam, ut cum consilio vel voluntate omnium pro remedio animarum elemosinas esse faciendas quater in anno, id est, sabbato ante Palmas et sabbato sancto Pentecosten et tertia sabbati septimi mensis et in sabbato proximo nativitatis Domini; et hoc publice non propter laudem humanam vel vane gloriae mercedem, sed pro aeterna retributione et in exemplum populi Christiani, unde ipse Dominus in evangelio ait: *Sic luceat lux vestra coram hominibus, ut videant vestra bona opera et glorificent patrem vestrum qui in coelis est* [Mt 5:16]. Et hoc invitatus neque coactus nemo faciat, sed spontaneo iudicio unusquisque iuxta vires suas impertire studeat, quia non requiret Deus quantum, sed quanta voluntate proferatur, quia voluntas bona pro opere facti reputabitur.'

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., p.209, c.13: 'Ut decimae populi dividantur in quattuor partes, id est una pars episcopo, alia clericis, tertia pauperibus, quarta in ecclesiae fabricis applicetur, sicut in decretis pape Gelasii continetur cap. 27.' Cf. Arn's pastoral instruction edited by Étaix, 'Un manuel', 120, c.X: 'Et hoc episcopus consideret quia de oblationibus christianorum uel alia elymosina quae Domino inspirante christianus populus offert, quattuor partes exinde debent fieri...'

<sup>132</sup> Pokorny, 'Ein unbekannter Synodalsermo', 392: 'et nemo his diebus alium ad convivium suum nisi pauperes et egenos aut etiam pauperiorem ad refocilandum, non ad inebriandum, invitare praesumat'.

<sup>133</sup> Ibid., 392: 'et elymosinam suam unusquisque secundum modulum suum faciat.'



them.<sup>134</sup> At a Bavarian council held in May 805, convened to discuss the ‘prayers or alms to be conducted for the deceased’, it was decided that the bishops and abbots should each give twenty *solidi* in alms for every other departed bishop or abbot; priests should each give one *solidus* for their bishops, and one *tremissus* for parish priests.<sup>135</sup> Here the Bavarian Church is showing its ingenuity in thinking up ways to raise money for the poor. Finally, the content of our sermons corresponds to what Charlemagne wanted the clergy to communicate to the people. In the *Admonitio generalis* of 789 it is laid down ‘to all’ that ‘it is necessary to be preached how great an evil is hatred or malice... Likewise it is read concerning cupidity, that it is the root of all evils’.<sup>136</sup>

These sermons’ counsel is reminiscent of the instruction given to aristocratic laymen by Carolingian churchmen on how to live according to Christian principles and subsequently obtain eternal life. Jonas of Orléans (780-843) in his ‘De institutione laicali’ destined for Matfrid, Count of Orléans, and Dhuoda, in the manual composed for her son William, both stress that ‘expending alms to the poor’ is expected of good Christians. Amongst contemporary sermonaries, the collection known as Pseudo-Boniface includes many sermons with injunctions to give alms to the poor. Sermon XV, for instance, commands as a general rule that the auditors ‘give alms according to your means, because *just as water quenches fire, so alms extinguish sin*. Accept pilgrims hospitably in turn, call upon the infirm, attend to the widowed and orphans, hand over tithes to churches...Expend alms to the poor of Christ. Often recall the poor to sumptuous banquets.’<sup>137</sup> It is clear in this series of sermons that the author expected almsgiving to take place in particular during Lent, akin to the Bavarian legislation discussed above.<sup>138</sup> Unlike Ps.-Boniface, our sermons are simply general exhortations to almsgiving and do not incorporate any references to tithes. Ps.-Boniface sermon IX contains a passage in which the obligations of both rich and poor are specified:

<sup>134</sup> Étaix, ‘Un manuel’, 122, cc.XVI-XVII.

<sup>135</sup> *MGH: Conc. I*, no.31, p.233: ‘...convenit sanctam synodum episcoporum atque abbatum ceterorumque ecclesiasticorum virorum de provintia Baioariorum de orationibus vel aelimosinis pro defunctis agendis...Episcopi autem et abbates pro alio defuncto det unusquisque solidos XX aestimatione argenti in elimosinam eius, presbiteri autem pro episcopis suis det unusquisque solidum unum, pro presbitero autem conparrochiale tremissum unum...’

<sup>136</sup> *MGH: Capit. I*, no.22, p.59: ‘Omnibus. Item praedicari necesse est, quantum malum sit odium vel invidia...Item de concupiscentia legitur, quod radix sit omnium malorum.’

<sup>137</sup> PL 89:870D-872A: ‘Eleemosynas date juxta vires, quia *sicut aqua exstinguit ignem, ita eleemosyna exstinguit peccatum*. Hospitales invicem peregrinos suscipite, infirmos visitate, viduis et pupillis ministrare, decimas reddite ecclesiis...Eleemosynas pauperibus Christi erogate. Ad convivia lautiora pauperes frequenter revocate.’

<sup>138</sup> See also sermon XIII, *ibid.*, 867C.



‘Some in the Church are rich, others are poor. The precept for the poor is to be humble, and to trust in God, who said: *Blessed are the poor in spirit*, and to love better riches more eagerly as much as they are devoid of these earthly things. The precept for the rich is to give their possessions, not to seize the possessions of others, to clothe [the poor], to dress [them], because there are many things which the rich do through an abundance of riches, either in food, or in clothing. Therefore let the refreshment of paupers wash away the sins which excess has caused, because *just as water quenches fire, so alms extinguish sin*. The rich man who is thrifty with his riches does not show consideration for his soul, or for whom is he bountiful who is niggardly with himself? Let each one consider with how great a price he wishes to redeem himself from the present fire, if he may be forced to burn even one day, how much more severe is the fire of judgement? The eternal fire of hell is above. Therefore let him who has riches come before the presence of the judge, and let him feel pity for the wretched, so that God may pity him, who, as it is said, pities the poor; let him invest in the Lord, and He himself will render to him.’<sup>139</sup>

Thus the sermon extends the hope of salvation to all members of society: the poor are to place their faith in God and the rich can use their worldly wealth to good effect to absolve themselves from the sin their prosperity engenders. Lastly, amongst the collection composed by Hrabanus Maurus for Haistulf of Mainz for popular preaching, there is one particular sermon in which the importance of almsgiving is highlighted:

‘Therefore if you are unable to fast, bestow alms; and as much as you are frailer in one, be more generous in the other. It is good to fast, brothers, but it is better to give alms. If anyone is able to do both, it is best; if anyone is unable, it is better to give alms, because such fasting without alms is like an oil lamp without oil. For just as an oil lamp which is lit without oil is able to smoke, and is unable to have light, so fasting without alms certainly torments the flesh, but does not light up the soul with the light of charity...But perhaps someone hearing these things is thinking to himself thus, saying: I wanted to give alms, but I don’t have anything at all to donate. For those therefore who may not have anything from which they may grant, a good will suffices...But who is he who is able to excuse himself, when the Lord has promised to give him back a reward for even a cup of cold water? Wherefore he said cold, lest perhaps any poor man was able to excuse himself from lack of firewood, or at least to say that he does not have a small vessel in which to heat water.’<sup>140</sup>

<sup>139</sup> Ibid., 861: ‘Alii sunt in Ecclesia divites, alii pauperes. Pauperibus praeceptum est humiles esse, et sperare in Deum, qui dixit: *Beati pauperes spiritu*, et meliores divitias tanto avidius amare, quanto his terrenis vacui sunt. Divitibus praeceptum est sua dare, non aliena rapere, vestire, induere, quia multa sunt quae divites per abundantiam divitiarum superflua faciunt, vel in cibo, vel in vestitu. Ideo refectio pauperum abluat peccata quae superfluitas contraxit, quia *sicut aqua exstinguit ignem, ita eleemosyna exstinguit peccatum*. Dives qui parcat divitiis non parcat animae, aut cui largus est qui semetipso tenax est? Cogitet unusquisque quanto pretio ab igne praesenti, si cogatur ardere vel unum diem, velit se redimere, quanto est acrior ignis iudicii? Ignis gehennae insuper aeternus est. Ideo qui habeat divitias, praeveniat faciem iudicis, et misereatur miseris, ut ei misereatur Deus, qui pauperi, ut dictum est, miseretur; feneretur Domino, et ipse reddet ei.’

<sup>140</sup> Homilia X, PL 110:22D-23A: ‘Ergo si non potes jejunare, eleemosynam tribue; et quanto infirmior es in uno, tanto largior sis in altero. Bonum est jejunare, fratres, sed melius est eleemosynam dare. Si aliquis utrumque potest, optimum est; si vero non potest, melius est eleemosynam dare, quia tale est jejunium sine eleemosyna qualis sine oleo est lucerna. Nam sicut lucerna quae sine oleo accenditur, fumare potest, lucem habere non potest, ita jejunium sine eleemosyna carnem quidem cruciat, sed charitatis lumine



In this sermon Hrabanus uses the simile of the oil lamp effectively to convey the indispensability of almsgiving. Similar to Augustine and our sermons, Hrabanus obviates any objections the audience may have to giving if they are poor themselves by using a biblical analogy: even a cup of cold water given with a sincere heart will result in a heavenly reward. There can be no excuse.

### Conclusion

To conclude, it is impossible to be sure of the extent to which the unknown author of sermons XII-XV was influenced by what he read of Augustine's work directly, and what was mediated through other writers. As previously mentioned, all the Church Fathers tended to argue along similar lines as regards almsgiving as a redemptive activity. For instance, Chromatius of Aquileia (†407/408) in his tractates on Matthew's Gospel repeated the dictum that God prohibits us from laying up treasure on earth where everything is fragile and perishable (*infirmus et caducus*). It is contrary to the faith to desire earthly treasures and seek riches of the world which moth, rust, and thief affect. Whoever has wished to lay up treasure more on earth than heaven will not have eternal life. We are ordered to hide eternal and incorruptible treasures in heaven through works of justice, piety and mercy, preached Chromatius: whatever is paid out to the poor is put away in heaven.<sup>141</sup> Likewise Fulgentius of Ruspe wrote to the recently widowed noblewoman Galla, offering her consolation and advising her to renounce her worldly life for a convent: 'God forbid that you enrich yourself with anything on earth, where you are not to leave children of the flesh, since also they who have children of the flesh do not without sin delight to enrich themselves in the world...Therefore, send all your riches ahead to Christ; set up for yourself treasure in heaven which you cannot lose and you will be able to possess for eternity.'<sup>142</sup> Nevertheless, it is Augustine above all

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animam non illustrat...Sed forte haec audiens aliquis, apud se ita cogitat, dicens: Vellem eleemosynam dare, sed non habeo omnino quod tribuam. Illis ergo qui non habuerint unde tribuant, sufficit voluntas bona...Sed quis est qui se excusare potest, cum etiam pro calice aquae frigidae mercedem se Dominus promiserit redditurum esse? Et quare *frigidae* dixit, ne forte se posset aliquis pauper de lignorum penuria excusare, aut certe dicere se vasculum ubi aquam calefaciat non habere.' Hrabanus here uses Caesarius' sermon 199.2-6, CCSL 104, pp.804-6.

<sup>141</sup> CCSL 9A, tract. 30, pp.341-3.

<sup>142</sup> 'Absit autem ut aliquid tibi thesaurizes in terra, in qua non es carnis filios relictura, cum etiam illi qui ex carne filios habent non sine peccato thesaurizare sibi delectentur in saeculo...Omnes ergo diuitias tuas ad Christum praemitte; in coelo tibi thesaurum reconde, quem perdere non possis, et in aeternum ualeas possidere.' CCSL 91, epist. 2.34, pp.209-210. English translation: *Fulgentius. Selected Works*, trans. Eno, p.307. Galla was the daughter of Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus, consul in 485. She took the



whose advice on giving to the poor is subsumed within his theology of concupiscence, an adjunct of which was *cupiditas*. The four sermons newly edited here resonate with this viewpoint. Finally, to place these sermons in their contemporary context, it should be noted that in the early ninth century the Bavarian church placed a great emphasis upon almsgiving. Giving alms and taking care of the indigent in society was a practical, everyday step the laity could take to affirm their Christian religion and demonstrate piety. In this sense it is true to say that sermons such as these taught a 'behavioural Christianity', although it is also important to understand the ways in which the sermons justified the performance of this action at a theoretical level. The evidence of the Bavarian legislation shows that almsgiving was seen as a ritual (although one hesitates to use this loaded term) to be performed at fixed times of the year. In fact, as well as raising money for the indigent, the Church found resourceful ways to raise money for itself: making donations of land to churches 'pro remedium animi' prevailed as a mode of almsgiving in this period.<sup>143</sup> Perhaps the auditors of these sermons may have interpreted their message in this context too. The importance of almsgiving to the compiler of the sermonary is also palpably demonstrated by the inclusion of other sermons on alms (XXVII-XXXVII). The next chapter takes a different direction and looks at how one of the most controversial of all Christian doctrines was preached: the Resurrection.

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advice and entered the monastery of St Peter's. See further S.T. Stevens, 'The Circle of Bishop Fulgentius', *Traditio*, 38 (1982), 327-341, at 334.

<sup>143</sup> See, for example, M. Bull, *Knightly Piety and the Lay Response to the First Crusade: The Limousin and Gascony, c.970-c.1130* (Oxford, 1993), pp.182ff.; A. Angenendt *et al.*, 'Counting Piety in the Early and High Middle Ages', in B. Jussen (ed.) and P. Selwyn (trans.), *Ordering Medieval Society: Perspectives on Intellectual and Practical Modes of Shaping Social Relations* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp.15-54, esp. pp.19-20. Some charters in the Freising archive which record the endowments made by laymen to the church reproduce the biblical passage from Mt 6:19 e.g. in 782 Alpolt and his son gave property to the monastery of Schäftlarn; the scribe who drew up the charter included the aforementioned biblical passage.



## VI. '*Fiducia Christianorum, resurrectio mortuorum*': The Resurrection Sermons

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### Introduction

An essential aspect of the Carolingian renaissance was to educate the people in the central tenets of Christianity. One of the most complex of these was the doctrine of the Resurrection. Mortuary archaeology has shown that since prehistory man has believed in a post-mortem existence. Some kind of judgement and concomitant resurrection is attested in the major Near Eastern religions from the time of ancient Egypt onwards, necessitating a developed earthly judicial system.<sup>1</sup> As the creeds and the writings of early Christians testify, belief in a corporal resurrection was one of the most fundamental, but contentious, articles of the Christian faith. Saint Paul equated a belief in Christ's resurrection with the hope of a general resurrection (1 Cor 15:1-58. See also Acts 4:2; 1 Thes 4:13-18).<sup>2</sup> Early in the third century Tertullian (†after 220) opened his treatise (c.210) on the Resurrection with the bald statement that: 'The resurrection of the dead is Christian men's confidence. By believing it we are what we claim to be.'<sup>3</sup> Christian eschatological thinking on the subject was naturally heavily coloured by Jewish apocalyptic in which the advent of the Messiah at the end of the world would herald the kingdom of God. At the judgement, the Messiah would judge the righteous of Israel in *Sheol* (the abode of the dead), who are physically reconstituted and led to eternal glory while the Gentiles are punished in hell (Dan 12:2-3; Ezek 37:1-12; Is 26:19).<sup>4</sup> Christianity dispensed of the nationalistic element and introduced the individual judgement of persons according to their moral achievements in life and their treatment of Christ's followers (e.g. Mt 16:27; 25:31-46; Rev 20:13). For Christians, of

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<sup>1</sup> S.G.F. Brandon, *The Judgment of the Dead: An Historical and Comparative Study of the Idea of a Post-Mortem Judgment in the Major Religions* (London, 1967), pp.3-5.

<sup>2</sup> See M.E. Dahl, *The Resurrection of the Body: A Study of I Corinthians 15* (London, 1962), esp. ch.1; G. Rochais, *Les récits de résurrection des morts dans le Nouveau Testament* (Cambridge, 1981), esp. pp.163-5; C.W. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York, 1995), esp. pp.1-114. For a comparative sociological perspective on this subject in the major religions, see M. Weber, *The Sociology of Religion*, trans. E. Fischhoff, intro. T. Parsons (Boston, 1963), esp. ch. IX, 'Theodicy, Salvation and Rebirth'. On popular beliefs about death and the afterlife see Filotas, *Pagan Survivals*, pp.318-38.

<sup>3</sup> *Tertullian's Treatise on the Resurrection*, ed. and trans. E. Evans (London, 1960), p.5.

<sup>4</sup> Brandon, *Judgment*, pp.98-135; J.E. McWilliam Dewart, *Death and Resurrection, Message of the Fathers of the Church*, 22 (Wilmington, Delaware, 1986), ch.1.



course, the Messiah had already come and saved mankind from sin, therefore they awaited a second coming at which the dead would arise with the living and meet Christ for judgement (e.g. Mt 24:34; Mk 13:30; Lk 21:32; 2 Cor 5:10; 1 Thes 4:13-18; 2 Thes 1:7-10). This fascinating sequence of five sermons deals with certain themes surrounding the Resurrection, and answers the requirement laid down by the legislation to preach the Gospel to the people. In this chapter I will describe briefly the contents of each sermon in turn, identify its sources where possible, and similar writings where not, and attempt to place these sermons into their wider context as part of the Christian doctrine on the Resurrection.

### Pseudo-Fulgentius Again?

This series begins with a slightly altered version of a text known by its first words as 'Certissima fiducia'. It has been edited and printed several times before: in the appendices to Augustine's sermons; as sermon five of Odilo of Cluny's sermons (†1048); in the collection of homilies on the Epistles known as Pseudo-Bede published by Gymnicus, and most recently by Joseph Lemarié using manuscript M.<sup>5</sup> Lemarié believed that the texts he published were 'a residue of what...exists of sermons of an African bishop whose name we do not know and whom the author of the Mondsee homiliary used on several occasions.'<sup>6</sup> In two earlier articles, Lemarié had christened this unknown African bishop from the beginning of the sixth century who was strongly influenced by Fulgentius of Ruspe (†532) 'Pseudo-Fulgentius'.<sup>7</sup> He contended that his Pseudo-Fulgentius was also responsible for a sermon *de symbolo* published by Dom G. Morin in 1923.<sup>8</sup> Recently, François Dolbeau came across seven sermons attributed to

<sup>5</sup> Sermo 171, *De resurrectione mortuorum*, PL 39:2074; Odilo of Cluny, *Sermones*, PL 142:1004B-1005A; Ps.-Bede, *Homiliae uenerabilis Bedae*, ed. Gymnicus, no.127, pp.308-9; J. Lemarié, 'Nouveaux fragments de sermons attribuables à un Pseudo-Fulgence', *RB*, 104 (1994), 191-203, at 200-202.

<sup>6</sup> Lemarié, 'Nouveaux fragments', 191-2: '...reliquat de ce qui, à notre avis, subsiste de sermons d'un évêque africain dont nous ignorons le nom et que l'auteur de l'homélaire de Mondsee utilisa à plusieurs reprises.'

<sup>7</sup> J. Lemarié, 'Un sermon inédit sur *Matthieu 16, 13-19* de l'école de Fulgence de Ruspe', *Revue des études augustinienne*, 18 (1972), 116-23; idem, 'L'homélaire carolingien de Mondsee, témoin de sermons d'un Pseudo-Fulgence', in R. Gryson (ed.), *Philologia sacra: Biblische und patristische Studien für Hermann J. Frede und Walter Thiele zu ihrem siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Freiburg, 1993), ii, pp.568-82. Lemarié also attributes to Pseudo-Fulgentius an anonymous sermon published by R. Étaix, 'Le lectionnaire pour le commun des saints de la cathédrale de Novara', *Novarien*, 17 (1987), 149-171, at 165-168. On the influence of bishop Fulgentius in the Carolingian period see M.L.W. Laistner, 'Fulgentius in the Carolingian Age', in idem, *The Intellectual Heritage of the Early Middle Ages: Selected Essays*, ed. C.G. Starr (Ithaca, 1957), pp. 202-15.

<sup>8</sup> G. Morin, 'Deux sermons africains du V<sup>e</sup>/VI<sup>e</sup> siècle avec un texte inédit du symbole', *RB*, 35 (1923), 233-45. Cf. 'Expositio super symbolum' in C.P. Caspari, *Kirchenhistorische Anecdota* (Christiania, 1883), pp.290-2. Not to be confused with the Pseudo-Fulgentius who compiled a collection of eighty



Augustine in the rubrics in a fifteenth-century manuscript from Olomouc (Czech Republic). On the basis of internal stylistic features, he affirmed that they were all the work of the same late antique preacher, noting their affinity with genuine and Lemarié's pseudo-Fulgentian sermons, though ultimately he hesitated to call them the work of a 'disciple' of Fulgentius.<sup>9</sup> Lemarié concluded that the sermon 'Certissima fiducia' could either be a revised and abridged version of a sermon by this Pseudo-Fulgentius, or a composition by the Carolingian redactor of Pseudo-Bede who was inspired by Pseudo-Fulgentius. Manuscript M contains a version of the sermon somewhat different to that which appears in manuscripts W and E, so whoever assembled the collection of sermons in manuscript M did not copy the text from our sermonary in this instance but used Pseudo-Bede.<sup>10</sup> The revisions made by the Carolingian compiler of our collection show that firstly, he felt free to adjust his source material to suit his purpose, and second, that copies of a homiliary containing the sermons of Pseudo-Fulgentius must have been circulating in early-ninth-century Bavaria.

In the recension of W and E the sermon sets out some basic principles about the Resurrection which the next anonymous sermon develops. It opens in a similar fashion to Tertullian's treatise by stating that the Resurrection is an article of the faith: 'It is the most certain confidence of Christians that the resurrection of the dead has been divinely promised'. The Truth itself (cf. Jn 1:14, 17; 14:6; 1 Jn 5:6; Eph 4:21; 2 Cor 11:10) promised this: the Lord deigned to demonstrate it to us in His body, so that we may know that it is most definitely going to happen. Christ rose again so that a Christian would not doubt that he is going to be resurrected. The Carolingian author chooses in this paragraph to pare down the little discourse on Truth which the fuller version in M includes: it is sufficient to adduce the validation of Christ's resurrection. Justin Martyr,

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sermons which appears in the appendix to Fulgentius's works (PL 65:855-954). Dom Morin discovered a ninth- or tenth-century manuscript witness to this collection in 1903 and indicated some of the author's sources in, 'Notes sur un manuscrit des homélies du Pseudo-Fulgence', *RB*, 26 (1909), 223-8. G.-G. Lapeyre, *Saint Fulgence de Ruspe: un évêque catholique africain sous la domination vandale* (Paris, 1929), pp.240-254 analyses all the sermons attributed to Fulgentius in this collection and elsewhere. He concludes that only two from this collection (nos. 72 and 73) are certainly authentic and two are probably authentic (nos. 28 (29) and 50). He regards a mere eight in total as definitely genuine. Many sermons in the Pseudo-Fulgentian homiliary remain unattributed. For an up-to-date analysis see Gregoire, *Homéliaires*, pp.89-125.

<sup>9</sup> F. Dolbeau, 'Sept sermons antiques, tirés d'un homélaire latin d'Olomouc', *RB*, 111 (2001), 353-98; idem, 'À propos des sermons d'Olomouc: un post-scriptum', *RB*, 112 (2002), 236-45.

<sup>10</sup> This sermon also appears in Melk, *Stiftsbibliothek*, 597, ff.108<sup>r</sup>-109<sup>r</sup>, *tit.*: *De resurrectione fidelium Sancti Augustini*. This manuscript, written in Austria or Bavaria in the second quarter of the ninth century, contains amongst other texts part of the Pseudo-Bede homiliary. See C. Glassner, *Inventar der Handschriften des Benediktinerstifts Melk, Teil I: Von den Anfängen bis ca. 1400* (Vienna, 2000); Barré, *Les homéliaires*, p.8, n.27.



writing before 165, chose to open his work on the Resurrection in a similar fashion: he begins by stating that the 'word of truth is free, and carries its own authority'.<sup>11</sup> The word of truth says Justin, 'is sent from God' and is therefore self-evident; it needs no proof: 'And God, the Father of the universe, who is the perfect intelligence, is the truth. And the Word, being His son, came to us, having put on flesh...giving to us in Himself resurrection from the dead, and eternal life afterwards...He, therefore, is Himself both the faith and the proof.'

The second paragraph continues with a line that foreshadows the opening of the next sermon: 'We ought to know, dearest brothers, that there are two deaths and similarly two resurrections'. Accordingly, one can talk of a first and second death, and likewise a first and second resurrection. There are two parts to the first death: one in which a sinful soul (*peccatrix anima*) forsakes its creator through an offence; another in which, with God's judgement, the sinful soul is excluded from its body through punishment. The second death is perpetual punishment of the body and soul. In the first death the soul is separated from its body for a time (*ad tempus*), but in the second, the soul of an unjust man is tormented (*cruciat*) with its body for eternity. Both deaths hold men bound, because the violation of nature implicated everyone in the guilt. When Adam and Eve were warned about the fruit in the Garden of Eden, God told them that the day they ate of it they would die. They ate, and this was the first death, the separation of man from God by sin. They later died physically, as do we all.

The sermon carries on by telling the audience that the immortal and just son of God came and took up our mortal flesh so that He might die for us, and redeem us from the domination of sin, the power of the Devil and eternal death. Christ works mercifully in His faithful, so that He may reawaken them here in the soul through, inserts the compiler, 'sound doctrine and his grace'. Christ gives faith so that His faithful may believe correctly; He bestows charity so that they may love God perfectly; He grants a good will so that they may persevere willingly in good works. If these things are accomplished, Christ may condescend to reawaken them in body on the last day and grant eternal beatitude to them. Having been reawakened in the soul, the audience is exhorted to live with justice in order to rise again in the body to everlasting happiness. The auditors are encouraged to withdraw from evil works 'which mortify the soul while

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<sup>11</sup> *Fragments of the Lost Work of Justin on the Resurrection*, trans. M. Dods, in A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325* vol. 1 (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1996 repr. of Edinburgh, 1885), ch.I, pp.294-9.



the body is alive' so that 'we may be worthy to rejoice with the soul at the same time as the body'. They should preserve the duty (*munus*) of the first resurrection, which Christ has granted through the faith, so that when resurrected they deserve to exult with Him 'where true life and true happiness will be given to the Faithful, where God will give the kingdoms of the heavens to the Faithful according to the merits of each one, where they shall rejoice with Him together with the saints.' It is notable that our sermon differs from the original in this peroration with the repetition of 'ubi' instead of 'tunc' at the beginning of successive clauses: the author is faithful to the rhetorical figure of anaphora used in the original but chooses to tailor the text to his own specification.

Moving straight on to sermon LXXVIII, it is perfectly clear that this previously unedited and hitherto unattributed text forms a fitting counterpart to the preceding sermon. It commences by stating that the audience ought to know that there are two deaths and correspondingly two resurrections. Just as the preceding sermon dealt with the two deaths, so this sermon will treat the two resurrections. There is a first resurrection in which a man's soul is cleansed from its iniquity, and a second in which the body is raised from its ashes (*a suo cinere*). In the first resurrection, professes the sermon, the wicked are forgiven (*iustificatur*) so that they may be changed from their impiety. Conversely, in the second resurrection, both the wicked and the just are judged on the basis of their deeds. In the first, it is through the grace of God that one is awakened spiritually in order to turn from evil to good and to merit eternal glory through the performance of good works and pure confession in the here and now (*hic*). In the second, every just person rises again in the flesh to delight in the eternal fatherland (*patria*) with soul and body at the same time.

However, the wicked rise again only to be sentenced to eternal punishment because of the evil things they have done, and for which they have not wished to do penance nor confess. Again, we see a marked emphasis on penitential practice in this sermon: a way in which the laity could take responsibility in this life to ensure that they do not suffer the same fate as the *impii* after the Resurrection. The sermon affirms that every man who lived in the flesh will rise again in the flesh: Jesus himself proved this by his examples and in the words of the Gospels. Alluding explicitly to Scripture, the audience is told that there will come an hour in which all those who are in tombs will hear the voice of the Son of God and will come forth, some into judgement, some into life (Jn 5:28). When they hear this, they should believe without doubt that the resurrection of the dead is going to be at hand.



Nevertheless, although everyone is going to rise again, which is shown by the power of Christ rising again, not everyone is going to be changed: only the just are to be changed for the better through the discretion of Christ judging. Accordingly, the good of the Faithful will be changed; those who are now not sinners in the soul will be mortals in the flesh. Through the grace of change, they will not die any longer in soul or body, but have full enjoyment of the eternal joys. The sermon then directly appeals to the audience that they endeavour to that change with their whole being: 'Let us all hasten thither most industriously with correct faith, sincere hope, perfect charity, with all zeal of good works, likewise holy confession.' It concludes with a final exhortation to strive in the present circumstances (*hic*) to be changed completely from evil to good, in order to reach that change and secure the rewards of heaven.

From a textual point of view, since the preceding sermon has been attributed to Pseudo-Fulgentius, it is obviously worth enquiring whether this sermon too might be by the same author. Features that Lemarié identified as being characteristics of Pseudo-Fulgentius are the absence of a high-flown style (*un style ampoulé*) or studied vocabulary (*un vocabulaire recherché*), balanced phrases, assonance, and diatribe.<sup>12</sup> He is fond of future participles, and employs a simple syntax with rhymed prose; his vocabulary is marked by a frequent use of adverbs ending in *-ter*, adjectives like *verus* and *certus*, and superlatives.<sup>13</sup> In his more recent studies of Pseudo-Fulgentian material, Dolbeau also remarked upon some distinctive stylistic features, including the frequency of rhymed parallel periods, anaphora, antithesis, and the occurrence of certain adverbs.<sup>14</sup> Unfortunately, like all the others in this collection, sermon LXXVIII is very short, and it would be imprudent to draw any firm conclusions from such a small sample. Nonetheless, the presence of the line 'Nosse debemus, dilectissimi fratres, duas esse mortes et duas similiter resurrectiones' in both sermons with only a slight difference in word order is suggestive, but this could be our author at work. Furthermore, the subject matter and content of the sermons is analogous, and there is a linkage of ideas between the two: the first discusses the two deaths; the second concentrates on the two resurrections. Both appear, superficially at least, to be written in a comparable, extremely simple Latin style. Yet this is deceptive. A range of rhetorical devices is employed in each alike, although it is difficult to say how far these are contrived and

<sup>12</sup> Lemarié, 'Un sermon inédit', 121.

<sup>13</sup> Lemarié, 'L'homélie carolingien', p.571.

<sup>14</sup> Dolbeau, 'Sept sermons antiques', 390-2.



represent traits of this particular author as opposed to features inherent in the Latin sermon genre. The figure of homoiototon (using various words with similar case-endings) pervades the sermon. This rhythmical style of prose prominently marks the end of clauses. The cadenced clauses are antithetically balanced; the syntax is simple. In terms of vocabulary, the author is indeed fond of future participles (e.g. processuros, resurrecturos, adfuturam) and seems to have a penchant for superlative forms of adjectives and adverbs (e.g. sanctissimis, diligentissime). Both antithesis and conduplicatio are observable in the first paragraph (ad hoc quisque iustus resurgit...ad hoc quisque resurgit iniustus). As we shall see shortly, the content of the sermon is in total accord with Augustinian theology – another facet of the work of Fulgentius. So, although the evidence is insufficient, it seems reasonable to at least suggest that sermon LXXVIII may represent, in abridged form, another text from the stable of Fulgentius.

The next sermon LXXIX, also on the theme of the Resurrection, begins with a surfeit of imperatives bidding the audience to ‘hurry’ and ‘order their conduct’, to correct their ‘way of life’. Instead of the customary, ‘fratres dilectissimi’, the author of this sermon markedly addresses his listeners directly as ‘O Christian’ using the vocative of ‘christianus’. This form of address also appears in the anonymous sermon XIII. The auditors are encouraged to ‘pursue holy customs and good works’ so that when they have been resurrected they will be changed for the better (*in melius immuteris*). This phrase echoes a line from the previous sermon: ‘sed per discretionem Christi iudicantis, solos iustos in melius immutari’. They are told to cease quickly from their sins; to retreat from perverse habits and depraved works. Or rather, asks the author sardonically, perhaps it is good to treat God’s precepts with contempt, and to burn forever with the unjust, to suffer punishment (*poenas luere*) with the wicked, to be damned with the Devil and his angels, to be tormented by the fire of eternal burning? The audience is urged to consider how they are leading their lives: they are accused of loving a disorderly life, and think little of an ordered life; they embrace the ‘briefest’ life and reject the everlasting life. They make a disorderly life for themselves while, enticed by worldly things, they bury the ‘heavenly soul’. Finally, they are accused of embracing corruption and mortality, utterly quenching holy desire.

The next paragraph commences with the admonition to be mindful because there are unprofitable and hurtful desires of men which drown them in destruction and perdition (1 Tim 6:9). Hereupon follows an arresting martial metaphor:



‘Why do you make yourself subject to such enemies? Why do you strive to be a soldier for death and be a rebel against life? On what account do you fight against virtues, and be a soldier for vices? It is exceedingly foolish to provide help to your enemies and to judge that you are about to arrive at victory. Therefore change your military service, change your mode of life. Fight against vices, serve as a soldier for virtues. Thus you can seize victory, thus you will deserve to come to the rewards of the heavenly kingdom.’

Those now reawakened in the heart by believing should act by living well so that they are resurrected in the flesh not to punishment, but to glory. It is in these individual bodies in which we live that we will be resurrected so that the wicked will be tormented without end in the same bodies in which they lived badly, and the just will rejoice. Souls will be brought back together with the bodies in which they have done good or evil deeds in a psychosomatic unity to be allotted eternal torment or reward, fire or rest. Then the unjust man will regret that he has lived badly, but he will not profit from that regret. Their souls will be tormented by repenting, so that no mercy will be conceded to them. Christ will be eternal life of the just, eternal happiness and a perennial shining light. The *dénouement* arrives with a hortatory subjunctive urging everyone to entreat Christ unanimously so that He protects us in His faith and pours out the fullness of His love (*caritas*) to us: ‘Let everybody change in the present from evil unto good, let all rise again to the glory of His goodness.’

Two-thirds of this sermon was printed by Lemarié who attributed it to Pseudo-Fulgentius.<sup>15</sup> However, the first section (‘Festina – amplecteris’) is not included in the sermon from the Mondsee homiliary which concludes with Lemarié’s Pseudo-Fulgentian text,<sup>16</sup> and I have been unable to trace any source for it. There are three possibilities which might account for the origin of this unidentified piece: it could be the preceding section from the same Pseudo-Fulgentian sermon which our author copied for the rest of the text, it might be from a completely different author and source, or it might be an original composition. We know that our author is partial to weaving his homiletic compositions together from the fabric of two different sources, taking a large section from one, and ending with another: this is shown prominently by the next two sermons in the series. However, there are also many cases when he does choose to stick to one source for the whole sermon. Although we only have a tiny fragment to go on, there are

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<sup>15</sup> Lemarié, ‘L’homélaire carolingien’, 575-6.

<sup>16</sup> Homily 97. See H. Barré, ‘L’homélaire carolingien’, 96-7; idem, *Les homéliaires*, p.25. Although Barré does not provide an edition, he is thorough in his description of the sources employed for this sermon: none have any relation to the unknown first section.



a few indicators which suggest that this first paragraph does belong to the ensemble and can also be attributed to the mysterious Pseudo-Fulgentius. In terms of style, the form of addressing the audience by using the vocative of 'christianus' appears twice in the first section, and sure enough, at the beginning of the Pseudo-Fulgentian section. Pseudo-Fulgentius uses anaphora (repetition of the same word at the beginning of successive clauses) extensively ('muta...muta'; 'sic...sic'; 'tunc...tunc') and this same rhetorical device occurs in the anonymous part ('cum iniquis...cum impiis...cum diabolo'). The partiality for superlatives is noticeable in 'brevissimam'. The style is unpretentious, the syntax uncomplicated. Now to play the trump card. What confirms beyond doubt the unity of this composition and its original redaction by an earlier author is the appearance of the whole sermon in Clm 14470 (B), under the rubric 'Dicta sancti Augustini de resurrectione'.<sup>17</sup> This manuscript was written around 800 in southern Bavaria, and, judging by its content, was intended for monastic usage.<sup>18</sup> It indubitably predates our collection, and means that the compilers of Clm 14470 and our sermonary both had access to a common (late antique?) homiliary containing works of Pseudo-Fulgentius.

### The Concept of a Twofold Death and Twofold Resurrection

Whence do the concepts of two deaths and two resurrections derive? The notion of a second death can be traced back to several passages in Apocalypse (2:8-11; 20:6; 21:8). The first passage, addressed to the church at Smyrna, encourages them to keep the faith in spite of the physical death they might suffer in the persecutions. Should they do so, they will not be hurt by the second death. The second passage talks about a second death having no power over those who have taken part in the first resurrection; that is, the resurrection of the just who are to reign with Christ for a thousand years. The last passage states that the second death for the eight categories of sinners which it lists is a lake burning with fire and sulphur. The second death is consequently a place of damnation, of everlasting torture in hell.

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<sup>17</sup> Folios 109<sup>v</sup>-110<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>18</sup> CLA IX, no.1300, p.20. Lowe notes that it was written in the same scriptorium that produced Clm 29158b (no.1338). Its provenance is St Emmeram, as is its direct ninth-century copy, Clm 14469, which may have originated there. See also Bischoff, *Schreibschulen I*, p.246; Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften*, pp.81-2 postulates an origin in the Benediktbeuern/Kochel area from the book decoration. The old *Catalogi codicum Latinorum Monacensium* lists the content of ff.59-61 thus: 'f. 59 de monachis qui curis saeculi occupantur, inc: Hi qui pro dei timore seculum renuntiant; f. 61 de monacho nihil commodante, inc.: Nihil monachus in morte sua potest.'



As J.C. Plumpe has shown, the metaphor of a second death predates the book of Apocalypse and also features prominently in the works of African writers.<sup>19</sup> Like so many other ideas, it is in the work of Augustine that the second death receives its fullest exposition, especially in his *City of God*.<sup>20</sup> Augustine states that God made man so that if he obeyed His commands he would have angelic immortality.<sup>21</sup> Death was the punishment for the original sin. Although the human soul is immortal, it has a certain death of its own when God forsakes it, just as the body dies when the soul forsakes it. The death of the whole man occurs when the soul, having been forsaken by God, forsakes the body. This death of the whole man is followed by the second death. This does not happen until the soul and body are joined inseparably, that is, at the Last Judgement. This everlasting punishment is called a death because, even though the body is animated and rendered sensitive by the soul to feel the torments, living in a state of pain is not living at all, but death. It is termed the second death because it follows the first in which the soul is sundered from the body. Further on, Augustine explains that God threatened our first parents with all four deaths: death of soul, body, the whole man and the second death.<sup>22</sup> At the first death the soul, without God, who is its life, and the body suffer punishment for a time; in the second, the soul without God but with the body suffers everlasting punishment. Adam's abuse of his free will transmitted the destruction of the second death to humankind. Augustine says that the exceptions are only those, such as infants and the saints, who are freed by God's mercy and divine grace through a mediator, Christ.<sup>23</sup>

Augustine also preached a sermon in which he explained the two deaths to his congregation: the first temporal, the second sempiternal.<sup>24</sup> The first death, he averred, is waiting for everyone: the second only for the wicked, the impious, the unfaithful and

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<sup>19</sup> Plumpe, 'Mors secunda', pp.387-403.

<sup>20</sup> For some preliminary remarks on the influence of the *City of God* see J.N. Hillgarth, 'L'Influence de la *Cité de Dieu* de saint Augustin au Haut Moyen Age', *Sacris Erudiri*, 28 (1985), 5-34.

<sup>21</sup> For what follows, see 13.1-2.

<sup>22</sup> 13.12-15.

<sup>23</sup> 13.3 (infants), 8 (saints); 13.23 (saints); 14.1 (God's grace).

<sup>24</sup> Sermon 344.4, PL 39:1513-15. For some other minor allusions, see serm. 165.6, PL 38:906: 'Sed ego, cum hoc audio, ideo laudo, quia illam primam mortem intueor et illius primi hominis peccatum'; serm. 231.2, PL 38:1105: 'Pater mortis peccatum est. Si enim nunquam peccaretur, nemo moreretur...inde etiam post mortem primam mors secunda, id est, post mortem temporalem mors sempiterna'; serm. 335B in *Sancti Augustini Sermones post Maurinos reperti*, ed. G. Morin, *Miscellanea Agostiniana* (2 vols, Rome, 1930), i, p.562: 'Utinam sola prima mors, soluens spiritum a carne. Timete secundam mortem, ubi non dirimitur anima a carne, sed torquetur anima cum carne. Nolite timere mortem transeuntem, timete permanentem'; serm. 18D in F. Dolbeau (ed.), *Augustin d'Hippone. Vingt-six sermons au peuple d'Afrique* (Paris, 1996), p.217: 'Cui morti non eos tradidit, inquam? Volebat eos diabolus morti tradere secundae, morti aeternae, non transitoriae'.



the blasphemous. In the sermon Augustine is attempting to save his flock from suffering both deaths: 'I know that you love to live and don't want to die; and that you wish to cross from this life into the other life, so that you don't rise again dead, but are changed alive for the better.'<sup>25</sup> This love of life is an innate human feeling and the soul's desire. The first death strips one of the flesh, which is put aside in the meantime to be received in its own time. We all rise again whether we like it or not, the good and the bad. The judgement which the impious are going to rise again to undergo is called the second death. There is nothing to fear from the first death which is inevitable. It is possible, explains Augustine, to ransom oneself from barbarians to escape death, but it is from the Devil that one really needs to ransom oneself to prevent the second death. A barbarian's ransom is money: the Devil's justice. It is possible for a barbarian to take the ransom money and then take one captive anyway. Justice though cannot be lost because 'it abides in the inmost vault of the heart'. It is also the blood which Christ shed that has ransomed you from the second death, Augustine tells his flock. Augustine further alludes to the idea briefly in some of his other works.<sup>26</sup>

Subsequent to Augustine, those writers that discuss this notion include Fulgentius of Ruspe himself, who for many aspects of his theology openly relies on Augustine.<sup>27</sup> For instance, in his treatise addressed to Monimus (c.517-23), Fulgentius speaks of a first resurrection and the two deaths in the context of a discussion on predestination. The first resurrection is a favour (*beneficium*) in which sin is wiped away; 'little ones' (*parvuli*) are born into the first death of the soul,<sup>28</sup> the guilty (*criminosi*) lapse too, drawn away and trapped by their own concupiscence (James 1, 14); the second death is suffered by those who depart from the world before securing

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<sup>25</sup> PL 39:1514: 'Scio, vivere amas, mori non vis; et de hac vita in aliam vitam sic transire velles, ut non mortuus resurges, sed vivus in melius mutareris.'

<sup>26</sup> *De Trinitate*, IV.3, PL 42:889-892; *De vera religione*, cc.27, 52, PL 34:144, 167; *De coniugiis adulterinis ad Pollentium*, II.11, PL 40:478; *In Joannis Evangelium tractatus*, tract. 43.11, PL 35:1710; *Enchiridion ad Laurentium sive de fide, spe et charitate*, c.xcii-xciii, PL 40:274-5; *De peccatorum meritis et remissione, et de baptismo parvulorum*, I.28.55, II.4.4, PL 44:140-1, 152-3; *Contra secundam Juliani responsionem imperfectum opus*, 6.xii, PL 45:1523; *Contra duas epistolas Pelagianorum ad Bonifacium Romanae ecclesiae episcopum*, I.22.40, PL 44:570.

<sup>27</sup> J.J. Gavigan, 'Fulgentius of Ruspe on Baptism', *Traditio*, 5 (1947), 313-22, at 313: '[Fulgentius] had so completely assimilated the teachings of St. Augustine that he was known to the Middle Ages as *Augustinus breviatus*.' This article makes no mention of the first and second resurrection. See also S.T. Stevens, 'The Circle of Bishop Fulgentius', *Traditio*, 38 (1982), 327-41, at 327: 'His theology is not much admired, being largely derivative from Augustine'.

<sup>28</sup> All the Church Fathers acknowledged that the body and soul of infants were imbued with Adam's original sin due to sex (*traducianism*), but it was Augustine who most forcefully promulgated the idea of infant baptism. See P. Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c.200-c.1150* (Cambridge, 1993), pp.113ff.



the grace of baptism, or those who, after receiving baptism, receive the grace of God in vain (II Cor 6, 1), preferring to be slaves to sin and not wishing to be converted from their evil way.<sup>29</sup> He adds,

‘To this one death, which the sinner has invited for himself through the contempt of the divine command by unjustly lusting, God, by justly judging, has added a double death, i.e., the first death consisting in the separation of soul and body, the second, in the eternal torment of soul and body. And through this the first death by which, with the departure of the soul, the flesh alone dies; but the second when the soul returning to the flesh is tortured in the same and with the same flesh in which it sinned. With the one it communicated the death of sin which the goodness of God forbade to the human race, with the same it communicated the death of punishment which divine justice prepared for the sinner.’<sup>30</sup>

Fulgentius further mentions the idea elsewhere.<sup>31</sup>

Early medieval and Carolingian churchmen received and transmitted this doctrine, mainly in biblical commentaries. Bede (†735) in his homilies on the Gospels repeated Cyprian’s *De opere et eleemosynis* by stating that alms could free one not only from the second, but also from the first death (of the soul).<sup>32</sup> Ambrosius Autpertus (†784), abbot of the celebrated monastery of San Vincenzo al Volturno, wrote a commentary on the Apocalypse in which, on the basis of chapter 2, verse 11, he points out three deaths: one of sin, another of death, another of the punishments of damnation. He explained that the ultimate damnation was called the second death in Apocalypse because, compared to the death of sin and the death of eternal punishment, death of the

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<sup>29</sup> *Ad Monimum libri tres*, I.V, PL 65:165A-B: ‘nec ad peccatum, quo primae resurrectionis beneficium, aut non accipiunt, aut amittunt, sed ad tormentum, quod illis propria iniquitas male parit, et aequitas divina bene retribuit; nec ad mortem animae primam, in qua nascuntur parvuli, vel in quam (sicut beatus Jacobus dicit) *concupiscentia sua abstracti et illecti* recidunt criminosi, sed ad mortem secundam, quam necesse est patiantur, retribuente justissimo iudice, seu qui ante perceptam gratiam baptismi discedunt de saeculo, sive qui, *in vacuum gratiam Dei recipientes* post acceptum baptismum, usque in finem praesentis vitae malunt *servi esse peccati*, nec volunt, dum *tempus est acceptabile, et dies salutis*, converti a via sua mala...’

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, I.VI, PL 65:156D: ‘Huic uni morti, quam peccator sibi per contemptum divinae jussionis injuste concupiscendo arcessivit, duplam Deus mortem juste judicando retribuit; hoc est, primam in separatione animae et corporis, secundam in aeterna cruciatione animae et corporis. Ac per hoc primam, qua, discedente anima, caro sola moritur; secundam vero, quando rediens in carnem anima, in eadem et cum eadem, in qua peccavit, carne torquetur; ut cum qua communicavit mortem peccati, quod Dei bonitas interdixit homini, cum ipsa communicet mortem supplicii, quod paravit divina justitia peccatori.’ English translation: *Fulgentius. Selected Works*, trans. Eno, p.196.

<sup>31</sup> *De remissione peccatorum, ad Euthymium libri duo*, II.12, PL 65:563C; Fulgentius Ruspensis, *Opera*, CCSL 91A, epist. 17.64: ‘...et absque sacramento baptismatis ad secundae mortis aeterna supplicia rapiuntur?’; *ibid.*, serm. 6.5: ‘...et temporali sui corporis morte de potestate secundae mortis eripuit.’ The late antique Spanish poet Prudentius also refers to the idea. See V. Buchheit, “Resurrectio carnis” bei Prudentius’, *Vigiliae Christianae*, 40 (1986), 261-85.

<sup>32</sup> Beda Venerabilis, *Opera homiletica. Opera rhythmica*, eds D. Hurst and J. Fraipont, CCSL 122 (Turnhout, 1955), lib.2, hom.10.



flesh cannot be called death, merely sleeping.<sup>33</sup> The first death which wounds is sin; to this nothing follows which can wound but eternal damnation. The Irish exile Sedulius Scotus (†c.860) links the second death to sin, and a ‘good life’ to the promise of a revived mortal body.<sup>34</sup>

In fact, the noblewoman Dhuoda discusses the twin deaths in the handbook for her son William, written between November 841 and February 843.<sup>35</sup> She informs William that ‘according to the sayings of the learned, two births can be recognized in a single human being, one of the flesh, the other of the spirit. But the spiritual birth is nobler than the fleshly’. Each one is born into sin in the first birth, but Dhuoda encourages William to persevere in the second spiritual birth in Christ through the Gospel, holy doctrine and good works. Dhuoda never explicitly alludes to baptism though. She describes the first death as a ‘journey outside the body’, either to the ‘good place’, or the ‘other place’. The second death is understood as death of the soul. No one can escape the first death but it is possible to evade the second death if a person wills it and has striven worthily. Dhuoda counsels William to read and pray often in order to grow in Christ, avoid the second death and enjoy everlasting life with the saints. Of course, Dhuoda is an exceptional example, but this shows that the concepts were appreciated by aristocratic lay people, mediated through Augustine. Perhaps some amongst the audience for these sermons would have had an acquaintance with the ideas previously, although the didactic tone and straightforward theology of the sermons assumes no prior knowledge.

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<sup>33</sup> Ambrosius Autpertus, *Opera I. Expositionis in Apocalypsim libri I-V*, ed. R. Weber, CCCM 27 (Turnhout, 1975), 2.2.10c-11: ‘Cum sacra Scriptura tres ponere mortes solita sit, unam scilicet peccati, alteram autem carnis, alteram uero supplicium damnationis, cur in hac Reuelatione, ultima damnatione non tertia, sed secunda mors appellatur, nisi quia illae hic poni uidentur quae nocere probantur? Mors scilicet peccati, morsque aeterni supplicii, ad quarum comparationem, ista quae carnis est, mors dicenda non est. Vnde et Apostolus saepe carne mortuos, dormientes uocat.’; cf. idem, *Opera II. Expositionis in Apocalypsim libri VI-X*, CCCM 27A, 9.20.5a. Hillgarth, ‘L’Influence’, 21, points out that both Bede and Ambrosius used Augustine’s *City of God* for their commentaries on Apocalypse.

<sup>34</sup> Sedulius Scotus, *Collectaneum in Apostolum*, eds H.J. Frede and H. Stanjek (2 vols, Freiburg, 1996-7), i, in epist. ad Romanos, 7.5, p.158: ‘Hoc est, ut fructum facerent morti secundae. Lucrum enim tunc facit mors, cum peccatur’; 7.24, p.165: ‘Corpus autem mortis cuncta peccata significat; multa enim unum corpus sunt mortis secundae, singula quasi membra uno auctore inuenta, ex quibus homo ereptus gratia Dei secundam mortem euasit’; 8.3, p.168: ‘Hoc itaque peccato reus factus satanas amisit dominium retentorum animarum, ut iam signatos signo crucis, in quo uictus est, in secunda morte tenere non audeat’; 8.11, p.176, ‘Quia supra propter peccatum corpus dixerat mori morte secunda, id est totum hominem, hic iterum propter bonam uitam mortalia corpora uiuificari promisit, id est totum hominem.’; ii, in epist. ad Corinthos I, 15.51, p.451: ‘Nam gehennalis poena mors secunda est, ideo peccatoribus inmutatio non deputatur.’

<sup>35</sup> Dhuoda, *Handbook for her Warrior Son: Liber Manualis*, ed. and trans. M. Thiébaux, Cambridge Medieval Classics, 8 (Cambridge, 1998), 7.1-6, pp.190ff. According to the editor, Dhuoda’s source is Augustine’s *Tractatus in Evangelium Iohannis* 11.6 and 43.11.



Paschasius Radbertus (†c.859), in his explanation of Matthew's Gospel, talks succinctly of the first and second deaths: 'The first, which is of the body, is called a taste of death. The second, however, is named the true death in which men are damned in eternity.'<sup>36</sup> Remigius of Auxerre (†c.908), in his commentary on Genesis, elucidates clearly the four kinds of deaths: the first of the soul, when it forsakes God by sinning, and is forsaken by Him; the second of the body, when it is separated from the soul; the third is of the soul, which, when it has been forsaken by God and separated from the body, suffers punishment for a time alone, without the body; in the fourth death the soul, having received back the body, will be sent into eternal fire.<sup>37</sup> However, the idea 'is not very readily found in the patristic witnesses following Augustine...[and] was not employed by such celebrated writers as Leo the Great and Gregory the Great; nor...in the works of Augustine's eminent contemporaries, Ambrose and Jerome'.<sup>38</sup> This adds further weight to Lemarié's argument that the sermon was drawn up by an African bishop from the school of Fulgentius, whose work is in turn profoundly influenced by Augustine.<sup>39</sup>

As regards the twin resurrections, to understand the concept it is first necessary to go back to the Bible again. Christ taught about the resurrection of the dead in the Gospels (e.g. Lk 14:14; Jn 5:21-29; 6:39-40; 11:25), in particular against the disbelieving Sadducees (Mt 22:23-33; Mk 12:18-27; Lk 20:27-40). At the Second Coming of Christ, all the dead will arise and will be judged by Him together with the living. Paul preached the resurrection of the dead as one of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, equating a belief in the general resurrection with that of Christ, 'as the guarantee that those who sleep in death will also be raised' (1 Cor 15:1-58. See also

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<sup>36</sup> Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Matheo. Libri XII*, ed. B. Paulus, CCCM 56 (Turnhout, 1984), bk.8, line 983: 'Sed prima quae est corporis gustus mortis dicitur. Secunda uero uera mors qua in aeternum damnantur homines appellatur.'

<sup>37</sup> Remigii Autissiodorensis, *Expositio super Genesim*, ed. B. Van Name Edwards, CCCM 136 (Turnhout, 1999), linea 1016: 'Sciendum ergo est quattuor genera mortium, in scripturis euidenter ostendi. Prima mors animae est: cum deserit Deum peccando, et ab Eo deseritur. Secunda mors corporis est: cum ab anima separatur. Tertia solius est animae, quae cum et a Deo deseritur et a corpore separatur, ad tempus sola sine corpore poenas luit. Quarta mors est: cum anima recepto corpore pariter in ignem mittetur aeternum.'

<sup>38</sup> Plumpe, 'Mors secunda', p.400.

<sup>39</sup> Interestingly, Icelandic sagas speak of two deaths and the concept of a 'Living Corpse': the first death occurs when a man's body is interred in a burial mound, yet a man can continue to live and appear in the community; the second death happens when the body decays, is dismembered or is burnt so that it can no longer be reunited. The second death 'ended all', in contrast to the Christian belief in the immortality of the soul. Although the sagas are mainly late medieval in date, they undoubtedly point to the existence of this folkloric idea at a much earlier period, probably diffused across much of Europe. See C.M. Gould, 'They Who Await the Second Death', *Scandinavian Studies and Notes*, 9 (1927), 167-201.



Acts 17:18, 31-32; 24:15; Rom 8:11; 1 Cor 6:14; 1 Thes 4:13-18). The anticipation and reality of a corporal resurrection was firmly rooted in the belief of a fleshly, and not spiritual, resurrection of Christ himself (Jn 20:19-20, 26:7; Lk 24:37, 39). The resurrection body had to be physical, and not spiritual, so that the punishment or reward meted out at the Last Judgement would be consistent with the body's earthly life (cf. Jn 20:11-18). The expression 'prima resurrectio' occurs in the book of Revelation or Apocalypse of John, which announces a first resurrection of the just at the beginning of the millennial reign of Christ on earth in a renewed Jerusalem. After one thousand years will come the general resurrection as well as the Last Judgement and end of time (Rev 20:1-15). It is in this context that the phrase *prima resurrectio* appears frequently in the western liturgy, probably dating back to the late fourth and early fifth century, a time of millennial feeling. The exceptions to this millennialist interpretation are some passages from the Mozarabic liturgy.<sup>40</sup>

However, sermon LXXVIII states that the first resurrection happens when the soul is cleansed from its sin (*iniquitas*). Clearly this refers to baptism as a spiritual resurrection. As the Apostle Paul explains in his letter to the Romans, Adam brought sin into the world by violating the divine precept not to eat the forbidden fruit, and incurred the punishment of death which was transmitted to the entire human race (Rom 5:12. See also Gen 2:17; 3:3, 19). The first death therefore was a spiritual one: the separation of man from God by sin. The second was physical: death of the mortal body. In Paul's soteriological interpretation, Christ the divinely-sent Messiah was sacrificed in order to save men from perdition (e.g. Rom 3:23-6; 6:1-11). Paul goes on to say that when one is baptized into union with Christ, one is also baptized into union with His death. Baptism is sharing Christ's death, burial and resurrection in a spiritual sense so that one dies to sin and is reborn in a new life, attaining salvation from one's old sinful self. As the result of baptism, one also has the hope of a physical resurrection and life in heaven. This takes away the power of the second, physical death, because the first death is no longer an end but a prelude to eternal life (1 Cor 15:54-57).

The Gelasian sacramentary, drawn up around Paris in the eighth century, alludes to the reception of the sacrament of baptism as a resurrection in the section introducing the creed. The instruction bids the priest to elaborate upon the remission of sins received

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<sup>40</sup> D.B. Botte, 'Prima resurrectio: Un vestige de millénarisme dans les liturgies occidentales', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 15 (1948), 5-17; J. Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, trans. A. Goldhammer (London, 1984), pp.123-4; F.S. Paxton, *Christianizing Death: The Creation of a Ritual Process in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca and London, 1990), p.65.



in baptism and the Church's teaching on the resurrection of the flesh. The priest says that a candidate is transformed,

'from the *old man into the new* [cf. Eph 4:22]: from *carnal* you begin to be *spiritual*, from *earthly* to be *heavenly* [cf. 1 Cor 15:44ff]: with quiet and steadfast faith you must believe that the resurrection, which in Christ became a fact, must be completed in us all, that what started in *the Head shall follow in the whole body* [cf. Col 1:18]. Moreover, the very sacrament of baptism which you are to receive expresses the form of this hope. For in it is celebrated a kind of death and resurrection...A sinner goes into the waters and comes out justified. He is thrown out who draws you to death, and he is received who leads you back to life...so that wherein you receive remission of sins, you may also have the glory of the resurrection.'<sup>41</sup>

Thus the passage envisages baptism as a birth of the spirit. Christ's resurrection is imitated by all who are baptized into the Church (the whole body), but the resurrection spoken of here must be the corporal resurrection at the Last Judgement, as is made clear at the end of the extract. The passage construes the ritual itself as an representation of the Resurrection, and, although it is not explicitly stated, what is obliquely implied is that baptism is a preparatory regeneration, a necessary precursor to the future resurrection. A homily by Narsai of Edessa (†502) 'On the Mysteries of the Church and on Baptism' talks of 'body and soul' being buried in baptism 'as in a tomb...and they die and live [again] with a type of the resurrection that is to be at the end. It [baptism] fills for men the office of the grave mystically...In the grave of the water the priest buries the whole man; and he resuscitates him by the power of life that is hidden in his words. In the door of the tomb of baptism he stands equipped, and he performs there a mystery of death and of the resurrection.'<sup>42</sup> Again, baptism as an initial spiritual resurrection is not spoken of, but Narsai does hint at this understanding when he calls it a 'type' of the resurrection to come 'at the end': it is therefore a 'mystical' form of the future corporal resurrection. Yet for the most part the liturgy of baptism does not seem to allude to the sacrament as a first resurrection, although ideas of rebirth, renewal and remission of sins are of course ubiquitous.<sup>43</sup>

Nonetheless, the idea of two resurrections does have a long history amongst Christian writers. Tertullian, for instance, speaks of a spiritual resurrection in contrast to the corporal, but only to defy the opponents of the orthodox doctrine.<sup>44</sup> Origen (d.253/4)

<sup>41</sup> E.C. Whitaker, *Documents of the Baptismal Liturgy* (London, 1970), pp.176-7.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p.55.

<sup>43</sup> On the changing meanings and interpretations of baptism see Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, *passim*.

<sup>44</sup> A.H.C. van Eijk, "'Only that can rise which has previously fallen': The History of a Formula", *The Journal of Theological Studies*, 22 (1971), 517-29, at 521-2: 'As this conception of a spiritual resurrection has disappeared completely from the ecclesiastical literature after St. Paul, we may safely assume that



writes of a similar concept.<sup>45</sup> In Origen's allegorical interpretation of the New Testament, the resurrection of the Lord is assumed by the Faithful in two ways: in the 'temporal Gospel', that is the Church, by a resurrection *ex parte*; in the 'eternal Gospel' (Rev 14:6), that is 'the perfect revelation of eschatological realities', by a 'perfect' resurrection, face to face (1 Cor 13:9-12). The first 'partial' resurrection begins here by baptism in the Holy Spirit; the second coincides with the end of time, the coming of Christ, and is perfect and total. For Origen, the 'living' are those who have been resurrected through baptism in a spiritual, religious and moral sense, and who have not lost their new life through sin. The 'dead' in Christ are those sinners who have lost the new life, have done penance in this world or the next, and will receive salvation only at the second resurrection.

All the same, like the conception of a twofold death, it was Augustine who both revived and expounded the idea of a spiritual and bodily resurrection which had by his time fallen into desuetude.<sup>46</sup> He confirmed:

'Just as there are two regenerations, of which I have already spoken above, one according to faith, which takes place in the present life by means of baptism, the other according to the flesh, which shall be accomplished in its incorruption and immortality by means of the great and final judgment, so there are also two resurrections: the first one, which is in this life, and is of souls, which does not permit us to come into the second death; the other a second one, which is not now, but is at the end of the world, and is not of souls, but of bodies, which by the last judgment shall dismiss some into a second death, others into that life which has no death.'<sup>47</sup>

For Augustine there remained the problem of the two resurrections mentioned in John's Apocalypse (Rev 20:1-15) to clarify: 'The evangelist John has spoken of these two resurrections in the book which is called the Apocalypse, but in such a way that the first

Tertullian takes it up again under pressure of his opponents, who, denying the resurrection of the flesh, believed in a solely spiritual resurrection.' Van Eijk notes that the idea of a spiritual resurrection is absent from his treatise on baptism, showing that it is a counterweight to heretical views of the resurrection.

<sup>45</sup> See H. Crouzel, 'La "première" et la "seconde" résurrection des hommes d'après Origène', *Didaskalia*, 3 (1973), 3-19.

<sup>46</sup> G. Greshake and J. Kremer, *Resurrectio mortuorum: Zum theologischen Verständnis der leiblichen Auferstehung* (Darmstadt, 1986), p.214: 'Wenn es aber eine "Fall" = einen Tod der Seele gibt, so darf und muß auch von einer "resurrectio animae" gesprochen werden. Damit bricht Augustinus den verengten antignostischen Sprachgebrauch auf, mehr noch: er revitalisiert den "vergessenen Glauben an eine geistliche Auferstehung, die in die Taufe geschieht", und spricht deutlich von, "duae resurrectiones"; Dewart, *Death*, p.164f; Le Goff, *Purgatory*, p.83; van Eijk, "Only that can rise which has previously fallen", 527-9.

<sup>47</sup> PL 41:666, 20.6.2: 'Sicut ergo duae sunt regenerationes, de quibus jam supra locutus sum, una secundum fidem, quae nunc fit per Baptismum; alia secundum carnem, quae fiet in ejus incorruptione atque immortalitate per judicium magnum atque novissimum: ita sunt et resurrectiones duae, una prima, quae et nunc est, et animarum est, quae venire non permittit in mortem secundam; alia secunda, quae nunc non est, sed in saeculi fine futura est, nec animarum, sed corporum est, quae per ultimum judicium alios mittet in secundam mortem, alios in eam vitam, quae non habet mortem.'



of them is not understood by certain among us, and in addition it is turned into certain risible fancies.’<sup>48</sup> In his revised exegesis of this passage, Augustine quotes Mark 3, 27, interpreting the ‘strong man’ of the passage as the Devil, whom Christ binds and robs of his ‘goods’, that is, those who had been held in sin but who are now believers. This is paralleled by the angel in the Apocalypse ‘coming down from heaven’ to bind the Devil ‘for a thousand years’ (Rev 20:1-3). The ‘thousand years’ stands for the whole duration of the world, because 1000 is the number of perfection. Hence Augustine eschews the literal interpretation of a future thousand-year reign and sees the thousand-year figure metaphorically as a symbolic number to denote the fullness of time until the end of the world. The passage, ‘And I saw seats; and they sat upon them; and judgment was given unto them’ is interpreted not as the Last Judgement but as ‘the seats of the rulers and to the rulers themselves by whom the Church is now governed.’ It is the souls of the martyrs ‘not yet restored to their bodies’ that reign with Christ for a thousand years, ‘but, taking the part for the whole, we understand the words of all others who belong to the Church, which is the kingdom of Christ.’ The Church itself is Christ’s kingdom on earth, and the ‘thousand years’ began at Christ’s first coming.<sup>49</sup> Augustine further needed to defend his elucidation against those who argued that only bodies fall in death and therefore only bodies can rise again in the first resurrection.<sup>50</sup> He defends his position by quoting passages which speak of a resurrection of the ‘inner man’ (Col 3:1; Rom 6:4; Eph 5:14) to prove that souls can also fall and hence can rise again (Ecc 2:7; Rom 14:4; 1 Cor 10:12).<sup>51</sup>

Later authors followed Augustine’s thought on this subject. Fulgentius, whose way of thinking and writings are saturated with borrowings from Augustine, penned a work entitled *De remissione peccatorum* to a certain Euthymius. In this work Fulgentius discusses the twin resurrections in terms analogous to those of our sermons:

‘They are changed here by means of the first resurrection, in which they are illuminated so that they may be converted; in which certainly they cross over from death unto life, from iniquity to justice, from infidelity to fidelity, from evil deeds to holy conduct. For that reason the second death does not have power over them...Just as the first resurrection corresponds to a conversion of the heart, so the second death consists of eternal suffering. Accordingly, let everyone who does not wish to be damned with

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<sup>48</sup> Ibid., 666-7, 20.7.1: ‘De his duabus resurrectionibus [sic] idem Joannes evangelista in libro qui dicitur Apocalypsis, eo modo locutus est, ut earum prima a quibusdam nostris non intellecta, insuper etiam in quasdam ridiculas fabulas verteretur.’

<sup>49</sup> Ibid., 20.9.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 675-6, 20.10. This chapter is a fundamental reinterpretation of the formula used by such writers as Tertullian until Augustine to argue solely for the resurrection of the body. See below.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. Ibid., 665, 20.6.1: ‘Habent enim et animae mortem suam in impietate atque peccatis’.



eternal punishment of the second death hasten in the present to become a partaker of the first resurrection. For if those who, changed in the present life from divine fear, cross over from an evil life to a good life, cross over from death to life...'<sup>52</sup>

Caesarius of Arles (†542) affirmed that we rise again in the first resurrection through baptism. Sin, he said, is death; just as the first death takes place in this life through sin, so the first resurrection takes place in this life through the remission of sins. He who has preserved what he received when he was born again in baptism will not feel eternal torments.<sup>53</sup> Bede exemplifies the same doctrine in his *Explanatio Apocalypsis*.<sup>54</sup>

The idea of a first resurrection of the soul in this life and a second bodily resurrection in the future seems to be the conventional stance amongst ninth-century thinkers. Alcuin, for instance, from whom the compiler of the sermonary derived much of his material, wrote a work entitled *De fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis* addressed to Charlemagne in 802 that was intended to be a 'summary of the whole of the Catholic faith useful for preachers and teachers'.<sup>55</sup> Alcuin wrote:

'Death is of the soul when God deserts it on account of a magnitude of sins; death is of the body when the body is deserted by the soul...The resurrection of souls happens in the Church through the son of God, the Word of God, when through the grace of God the living will rise again from the death of sin. And this is the first resurrection...in the second, which is of bodies, they will rise again happily into eternal life. The son of man received the power to judge, the judgment will be at the end of time, and there will not be a resurrection of souls, but of bodies...It is now the hour, that they may rise again from the dead; it will be the hour at the end of time that they may rise again from the dead; but they rise again now in the mind, then in the flesh; they rise again now in the mind through the word of God the son of God; they rise again then in the flesh through the word of God, made flesh, the Son of man. Therefore God revives souls through the Word, the Son of God, so that they may live in Christ; God revives bodies at the end of the world, through the same Son of man, so that they may live eternally with Christ.'<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> PL 65:563C-D: 'Mutantur hic enim per primam resurrectionem, qua illuminantur ut convertantur; qua scilicet transeunt de morte ad vitam, de iniquitate ad justitiam, de infidelitate ad fidem, de malis actibus ad sanctam conversationem. Ideo in illis secunda mors non habet potestatem. De talibus in Apocalypsi dicitur: *Beatus et sanctus qui habet partem in resurrectione prima: in his secunda mors non habet potestatem*. In eodem rursus libro dicitur: *Qui vicerit, a morte secunda non laedetur*. Sicut ergo in conversione cordis prima consistit resurrectio, sic mors secunda in supplicio sempiterno. Festinet itaque hic primae resurrectionis particeps fieri, omnis qui non vult secundae mortis aeterna punitione damnari. Si qui enim in praesenti vita timore divino mutati, transeunt a vita mala ad vitam bonam, ipsi transeunt de morte ad vitam, qui etiam postmodum de ignobilitate [.....] buntur in gloriam.'

<sup>53</sup> Published erroneously under Augustine's name in PL 35:2448.

<sup>54</sup> PL 93:192B-D.

<sup>55</sup> J. Cavadini, 'The Sources and Theology of Alcuin's "De fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis"', *Traditio*, 46 (1991), 123-146, at 127.

<sup>56</sup> PL 101:50B-C: 'Mors est videlicet animae, quando Deus deserit eam ob peccatorum magnitudinem; corporis mors est, quando ab anima deseritur...Nunc autem animarum in Ecclesia per Filium Dei, Verbum Dei, fit resurrectio, quando per gratiam Dei vivificatae resurgent a morte iniquitatis. Et haec est prima resurrectio...in secunda, quae est corporum, feliciter resurgent in vitam aeternam. Filius vero hominis accepit potestatem iudicium facere, quod iudicium in fine erit saeculi, et ibi non erit resurrectio animarum, sed corporum...Hora autem nunc est, ut resurgant mortui; hora erit in fine saeculi ut resurgant



In this passage Alcuin reprises the theory of a first and second death, and elucidates the associated resurrections. The first resurrection is effected through baptism, in which one is restored to life from the first death – the spiritual demise of the soul, forsaken by God due to its sin, and transmitted by Adam to the whole human race. The second is the resurrection of the body at the end of time, when the Faithful will receive eternal life. John Cavadini has pointed out that Alcuin was using Augustine's *City of God* as his source for this section.<sup>57</sup> Thus it is from Augustine that the clear concept of two resurrections and his amended understanding of the millennial rule of Christ becomes mainstream. Other later Carolingian churchmen epitomize the Augustinian interpretation in their works.<sup>58</sup>

### The Materialist View of the Resurrection Body

The three preceding sermons offer an extremely simple, traditional version of the doctrine of the Resurrection, one that emphasizes material continuity and reassemblage of the body from its ashes. In his letter to the Corinthians Paul silenced the doubts of those who said that there was no general resurrection.<sup>59</sup> He likens the resurrection of the body to the sowing of a seed which dies in the ground before growing into a plant (1 Cor 15:35-53). When raised, the body will be changed into an immortal, 'spiritual' body. Thus the image asserts continuity, but what grows is not the same in form or substance as what is sown. This seed metaphor caused problems, as did the Gospel accounts of Christ's resurrection which spoke of a 'spiritual' body alongside a more physical one (Lk 24:15-43; Jn 20:14-31; 21:1-25). The view from the second century onwards was firmly 'materialist': the resurrection body is this earthly body restored and improved in a miraculous manner; there is therefore material and structural continuity of particles. It is the material continuity of the particles which ensures the preservation of identity. The whole essence, comprising body and soul, must be rewarded or punished

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mortui; sed resurgunt nunc in mente, tunc in carne; resurgunt nunc in mente per Verbum Dei Filium Dei; resurgent tunc in carne per Verbum Dei, carnem factum, Filium hominis. Animas ergo nunc suscitatur Deus per Verbum, Filium Dei, ut vivant in Christo; corpora suscitatur Deus in fine saeculi, per eundem Filium hominis, ut aeternaliter vivant cum Christo.'

<sup>57</sup> Cavadini, 'Sources and Theology', 142-3.

<sup>58</sup> See, for example, Haymo of Halberstadt, *Expositionis in Apocalypsin B. Joannis libri septem*, PL 117:1184D *et seq.*; Paschasius Radbertus, *Expositio in Evangelium Matthaei*, PL 120:821C *et seq.*; Hincmar of Rheims, *Vita sancti Remigii Rhemorum archiepiscopi*, PL 125:1152D-1153A.

<sup>59</sup> On the problems of interpreting Paul's letter to the Corinthians see Dahl, *Resurrection, passim*.



for its good or bad deeds. For persecuted Christians, material identity of the body was a reassurance against the despoliation of their bodies and made death bearable.

Tertullian is a good example of this materialist school of thought. He insists on the dignity of the flesh: without it the soul can do nothing; it is the soul's servant and also its 'consort and coheir'.<sup>60</sup> The flesh and the soul are united in deeds and misdeeds, so must be united for their punishment or reward.<sup>61</sup> It is easier for God to remake than to make; He is able to recover what has been dispersed.<sup>62</sup> Nature is an example of dying and coming to life.<sup>63</sup> The resurrection in baptism is a spiritual one; the literal resurrection will take place at the Second Coming.<sup>64</sup> He supports his argument for the resurrection of the flesh with reference to Scripture.<sup>65</sup> In what body will we rise? Tertullian says that the flesh that dies is what is made alive; what rises is what is sown. Just as the same species of grain grows from the seed which is sown but it is clothed in another guise, so there is continuity of substance in our bodies but a difference, or change, in honour, dignity and glory.<sup>66</sup> He introduces an etymological argument to support his case: *cadaver* comes from *cadere*, to fall, and so it is the flesh that rises again.<sup>67</sup> But do we retain our disabilities and acquired characteristics? 'Allow God also this right to reshape condition, not nature, by virtue of that mutation, while the possibility of injury is withdrawn and protection [from suffering] conferred' answers Tertullian.<sup>68</sup> The members of the body endure because the body must be whole to be judged, but they are relieved of their functions as 'the very causes of necessity will first be inoperative, of food hunger, and drink thirst, and of cohabitation child-bearing, and of labour livelihood. For when death has been taken away, neither the supports of livelihood for the preservation of life, nor the replenishment of the race, will be a burden to the members.'<sup>69</sup>

Justin Martyr, whose work only survives in fragments, argues along similar lines to Tertullian. He raises a key objection to the doctrine in order to refute it: salvation of

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<sup>60</sup> *Tertullian's Treatise on the Resurrection*, tr. Evans, chs.5-7, 15-18.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, chs.14, 17, 56.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.11.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.12.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.23.

<sup>65</sup> For example, see *ibid.*, chs.38-9.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.52.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.18. See also van Eijk, 'History of a formula', 517-29.

<sup>68</sup> *Tertullian's Treatise on the Resurrection*, tr. Evans, ch.57.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, chs.60-2.



the flesh is injurious because the body is a cause of sins and infirmity.<sup>70</sup> If the flesh rises again, then so do the infirmities. Rising imperfectly implies a lack of power on God's part; but if we rise entire like the angels as Christ promised then we shall have no flesh, neither eat nor reproduce. To the point that if the body rises entire then all its members must exercise their earthly functions, Justin retorts that even on earth the members do not discharge the same functions from the beginning, nor is it necessary to discharge them.<sup>71</sup> In this world, some things like food are necessary, but some live as virgins and there are barren women: deprived of 'lawless desire' the body 'suffers no harm' on earth, so in the world to come such fleshly members are abolished. Nor are disabilities resurrected: on earth Christ performed healing miracles so in the resurrection the flesh 'shall rise perfect and entire.'<sup>72</sup> Justin argues for the truth of the Resurrection from theories of physical matter: philosophers agree that nothing can be produced from what is not in being, nor anything destroyed or dissolved into what has no being.<sup>73</sup> The elements out of which all things are generated are indestructible; only that which is formed of matter is destructible, and can be refashioned anew. Finally, he defends the dignity of the flesh,<sup>74</sup> asserts that God would not neglect his handiwork to decay and annihilation,<sup>75</sup> and avows that since man was brought to life a 'reasonable animal composed of body and soul' he will be resurrected whole.<sup>76</sup>

In contrast to these strongly materialist interpretations, Origen of Alexandria endorsed a spiritual resurrection body.<sup>77</sup> Origen's teaching though aroused much controversy, and although his treatise has been lost, opponents such as Methodius of Olympus (†c.311) cited extracts in their own work. According to Methodius, Origen thought that 'the same flesh will not be restored to the soul, but that the form of each, according to the appearance by which the flesh is now distinguished, shall arise stamped upon another spiritual body; so that every one will again appear the same in form'.<sup>78</sup> Origen believed that the material body was fluid, continually wearing out and 'being

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<sup>70</sup> *Fragments of the Lost Work of Justin on the Resurrection*, trans. Dods, ch.II.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.III.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.IV.

<sup>73</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.VI.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.VII.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.VIII.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, chs VIII-IX.

<sup>77</sup> See H. Chadwick, 'Origen, Celsus, and the Resurrection of the Body', *Harvard Theological Review*, 41 (1948), 83-102; H. Crouzel, 'Les critiques adressées par Méthode et ses contemporains à la doctrine origénienne du corps ressuscité', *Gregorianum*, 53 (1972), 679-716; Bynum, *Resurrection*, pp.63ff.

<sup>78</sup> *From the Discourse on the Resurrection*, trans. W.R. Clark, in A. Roberts and J. Donaldson (eds), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325* vol. 6 (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1995 reprint of Edinburgh, 1886), pp.364-377, ch.XII.



replaced around the appearance by which its shape is distinguished, and by which the figure is contained'. Thus Origen understood the body to be in a state of constant flux but with an unchanging substratum, a corporeal *eidos*, whose survival guaranteed the identity of the earthly with the glorious body and obviated the need for material continuity.<sup>79</sup> Against this, Methodius argued that there could be no resurrection of 'form' without flesh. Methodius, however, misunderstood the philosophical sense of *eidos*, equating it merely with external appearance. Origen apparently further adhered to the principle that the risen body would be transformed for the better 'in a spiritual body' to inhabit the realm of the spiritual God which would not be the 'original substance, but a certain resemblance of it, fashioned in an ethereal body'.<sup>80</sup> If it is not the same form, nor body, which arises, replies Methodius, then it is 'another in place of the first, for that which is like, being different from that which it resembles, cannot be that very first thing in accordance with which it was made.' For Methodius the essential point was that of dissimilarity: orthodoxy dictated that the very same flesh that had died must be resurrected in order to suffer or be rewarded at the Last Judgement.

These sermons concentrate on the rewards of leading a good Christian life and pressure their audience to correct their earthly lives in order to merit eternal life rather than eternal damnation: the second death. Both the souls and the entire bodies of the just in this world will be reunited at the Resurrection in a changed, incorruptible body to enjoy everlasting life. The particularity of self, that is, the identity of the immortal with the mortal body, is expressed in the union of body and soul. The monk Ademar of Chabannes (c.989-1034) in his sermons also defended an orthodox view against what he perceived as the 'antimaterialist teachings' of the heretics in Aquitaine who denied bodily resurrection.<sup>81</sup> It is worth mentioning that the compiler of the sermonary does not include any material relating to the deeper theological questions raised by the doctrine of the Resurrection, such as the fate of souls between the time of death and Judgement Day. Although Jacques Le Goff has shown that the term *purgatorium* to denote a definite place was not used substantively before about 1170,<sup>82</sup> late antique and early

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<sup>79</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, ch.XVII: 'Moreover, he says that that is the appearance or form which shows forth the identity of the members in the distinctive character of the form.'

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.XVI.

<sup>81</sup> M. Frassetto, 'Resurrection of the Body: Eleventh-Century Evidence from the Sermons of Ademar of Chabannes', *The Journal of Religious History*, 26 (2002), 235-49.

<sup>82</sup> Le Goff, *Purgatory*, pp.133-5. But see A. Ja. Gurevich, 'Popular and scholarly medieval cultural traditions: notes in the margin of Jacques Le Goff's book', *Journal of Medieval History*, 9 (1983), 71-90, who argues that purgatory existed in the popular consciousness before Peter Comestor introduced a noun for it: visionary literature, combining folkloric and Christian elements, describes an intermediate



medieval writers such as Augustine, Gregory, and Caesarius of Arles thought that after an immediate judgement the souls of saints went straight to Abraham's bosom to await the Resurrection in refreshment and peace (Lk 16:22), whereas the immortal souls of those who had committed venial sins went to some other place to be punished by purgatorial fires (cf. 1 Cor 3:13-16). Their sufferings could be alleviated by prayers, the Eucharist as a reciprocal gift to God, and the intercessory power of the saints.<sup>83</sup>

A sermon preserved in a late eighth-century collection compiled on the Continent by an Irish author, but which also circulated separately, includes a dramatic description of a phalanx of angels battling a cohort of devils for the possession of a dead person's soul at the deathbed.<sup>84</sup> If the devils find that the soul is an associate of theirs, they rejoice and the angels are sad. The devils wrench the soul from the body and lead it 'to terrible places'. The soul cries out plaintively; the devils reply that the future will be more dreadful. The devils divide into two, singing canticles as they take away the soul. At the death of the righteous, however, the angels defeat the dark host and bring the soul forth gently. The soul remarks on the light, joy and pleasant journey; the angels respond that greater blessedness is to come in future. The angels then divide into two and egress, singing. This sermon was designed to be preached to a lay audience at the Eucharist, and provides evidence of contemporary attitudes to the afterlife. In actual fact, the presence of the Devil at the moment of death and an ensuing battle for one's soul is a motif that dates back to the earliest period of Christianity, and which also appears in the sermons of Gregory the Great.<sup>85</sup> Frederick Paxton has remarked on the increase in votive masses, prayer confraternities and memorial books to reduce the penitential burden incurred by sin and help those in the afterlife in the Carolingian

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unnamed place where souls are purified by fire; G.R. Edwards, 'Purgatory: "Birth" or "Evolution"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 36 (1985), 634-46, criticizes some translations and Le Goff's interpretation of key texts, especially those of Augustine. On the religious ideas of laymen as mediated through charters and visionary literature see Bull, *Knightly Piety*, pp.185-203.

<sup>83</sup> See, for example, P. Jay, 'Le purgatoire dans le prédication de saint Césaire d'Arles', *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale*, 24 (1957), 5-14, who argues for a nuanced view of 'un feu du jugement' (ie. at the Last Judgement itself) in Caesarius, not 'un feu du purgatoire' in the interval between death and the resurrection; R.R. Atwell, 'From Augustine to Gregory the Great: an Evaluation of the Emergence of the Doctrine of Purgatory', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 38 (1987), 173-86. See e.g. Augustine's sermon 328.5-6, where he uses the image of a prison.

<sup>84</sup> Printed by R. Willard, 'The Latin Texts of the Three Utterances of the Soul', *Speculum*, 12 (1937), 147-166, at 150-157; then as the first sermon in a small collection of seven by McNally, "In nomine Dei summi", 134-136. It also appears in the Homiliary of Toledo, and many other individual manuscripts: for a list of these see Grégoire, *Homéliaires*, pp.310-311. See further O'Loughlin, 'Irish Preaching', pp.30-38.

<sup>85</sup> A.C. Rush, 'An Echo of Christian Antiquity in St. Gregory the Great: Death a Struggle with the Devil', *Traditio*, 3 (1945), 369-380. See especially *Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. Hurst, homily 39, pp.360-1.



period.<sup>86</sup> Thus the laity were aware of the consequences of sin in the next world, and were increasingly prepared to take action to aid the souls of the departed. These sermons concentrate on making their audience aware of the steps which could be taken in the present to ensure that no Christian should suffer the second death.<sup>87</sup> Yet the concept of a future bodily resurrection is a hard one to grasp. The subsequent sermons adduce two types of evidence to prove the possibility and veracity of the Resurrection: scriptural and sensible.

### Proof of the Resurrection

Sermon LXXX, which also features in manuscript H, is hitherto unedited. Approximately the first half reprises sections from Gregory the Great's *Homilies on Ezekiel*,<sup>88</sup> but neither Bouhot nor Folliet realized that the second half is in fact taken from Leo the Great's *Tractatus septem et nonaginta*.<sup>89</sup> The author prefaces the Gregorian ingredient by saying that it is fitting to have a discussion briefly about the resurrection of the flesh, because, picking up Gregory, 'it is exceedingly sad and very doleful that we are aware of certain people in church who doubt the resurrection of the flesh'. Yet the 'ancient Fathers' believed that this was 'most certainly' going to come about, even when they did not possess an example of it. By what conviction, enquires the sermon, are those people worthy who have received the precedent of the Resurrection from the saviour himself and still lack confidence in the Resurrection? They possess the pledge (*pignus*), and do not have faith. What follows comprises of quotations from Scripture to lend clout to the argument. A passage from the book of Job attests that on the last day we shall rise out of the earth and be clothed again with our flesh to see God. Another passage is taken from Psalms which states that all those who go down into the earth shall fall before Him. The sermon glosses this extract by stating that the dead descend into the earth not in spirit, but in body: those who now putrefy in the dust appear before the Lord by rising again to judgement. Fittingly, a segment from Ezekiel is quoted in which the prophet discusses what happens when the Lord sets him

<sup>86</sup> Paxton, *Christianizing*, pp.98-100, 198.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. P. Brown, 'The End of the Ancient Other World: Death and Afterlife between Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages', in *The Tanner Lectures on Human Values 20* (Salt Lake City, 1999), pp.21-85. In his first lecture, 'Gloriosus obitus: Death and Afterlife 400-700', Brown argues for a shift in the 'imaginative structure' of the fate of the souls after death: a shift that placed greater emphasis on the purgation of sins by the individual sinner in this life and the next. In his second lecture, 'The Decline of the Empire of God: From Amnesty to Purgatory', he outlines another transformation whereby the stress on God's mercy to save souls was superseded by an emphasis on intercession and earthly penance.

<sup>88</sup> *Homiliae in Hiezechielem*, CCSL 142, lib.2, hom. 8.6-7, pp.339-41.

<sup>89</sup> *Tractatus*, CCSL 138A, tract. 69.4-5, pp.423-4.



down in the midst of a plain strewn with desiccated bones. The Lord asks Ezechiel if he thinks the bones will live, and then orders Ezechiel to prophesy to the bones that the Lord will send spirit into them and they will live. The Lord will give them sinews and muscles, and cover them with skin. He will put breath into them so that they live. Finally, the passage from John is quoted which alludes to those in tombs hearing the voice of the Son of God and coming to life. Thus it is around the authority of the Bible as the sacred book and word of God that the sermon author constructs his case in support of the certainty of the Resurrection.

As already mentioned, the next section is taken from one of Leo's *tractatus*. The Carolingian author commences by drawing attention to the aforementioned scriptural evidence (*Ecce tanta testimonia*) as being in harmony (*concordant*) about the resurrection of the flesh, yet the 'weakness' of certain people does not hold the faith. Regurgitating Leo, the sermon affirms that there is one communion of believers in Christ, his Passion and the eternity of the Resurrection. In an original gloss on a passage from Colossians, the author explains what the verse means:

*'You have died* [Col 3:1], that is, in baptism to all your sins [cf. Col 2:12; 20]: after baptism you will die to sins either through penance and confession and a munificence of alms, or through works of justice and piety, and so *your life is hidden with Christ in God. When Christ, your life, appears* in judgement, at whose will you should not live with desires of the flesh in this world, *then you also shall appear with him in glory.*'

Thus confession and penance, almsgiving and good works are endorsed by the Carolingian author as ways to erase the sins inevitably committed after the original cleansing in baptism. Those who have received the Holy Spirit should concentrate on heaven, not fleshly desires on earth, in order to appear again with Christ at the Last Judgement. Incidentally, one wonders whether this kind of gloss, here and elsewhere, on rather self-evident passages was intended for the preacher, or the preacher's audience. However, the audience needs to be wary of the Devil's cunning, because he not only lies in ambush for them in longings of the flesh and bodily allurements, but sprinkling tares (*zizania*) of falsehood amongst the seeds of the faith, he desires to violate the 'field of truth'. Hence the Devil subverts by impious errors those he has not been able to corrupt by evil deeds. For which reason the sermon instructs the audience to jettison 'every heretical depravity' and cautions against having anything in common with those who oppose the Catholic faith and are 'Christians in name alone'. Finally, the auditors are encouraged to bear all the temptations of this life with the 'joy of the faith', and be strong enough to conquer those things in the name of the Lord with



patience, hope and charity. For if we suffer here with Christ, ‘struggling faithfully in the tribulations of this world’, says the Carolingian author, then we will also reign with Him and his saints.

Sermon LXXXI has been edited before by André Wilmart from manuscript E and a Rheinau manuscript conserved in the Zentralbibliothek, Zürich.<sup>90</sup> The third section which contains this sermon was dated to the tenth century by the library cataloguer, but Wilmart suggests a slightly later date.<sup>91</sup> In the Rheinau manuscript the sermon is attributed to Augustine, but has the correct attribution to Gregory in our collection. Wilmart correctly identified the author’s main source as Gregory’s *Homilies on Ezekiel*, but neither he nor Bouhot or Folliet acknowledged that the final paragraph does not in fact come from Gregory, but again is a borrowing from Leo the Great’s *tractatus*.

The sermon begins with an original introduction then reprises Gregory with some alterations: ‘It delights us, dearly beloved, to have a discussion with you about the resurrection of the flesh, because there are perhaps some in church who wonder how the flesh can come to life again from dust.’<sup>92</sup> Instead, the disbelievers should wonder how God was able to make all things from nothing, because it is less of a task to revive what existed than to make something from nothing. The elements of nature proclaim to us the image of the Resurrection. The sun, for instance, dies daily; daily it rises again. The stars fall in the morning hours; yet they rise again in the evening. Orchards are full in summer with leaves, blossom and fruits; they are bare in the wintertime, but with spring returning, ‘are clothed again in splendour’. Why, asks the sermon, should we distrust for men what seems to happen to wood?

But, interjects the sermon, if the doubters ponder the dust of putrefying flesh, they might say: ‘from what can bones and marrow, flesh and hair be renewed in the Resurrection?’ Then again, the sceptics may see some small seeds from which huge trees sprout and say: ‘Where in the seeds lies such a great mass of strength, such great diversity of branches, such a great multitude and verdure of leaves, such a great type of flowers, such great fertility, flavour and scent of fruits? Surely the seeds of trees don’t

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<sup>90</sup> A. Wilmart, ‘Un sermon sur la résurrection corporelle emprunté à s. Grégoire passé sous le nom de s. Augustin’, *RB*, 47 (1935), 3-7. Text reproduced in PLS 4:1585-6.

<sup>91</sup> L.C. Mohlberg, *Katalog der Handschriften der Zentralbibliothek Zürich I. Mittelalterliche Handschriften* (Zürich, 1952), Rh.102, pp.209-11; cf. Wilmart, ‘Un sermon’, 3, n.1.

<sup>92</sup> Manuscript W has ‘Delectet’ i.e. present active *subjunctive*; Wilmart prints ‘delectet’ and it seems the scribe of manuscript E originally wrote ‘Delectet’ but it was amended to ‘Delectat’ ie. present active *indicative*.



have the scent or flavour which the trees produce in their fruits afterwards?' Once more, using an analogous line of reasoning, the sermon replies that if something can be brought forth from a seed which cannot be seen, then why should they have misgivings about human flesh being resurrected from dust?

By borrowing images from nature to argue for the veracity of the Resurrection Gregory, our author's source, was merely following a long line of Christian apologists who employed 'creationist' arguments.<sup>93</sup> Nature is replete with examples of cyclical return, continuity and identity which presage the Resurrection and prove its plausibility. Images from nature were used by saint Clement of Rome in his letter to the Corinthians, written c.96.<sup>94</sup> Day and night, he wrote, declare to us a resurrection. Night sinks to sleep, and the day arises; the day again departs and the night comes on.<sup>95</sup> In the same chapter Clement also used the analogy of a seed being sown, which 'though dry and naked when it fell upon the earth, is gradually dissolved. Then out of its dissolution the mighty power of the providence of the Lord raises it up again, and from one seed many arise and bring forth fruit.' In the next section of his work Clement cites the mythical phoenix bird as a sign of the Resurrection.<sup>96</sup> There is only one phoenix and after five hundred years when its time of death draws near it builds a nest of frankincense, myrrh and other spices into which it enters and dies. As its flesh decays a worm is produced which, nourished by the juices of the dead bird, acquires feathers and grows into another phoenix. Is it any wonder, asks Clement, that the Lord raises up those who serve him piously in good faith when 'even by a bird' He shows us the 'mightiness of His power to fulfil His promise'?<sup>97</sup> Tertullian also uses these emblems to insist on the possibility of the Resurrection.<sup>98</sup> A key component of the argument is the role of the Almighty: God's wisdom operates nature and He is capable of anything. The accent is on the omnipotence of God, rather than the Resurrection being another 'natural' process. Another aspect is the re-creative role of God: if God can create something from nothing, it is eminently possible to re-create from what already existed. In this 'creationist' argument nature is seen as a creation by God which proves that the

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<sup>93</sup> H.C. van Eijk, *La résurrection des morts chez les Pères Apostoliques* (Paris, 1974), pp.49-55, 158ff; Dewart, *Death*, ch.2.

<sup>94</sup> *The First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians*, trans. J. Keith, in A. Menzies (ed.), *The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325* vol. 9 (Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1995 reprt. of Edinburgh, 1896), pp.229-48.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.xxiv, pp.236-7.

<sup>96</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.xxv.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.xxvi.

<sup>98</sup> See *Tertullian's Treatise on the Resurrection*, tr. Evans, chs 12 (day and night) and 13 (the phoenix).



Resurrection is not impossible. For any preacher using this sermon as a model this line of reasoning has the obvious bonus that an unlearned lay audience would be able to envisage the natural phenomena described from personal experience and mentally associate it with the Resurrection. Augustine tried a similar technique with his audience.<sup>99</sup>

However, the cynics, continues our sermon, 'are often accustomed to throw in an inane little question.' A wolf eats the flesh of a man, then the wolf is devoured by a lion. When the lion dies it returns to dust, and it is that dust which is rejuvenated. So how is the flesh of the man separated from that of the wolf and lion? The answer is that they should first consider how they came into the world to find out how they will be resurrected. At sometime or another, the person who is speaking has been 'a froth of blood' (*spuma sanguinis*) in their mother's womb; there indeed the disputant was 'a small and liquid sphere' as a result of the seed of their father and mother. Tell me, if you know, enquires the sermon, how that fluid (*humor*) hardened into bones, how the liquid continued into marrow, how it was made solid in nerves and so on?<sup>100</sup> If so many types of thing have been differentiated from one seed and remain joined in one form, no wonder almighty God can distinguish the flesh of men from beasts in the Resurrection. Small wonder also that not one speck of dust rises again which is of lion or wolf, and what rises again is only the dust of man. If the doubters see how they have come into life, they will not have any qualms over how they return to life. This Gregorian section ends with an imperative commanding that the audience 'allow to the power of your creator what you cannot comprehend by reasoning, so that he who was able to make you from nothing can resurrect you from the dust.'

The problem of separating human matter from that of animals if a human body had been eaten also has a long history before Gregory. The first occurrence of this

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<sup>99</sup> Serm. 361, PL 39:1599-1611; serm. 362, PL 39:1611-1634.

<sup>100</sup> A very similar idea is present in the treatises of Justin Martyr and Athenagoras. See Athenagoras, *Embassy for the Christians. The Resurrection of the Dead*, trans. J.H. Crehan, Ancient Christian Writers 23 (Westminster, Maryland and London, 1956), pp.79-116, ch.17: 'Who would have thought – if he had not learnt it by experience – that in uniform and undifferentiated semen there were enclosed such a variety of powers of every sort and strength, with tissues in readiness for differentiation and consolidation; I mean bones, nerves, and cartilages; yes, and muscles, too, and flesh, intestines, and the other parts of the body? It is impossible to see any of these while the semen is yet liquid...Now in these conditions the semen does not bear inscribed in it the shape or growth of men, nor does human life bear inscribed its dissolution into component elements; but the train of natural happenings provides a guarantee for those facts which would otherwise have no guarantee from the phenomena themselves.'; *Fragments of the Lost Work of Justin on the Resurrection*, trans. Dods, ch.V: 'and then they who observe things can see how men are generated one by another, and can marvel in a still greater degree that from a little drop of moisture so grand a living creature is formed.'



‘chain consumption’ theory goes back to the Athenian philosopher Athenagoras who wrote the earliest specific treatise on the topic of the Resurrection (c.180).<sup>101</sup> In an era of persecutions, the dismemberment and digestion of Christian martyrs by wild beasts in the arena was of especial concern because it threatened the possibility of reconstitution and the material identity of the resurrected body. Athenagoras penned a formal public lecture when he was head of the school of Alexandria to address the question.<sup>102</sup> He dealt with the familiar objections that the Resurrection was impossible for God or contrary to His will by answering that ‘the creation of each individual body shows that His power is sufficient for the Resurrection’ and that God was not ignorant of the ‘place to which each part has gone’.<sup>103</sup> It is an ‘act of one and the same power to give shape to what is customarily regarded...as shapeless matter...[and] to unite what has been dissolved.’<sup>104</sup> Nonetheless, says Athenagoras, many human bodies become food for the fishes through shipwrecks or drowning; others who die in war or by some other fate lie unburied and become food for animals.<sup>105</sup> The particles of those bodies are digested by animals, and these animals subsequently pass through the stomachs of men. Therefore, argue the sceptics, the Resurrection is impossible because the dead bodies cannot be complete. However, Athenagoras replies that God has ‘arranged the food appropriate to the nature and kind of each living creature.’<sup>106</sup> The foods unsuitable for nourishment are rejected and are not digested nor assimilated into the animal. When the food is suited to a particular animal it is ‘naturally strained’ and becomes an addition to the substance of the animal, ‘interwoven and adapted to every part and portion’.<sup>107</sup> God has not assigned any animal as food for others of its kind.<sup>108</sup> Thus the implication is that human flesh, being neither natural food for animals nor humans, will not be incorporated into the bodies of animals or humans and so can be reconstituted by God. Athenagoras argues further that God in His wisdom made man in His image and endowed him with intelligence and ‘a rational judgment’ for some higher purpose: He would not have

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<sup>101</sup> See B. Pouderon, ‘L’authenticité du traité sur la résurrection attribué à l’apologiste Athénagore’, *Vigiliae Christianae*, 40 (1986), 226-244, who supports the view that it is genuine; idem, ‘Athénagore et Tertullien sur la résurrection’, *REA*, 35 (1989), 209-30; Bynum, *Resurrection*, pp.32-4.

<sup>102</sup> In Athenagoras, *Resurrection*, trans. Crehan, ch.23, he says that it would not ‘be timely to continue lecturing’ to ‘those here assembled’, thus showing that it was given, or was intended to be given, as a lecture.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, chs 2-3.

<sup>104</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.3.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.4.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.5.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.6.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, ch.8.



created such a being to snuff out after a brief existence but to abide forever in contemplation of His majesty.<sup>109</sup> A thought singular to Athenagoras is that although all will rise again, not all will be judged: if the judgement was the sole cause for the Resurrection then innocent children would not rise at all.<sup>110</sup> His idea that the body and soul must be judged together and receive punishment or reward together is, though, a familiar one.<sup>111</sup>

The last section is taken from one of Leo's tractates 'De passione Domini' with some interpolations to reflect the altered context.<sup>112</sup> The audience is told that 'this consideration' must be retained not only for the Resurrection, but also for the contemplation of the whole of the human life. Accordingly, the exercise of good works in the present ought to be channelled towards this to gain eternal beatitude. If any sin has crept in, it may be erased by swift penance and 'pure confession'. Note again the emphasis laid upon confession by the Carolingian author, a phrase not found in his source. Seeing as the treatment of 'ancient illnesses' is difficult and slow, the more recent the sin, let the remedy be applied more swiftly. The sermon finishes with the addition of a passage from 2 Cor 7:1 willing the audience to cleanse themselves daily 'from all defilement of the flesh and spirit', in order that they be worthy to reach that incorruptible glory of the Resurrection.

### Conclusion

Through this assemblage of assorted sources, most probably Pseudo-Fulgentius alone for the first three, then a blend of Gregory and Leo for the latter two, the Carolingian author has skilfully fashioned a comprehensive dossier of conformist material on a complex theme. It seems probable that sermons I.77-79 were all written by the shadowy Pseudo-Fulgentius, and stem from sixth-century North Africa. As we have seen before, a trait of the compiler was to harvest material on a particular theme from a single author, and arrange the selections from that author in sequence. First of all there are the sermons on the two deaths and two resurrections. The first death happens to everyone when the soul leaves the body for a finite period; the second befalls the wicked who are damned to perpetual punishment at the Last Judgement. In conjunction with the two deaths are two resurrections: the first is spiritual and takes place here and now in the

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<sup>109</sup> Ibid., chs 12-16.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid., ch.14.

<sup>111</sup> Ibid., chs 18-23.

<sup>112</sup> *Tractatus*, CCSL 138A, tract. 71, pp.439-40, 'Haec meditatio – Amen.'



soul through baptism; the second is physical and will take place in future at the Second Coming. Although attested from very early on in the West, the concepts of a twofold death and a twofold resurrection were only fully worked out by Augustine and subsequently appear in the writings of those most influenced by him, notably Fulgentius of Ruspe. The ideas were picked up again by Carolingian authors and seem well-known: the noblewoman Dhuoda endeavoured to educate her son about the basic principles. These sermons are didactic and exhortatory: the Christian congregation must amend their ways and try to live by God's commands lest they be fated at the Resurrection to perpetual torment, the dreaded second death. The souls of the just and the wicked will be reunited at the Resurrection with the very same bodies in which they dwelt upon earth, so that they can receive their reward or retribution for the good or bad deeds they have done. To obviate any doubts the audience may harbour about the reality of the Resurrection, the compiler picks segments from Gregory's *œuvre* which affirm the possibility of a corporal restoration both in the Scriptures and from nature. The comparison of these sermons with earlier Christian treatises on the Resurrection has shown that the materialist doctrine of Pseudo-Fulgentius and the creationist line of reasoning taken by Gregory simply perpetuate tenets that were centuries old even by their time. In the next chapter we change tack once more to treat a series of sermons addressed to the powerful in society: secular leaders and judges.



## VII. '*Bonus princeps populis prodesse debet*': The Sermons on the Virtues and Vices for Lay Potentates

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### Introduction

As anyone who has ever read any Carolingian sermons will know, references to political theory are comparatively meagre. Rosamond McKitterick declared that Carolingian sermons contain no references to kings, *missi*, or lay dignitaries whatsoever: the lack of any admonitions to obey earthly rulers meant that they were not vehicles for government propaganda.<sup>1</sup> However, in his landmark thesis on early medieval sermons, Tom Amos affirmed that in actual fact some sermons do comment on the contemporary political system and how leaders, especially judges, should behave.<sup>2</sup> In his MA thesis written about twenty years ago, Michael Frassetto endeavoured to enlarge the boundaries of what we understand by 'political theory'.<sup>3</sup> The nub of his argument was that, to the Carolingians, the temporal order was a mirror image of the spiritual. In other words, God governed his heavenly kingdom as an omnipotent king, just as the Carolingian king did on earth in God's stead. Thus the exhortations to Christian conduct and obedience to God in the sermons imply a like obedience to the Carolingian monarch, and conformity with his attempt to correct God's chosen people. His subtle analysis of what amounts to Carolingian political theory is valuable for understanding how contemporaries might have comprehended certain passages in the sermons, but the evidence can be pushed too far in places. Therefore, while it is not particularly unexpected to find in the Sermonary of Salzburg sermons on the virtues and vices of secular leaders, it is perhaps surprising to find an autonomous section of fifteen unedited texts with a greater focus on political thought than elsewhere. In this chapter I will first discuss in brief the sources used by our anonymous author to put together this section, and to précis the sermons contained therein. I then propose that the rationale for this section can be linked to two complementary ideological trends which developed around the time the sermonary was written: the idea that office-holders held a ministry, and the notion that justice should be dispensed according to theoretical notions derived from the Bible.

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<sup>1</sup> McKitterick, *Frankish Church*, p.113.

<sup>2</sup> Amos, *Origin and Nature*, pp.329-32 and references therein.

<sup>3</sup> Frassetto, *Role of the Sermon*, *passim*.



## Sources

The sources exploited by the compiler for these texts are Isidore of Seville's *Sentences*, Alcuin's 'On the Virtues and Vices', and perhaps a little incongruously at first sight, the compilation of stories about the desert fathers known as the *Verba seniorum*.

Isidore's *Sentences* comprise, after his *Etymologies*, his most considerable work and one of his last, now thought to have been composed around the time of the fourth council of Toledo in 633 and left unfinished in draft form on his death in 636.<sup>4</sup> In addition, it was one of the most well-known and influential in the early Middle Ages. The format of the *Sentences* lends itself well to didactic purposes. Isidore was writing in the style of an established literary genre: 'sentences' were originally Greek collections of opinions or maxims that conveyed philosophical teachings and summarized practical morality.<sup>5</sup> Isidore himself defined 'sentences' simply in his *Etymologies*: 'A sentence is an impersonal saying', but elaborated on the etymological import of the word to highlight its interior and spiritual sense as bringing forth true wisdom.<sup>6</sup> The third book, from which these sermons all draw their material, is the longest and most original part, dealing with man in his social state and collective morality. Here Isidore presents a whole synthesis of mainly Gregorian political theory with the emphasis firmly on the duties of rulers to their subjects: this notion of service, as we shall see later, had an important impact on ninth-century political thought. These sentences develop the spirit of cooperation between royal and religious powers explicitly instituted by several parallel canons at the Council of Toledo (633), which allows the work to be dated. Yet, as Bischoff has shown, although Isidore's works were highly regarded in medieval library catalogues along with the other Fathers and Bede, the manuscript tradition of his *œuvre* is relatively scanty until around 800, with only the major libraries owning copies. Around 800 however, the number of manuscripts, including that of the *Sentences*,

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<sup>4</sup> See M. Reydellet, *La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Séville* (Rome, 1981), pp.505-97; N. Staubach, 'Germanisches Königtum und lateinische Literatur vom fünften bis zum siebten Jahrhundert. Bemerkungen zum Buch von Marc Reydellet, *La royauté dans la littérature latine de Sidoine Apollinaire à Isidore de Séville*', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien*, 17 (1983), 1-54, esp. 48-52; P. Cazier, 'Les sentences d'Isidore de Séville et le IV<sup>e</sup> concile de Tolède', in *Antigüedad y cristianismo: Los visigodos, historia y civilización* (Murcie, 1986), pp.373-86; Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, ed. P. Cazier, CCSL CXI (Turnhout, 1998), pp.xiv-xix (on the dating); J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville. Genèse et originalité de la culture hispanique au temps des Wisigoths* (Turnhout, 2000), pp.235-50. Much of Reydellet's narrative is made redundant by Cazier's re-dating of the *Sentences*.

<sup>5</sup> See *Sententiae*, ed. Cazier, pp.x-xiii; Fontaine, *Isidore*, p.236.

<sup>6</sup> PL 82:131; *Sententiae*, ed. Cazier, III.29.10-11, p.149: 'Recte ex sententia dicit, qui ueram sapientiam gustu interni saporis sentit. A sentiendo enim sententia dicitur. Ac per hoc, adrogantes qui sine humilitate dicunt, de sola scientia dicunt, non de sententia. – Ille enim sapit qui recte et secundum Deum sapit.'



proliferates.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, Fontaine has pointed out that Isidore was well thought-of in the ninth century as a doctor of the Church in matters of orthodox theology, but also as a figure whose works were all oriented to the reform of the Church and State in the same way as the Carolingians: Isidore's influence can be clearly traced in the vocabulary and themes of the Carolingian capitularies.<sup>8</sup>

The other main source for this section was Alcuin's tract 'On the Virtues and Vices', written sometime between 801 and 804 for Guy, count of the Breton March.<sup>9</sup> It was an immensely popular work: Paul Szarmach listed a total of over one hundred and forty manuscripts containing complete or partial witnesses to the text,<sup>10</sup> with a fair number dating to the ninth century.<sup>11</sup> The noblewoman Dhuoda demonstrates knowledge of Alcuin's work in the handbook written for her son William between 841 and 843, and it is also listed in the testament of Eberhard, marquis of Friuli (†864).<sup>12</sup> The simple philosophy of the work is based on the constant struggle in daily life between the virtues and vices. Alcuin treats the virtues in the first part of his book, the

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<sup>7</sup> B. Bischoff, 'Die europäische Verbreitung der Werke Isidors von Seville', in idem, *Mittelalterliche Studien* (3 vols, Stuttgart, 1966-1981), i, pp.171-94, at p.188: 'Dadurch daß die Konzentration der Überlieferung in diesem Jahrhundert [IX] nachdrücklich sichtbar gemacht werden kann, wird eine Verzerrung des historischen Bildes berichtigt. Denn es ist eine der großen Leistungen dieses Jahrhunderts, daß die Entstehung von Büchersammlungen nicht mehr dem Zufall anheimgegeben blieb, sondern die literarische Hinterlassenschaft der Vergangenheit in einer bewährten Auswahl für die Kathedral- und Klosterbibliotheken abgeschrieben wurde'; *Sententiae*, ed. Cazier, pp.lxv-lxvii; C.H. Beeson, *Isidor-Studien. Die Lagerung und Verbreitung der Handschriften des Isidorus von Sevilla* (Munich, 1913), pp.43-8; L. Robles, 'Isidoro de Sevilla y la cultura eclesiástica de la España visigoda. Notas para un estudio del libro de las "Sentencias"', *Archivos leoneses*, 47-8 (1970), 13-185, at 68-141.

<sup>8</sup> J. Fontaine, 'La figure d'Isidore de Séville à l'époque carolingienne', in J. Fontaine and C. Pellistrandi (eds), *L'Europe héritière de l'Espagne Wisigothique* (Madrid, 1992), pp.195-211. Fontaine (p.197) calls him 'un garant de l'entreprise carolingienne de réformation de l'Église et de l'État'.

<sup>9</sup> See H.M. Rochais, 'Le "Liber de uirtutibus et uitiis" d'Alcuin. Note pour l'étude des sources', *Revue Mabillon*, 41 (1951), 77-86; P.E. Szarmach, 'A Preliminary Handlist of Manuscripts Containing Alcuin's *De uirtutibus et uitiis*', *Manuscripta*, 25 (1981), 131-40; L. Wallach, 'Alcuin on Virtues and Vices: A Manual for a Carolingian Soldier', *Harvard Theological Review*, 48 (1955), 175-95, affirms Alcuin's direct borrowing from Isidore's *Sentences*, rather than via the medium of Defensor's florilegium, as Rochais thought; H.H. Anton, *Fürstenspiegel und Herrscherethos in der Karolingerzeit* (Bonn, 1968), pp.84-6; Bullough, 'Alcuin and Lay Virtue', in Gaffuri and Quinto, *Predicazione e società nel medioevo*, pp.71-91; Dubreucq, 'Autour du *De uirtutibus et uitiis* d'Alcuin', in Depreux and Judic, *Alcuin, de York à Tours*, pp.269-87. See also M. Rouche, 'Miroirs des princes ou miroir du clergé?', *Settimane*, 39 (1992), pp.341-67, who, looking at the question of the purported commissioners of the 'mirrors for princes', concludes that the majority (including Alcuin's work) were not commissioned by their dedicatees at all, but were due to the initiative of their clerical authors. The latter sought to promote 'un manifeste politique', to project an image which resembled more them than their lay recipients. In Alcuin's case, there is to my mind no good reason to doubt Guy's initiative.

<sup>10</sup> Szarmach, 'Preliminary Handlist', 131-40. Szarmach is still apparently (!) in the process of producing an edition of this work.

<sup>11</sup> For a list of manuscripts restricted to the ninth and tenth centuries, see H.M. Rochais, 'Contribution à l'histoire des florilèges ascétiques du haut moyen âge latin', *RB*, 63 (1953), 246-91, at 251, n.4. See further P.E. Szarmach, 'The Latin Tradition of Alcuin's *Liber de uirtutibus et uitiis*, cap. xxvii-xxxv, with Special Reference to Vercelli Homily xx', *Mediaevalia*, 12 (1989), 13-41, at 14-16.

<sup>12</sup> Riché, 'Les bibliothèques', pp.94, 99.



vices in the second. The martial metaphor of a spiritual battle against the vices was apt for its recipient, actively engaged in military affairs. Alcuin's treatise was intended to cultivate an awareness of Christian morality in those who held worldly power: to develop 'a sense of moral responsibility and a personal culture fit for the commanding positions which these men held'.<sup>13</sup> It is a short work, a *liber manualis*, designed to be carried around and consulted daily. Previous scholars have also noted that it was written at the outset in a 'homiletic vein',<sup>14</sup> and therefore exceedingly appropriate for sermon material: Alcuin's opus was translated into the Old English vernacular in the tenth century for preaching to a lay audience, especially the section on the eight capital sins.<sup>15</sup> Hrabanus Maurus also plundered Alcuin's composition to use for his popular sermons on the virtues and vices,<sup>16</sup> as did the anonymous compiler of the Saint-Père sermonary.<sup>17</sup>

The final source used by the sermon author to provide two *exempla* is the so-called 'Sayings of the Fathers' (*Apophthegmata Patrum*), an anthology of stories about the leaders of the early monastic movement in the desert.<sup>18</sup> The *Apophthegmata* have survived in two kinds of collections: the Alphabetical Collection and the Systematic Collection. The former gathers the various anecdotes under the names of prominent monks and arranges these according to the Greek alphabet; in the latter the sayings are arranged under subject headings according to their theme. In the mid-sixth century, a version of the Systematic Collection was translated from a lost Greek source into Latin by two Roman clerics, the deacon Pelagius and the subdeacon John, who both later became Popes (Pelagius I (556-561) and John III (561-574)). This version was first

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<sup>13</sup> Wallach, 'Alcuin', 175.

<sup>14</sup> Dubreucq, 'Autour du *De virtutibus et vitiis*', 270-2. Note what Alcuin's anonymous biographer said: 'Scripsit...ad Widonem comitem omelias de principalibus vitiis et virtutibus'. *MGH: SS XV*, c.21, p.195.

<sup>15</sup> See P.E. Szarmach, 'Vercelli Homily XX', *Mediaeval Studies*, 25 (1973), 1-26, with corrections in the subsequent volume 493-4; Szarmach, 'The Latin Tradition of Alcuin's *Liber de uirtutibus et uitiis*', 13-41. See also R. Newhauser, *The Treatise on the Virtues and Vices in Latin and the Vernacular*, *Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental* 68 (Turnhout, 1993), pp.78-80. Newhauser discusses the 'fluctuation at the boundary between the sermon and the treatise on vices and virtues, and the ease of movement between these genres'. Alcuin's work was not just restricted to the Anglo-Saxon vernacular though: the manuscript Copenhagen, *Arnabagnæan Institute*, 619, dating from the early thirteenth century, contains a miscellany of sermons for both a lay and monastic audience, but also an Old Norse translation of Alcuin's work as the first item – to provide preaching material?

<sup>16</sup> Nos.45, 47-49, 51-56, 58-59, 60, 62.

<sup>17</sup> Items 22-3, 25, 48, 91, 93-5. See Cross, *Cambridge Pembroke College Ms. 25*; Szarmach, 'Pembroke College 25, Arts. 93-95'. Note though that this collection, unlike ours, does not name Alcuin as the original author; a whole series of Alcuinian chapters are shortened and combined in each sermon.

<sup>18</sup> For background see *The Desert Fathers: Sayings of the Early Christian Monks*, ed. and trans. B. Ward (London, 2003), pp.xxix-xxxii; W. Harmless, *Desert Christians: An Introduction to the Literature of Early Monasticism* (Oxford, 2004), pp.169-171.



edited by Heribert Rosweyde at Antwerp in 1615 and called by him the *Verba seniorum* ('Sayings of the Old Men'). It is from this translation that our author drew his material. The *Verba seniorum* were quite popular during the Carolingian period: the lay aristocrat Eberhard of Friuli owned a copy.<sup>19</sup>

So far I have talked about these texts as sermons, but they can in fact hardly be called sermons in the traditional sense at all. Granted that some address the audience directly and conclude with a doxology, but there is no way they could be preached as is: they are simply far too short (varying from between as little as ca.140 and ca.450 words) and their language far too pithy. Hence, they are not preaching texts *per se*, but a kind of florilegium or digest for the edification of the clergy who would mediate their advice to their lay flocks. This might be in the context of a more fully developed sermon at Mass, but possibly in a non-liturgical context too, for example at an assembly or church council where we know that the local bigwigs were occasionally present.<sup>20</sup> Consequently, they can still provide us with an idea of the sort of instruction that was offered to the laity. Like all early medieval authors, whoever compiled these texts thought nothing of lifting passages verbatim from earlier works. It might reasonably be argued that this slavish reproduction obfuscates any original thought or intention on the part of the author. However, this fact should not obscure the creativity that lies behind the process of selection, organization, and sometimes, interpolation. Our author chose his source material to reflect (and shape) the ideology of power current in early-ninth-century Bavaria.

### *Principes*

The first two sermons in this section are both disquisitions on the virtue of *caritas*, love of God and neighbour, 'which holds first place of all the virtues.' Their source, correctly identified by our author in the rubrics, is book three of *De uita contemplatiua* by the talented teacher of rhetoric Julianus Pomerius (†after 498), a work that enjoyed wide circulation and exerted great influence in the Carolingian period.<sup>21</sup> These little texts

<sup>19</sup> Riché, 'Les bibliothèques', p.98.

<sup>20</sup> E.g. the Concilia Bavarica, *MGH: Capit. episc. III*, pp.189-98. On the theory and practice of lay participation in Church councils (as opposed to *concilia mixta*) see W. Hartmann, 'Laien auf Synoden der Karolingerzeit', *Annuarium historiae conciliorum*, 10 (1978), 249-69. After 800, the trend was for secular clergy, professed religious and laity to meet separately: Mainz in 813, for example.

<sup>21</sup> On the use the Carolingians made of Julianus (mainly books one and two) see M.L.W. Laistner, 'The Influence During the Middle Ages of the Treatise "De uita contemplatiua" and its Surviving Manuscripts', *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati*, 2 (1946), 344-358; J. Devisse, 'L'influence de Julien Pomère sur les clercs carolingiens', *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France*, 56 (1970), 285-295; D. Ganz,



need not detain us here, for our primary concern is with the series of sermons addressed to *principes*.<sup>22</sup> The first in this series (XLVIII) begins with an original contribution of our author who cites the famous scriptural passage from Paul's letter to the Romans (13:1): 'Let every soul be subject to higher powers: for there is no power but from God: and those that are, are ordained of God. Therefore he that resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.'<sup>23</sup> Thus our author sets out his stall straightaway: secular government derives its legitimacy from being ordained by God and the civil ruler must be obeyed as a matter of religious obligation.<sup>24</sup> The sermon proceeds by reproducing certain Isidorian sentences which first discuss the burdens and preoccupations of secular honours and the increased danger of succumbing to sin. The badge of power is worn well if it is a benefit to one's subjects, from whom secular honours are brought forth. Good power is given from God to punish evil with fear, not to commit evil, because nothing is more dangerous than to have the freedom to sin through power. This evokes the Augustinian conception of the origin of political power (as mediated through Gregory's *Moralia*) in which servitude and authority came into being as punishment for Adam's sin, not natural law.<sup>25</sup> Augustine though was a realist who accepted the need for political power lest anarchy reign. Akin to Augustine and Gregory, Isidore saw power as a remedy for sin: divinely chosen leaders keep the people in check through fear of

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'The Ideology of Sharing: Apostolic Community and Ecclesiastical Property in the Early Middle Ages', in W. Davies and P. Fouracre (eds), *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.17-30, at pp.24-26; Claussen, *Reform*, pp.184ff. This work was routinely misattributed to Prosper of Aquitaine. For an English translation and useful introduction see *Julianus Pomerius: The Contemplative Life*, trans. and annotated by Sister M.J. Suelzer (Westminster, Maryland, 1947). The manuscript Munich, *Bayerische Staatsbibliothek*, Clm 6314, written at Freising c.825-835, also contains amongst other miscellanea these two sermons (ff.46<sup>v</sup>-49<sup>v</sup>). See Bischoff, *Schreibschulen I*, p.112; Glauche, *Katalog*, pp.196-199; Bierbrauer, *Die vorkarolingischen und karolingischen Handschriften*, pp.33-34.

<sup>22</sup> Suffice it to say, that the Admonitio generalis of 789 ordered: 'Sed omni instantia ammonete eos de dilectione Dei et proximi...' *MGH: Capit. I*, no.22, c.82, p.62.

<sup>23</sup> Paul's statement clarified Christ's teaching in Mt 22:21, Mk 12:17, and Lk 20:25 in which he divided the spiritual and temporal spheres: 'Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's; and to God, the things that are God's.'

<sup>24</sup> See further W. Parsons, 'The Influence of Romans XIII on Pre-Augustinian Christian Political Thought', *Theological Studies*, 1 (1940), 337-64; idem, 'The Influence of Romans XIII on Christian Political Thought II. Augustine to Hincmar', *Theological Studies*, 2 (1941), 325-46; R. Deniel, 'Omnis potestas a Deo: l'origine du pouvoir civil et sa relation à l'Église', *Recherches de science religieuse*, 56 (1968), 43-85.

<sup>25</sup> The Stoic notion of coercive government as being a divinely-appointed remedy for sin actually goes back among Christian writers as far as Irenaeus in the second century. See Parsons, 'Influence', 342; A.J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediaeval Political Thought in the West vol I. The Second Century to the Ninth* (London, 1950), pp.128-9, 131; Deniel, 'Omnis potestas', 46; G.J. Lavere, 'The Influence of Saint Augustine on Early Medieval Political Theory', *Augustinian Studies*, 12 (1981), 1-9; R.A. Markus, 'The Latin Fathers', in J.H. Burns (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought c.350-c.1450* (Cambridge, 1988), pp.92-122, at pp.108-111, 120-1; P.D. King, 'The Barbarian Kingdoms' in *ibid.*, pp.123-153, at pp.141-4. On Gregory, see further D. Hipshon, 'Gregory the Great's "Political Thought"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53 (2002), 439-53.



their laws. Furthermore, reminds this sermon, it is necessary that leaders remain conscious of the fact that they are still mortals and will have to justify one day the manner in which they exercised power.

The subsequent sermon XLIX 'On the justice of leaders' is again a straightforward, almost verbatim, copy of a few Isidorian sentences. But where Isidore had talked about royal power, our author alters the context (*Qui recte utitur regni potestatem*) to embrace secular power in general (*Qui recte saeculari utitur potestate*). Those who enjoy worldly power should be as humble in mind as they are in loftiness of public office, just like King David. A leader should demonstrate justice by deeds more than words; he should rule mercifully and should not be affected by passion or defraud the poor. God gave a presidency (*praesulatus*) to leaders for the control of the people and wanted them to be in charge of the people with whom they share the condition of being born and dying. A leadership ought to benefit the people, not harm them, so that the gift of God may be used for the protection of the members of Christ. Implicit here as in the previous text is the Pauline concept of the ruler as minister and rulership as an office for the public good. Power is of divine origin; the office itself is human.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, this sermon emphasizes the role of *principes* as defenders of fellow Christians: all are members of the Church, the *regnum Christi*. This stems from Isidore's conception of Christ as king and priest, and the Church as His body, into which believers are incorporated through baptism.<sup>27</sup>

Sermon L entitled 'On the patience of leaders' is an interesting pastiche, departing from the compiler's usual method in drawing on a single source for each sermon. It blends an Isidorian beginning and an Alcuinian conclusion with an *exemplum* sandwiched in between. The sermon opens by warning that sometimes it is necessary for just leaders to bide their time until they are strong enough to correct or punish vices. Leaders are urged to show clemency in their justice. The *exemplum* tells the story of a 'certain old man called Gelasius' who had a book worth 18 solidi which was placed in a church so that whoever wanted could read it.<sup>28</sup> However, a 'certain pilgrim' arrived and stole the book. The thief went to the city where he sought a purchaser. The potential buyer, however, was only willing to pay the asking price of 16 solidi if he could take the

<sup>26</sup> This was current from Chrysostom onwards. See Parsons, 'Influence', 353-7.

<sup>27</sup> H.-X. Arquillière, *L'Augustinisme politique: essai sur la formation des théories politiques du moyen âge* (Paris, 1955), pp.142ff.; Deniel, 'Omnis potestas', 71-3; Reydellet, *La royauté*, pp.556-62; King, 'Barbarian Kingdoms', pp.141-2.

<sup>28</sup> PL 73:969C-970A; translated in *The Desert Fathers*, ed. and trans. Ward, p.171.



book and show it to an expert to be valued. The expert predictably turns out to be Gelasius who confirms the book's worth and advises the man to buy it. The buyer then returns and tells the thief that Gelasius said that it was not worth as much as he asked, no doubt wanting to haggle. The thief, somewhat taken aback by the expert's identity, is pricked with remorse, begs Gelasius to take the book back and remains with him for the rest of his life.

This anecdote comes from book sixteen of the *Verba seniorum*, 'On patience'. When we compare the abbreviated tale in the sermon to the original source it is clear that the author has tried to stifle any monastic connotations. In the sermon, references to the abbatial status of Gelasius have been expunged; the 'frater peregrinus' of the source who applies to join Gelasius and covets the book is merely a 'peregrinus' in the sermon. The author fails, though, to draw a veil over the monastic overtone of the story's culmination, perhaps lacking the imagination or ability to do so. Nevertheless, this must represent an attempt to tailor the story to a general audience. The sermon elucidates the moral through an extract from Alcuin: 'patience is necessary in all human life'. We must suffer patiently injuries done to us and tribulations which befall us. Patience is also the key to wisdom. Linking back to the opening sentences, the sermon concludes by emphasizing that he who bears patiently the evils of others will merit the eternal crown.

The last sermon 'on the danger of *principes*' emphasizes the fact that people in higher positions are placed in greater danger; it is a greater sin for someone in a lofty position to fail. The more responsibility is committed to a leader, the more is demanded from him. Rulers either create or destroy the lives of their subjects by their example, therefore it does not behove a ruler to fail, lest he create unbridled licence to sin by his own sins. It is right that a ruler should obey his own laws. Their authority is only just if they prevent the people doing what they would not allow themselves. Secular powers have been placed under the discipline of religion, and although they may be gifted with the summit of office, they are held bound by a bond of 'solemn promise' (*sponsio*) to proclaim the faith of Christ by their words and deeds, and to preserve that preaching of the faith in their behaviour. Akin to sermon XLIX, Isidore's 'reges' are changed to 'principes'; the line 'quamuis culmine regni sint praediti, uinculo tamen fidei tenentur adstricti' is transformed to 'quamuis culmine *honoris* sint praediti, uinculo tamen *sponsionis quem Deo fecerunt* tenentur adstricti'. Here our author alludes not only to the public office, the *honor*, held by nobles, but also to the idea that they are held by a



pledge made to God. This is most likely a reference to baptismal vows,<sup>29</sup> but there is also perhaps a resonance with the legislation promulgated in 802 by Charlemagne concerning a new oath of fidelity. Charlemagne declares that although he is responsible for his subjects, he cannot be everywhere at once, and so each person should strive to maintain his own service to God according to his promise (*sponsio*).<sup>30</sup> In addition, it is made clear that within the Christian body politic secular leaders must bow their heads to the priests in spiritual matters. This calls to mind Gelasian dualistic doctrine on the relationship between Church and State, coordinate but juridically separate in the world: priests by virtue of their sacramental and salvific function were superior in matters of religion, but had to submit to secular rulers in the temporal sphere, and vice versa.<sup>31</sup>

### *Iudices*

In the next five sermons the author turns his attention to judges. Although the word *iudex* had multifarious meanings in this period, it is clear that here are meant the counts, *missi*, and *scabini* who sat in judgement.<sup>32</sup> The first has an identical structure to sermon L in that it commences with a couple of sentences from Isidore, then a linking phrase introduces another *exemplum* drawn from the *Verba seniorum*. The sermon again closes by drawing out the moral from the story with a passage lifted from Alcuin. The Isidorian opening advocates that judges should benefit the people, not do them harm. Good judges dispense justice only to be enriched with eternal life; they do not mete out judgements for temporary profits. The *exemplum* is taken from book nine of the *Verba seniorum*, entitled 'Concerning that we should judge no man'.<sup>33</sup> In the account a 'certain guilty brother' is judged by another. When the judgemental brother had left the congregation, an angel of the Lord came and stood before the doorway of his cell,

<sup>29</sup> Cf. e.g. Concilium Parisiense a.829, *MGH: Conc. II*, c.VII, p.614: '...quia illi, qui in sua sponsione aliquos de sancrosancto fonte suscipiunt...'; c.VIII, p.616: '...omnibus fidelibus studendum est, ut pactionis et sponsionis, quam cum Deo in baptismo fecerunt...'

<sup>30</sup> *MGH: Capit. I*, no. 33, c.3, p.92: 'Primum, ut unusquisque et persona propria se in sancto Dei servitio secundum Dei preceptum et secundum sponsionem suam pleniter conservare studeat secundum intellectum et vires suas, quia ipse dominus imperator non omnibus singulariter necessariam potest exhibere curam et disciplinam.'

<sup>31</sup> See Carlyle, *Mediaeval Political Thought*, pp.184-93; Deniel, 'Omnis potestas', 72 denies that Isidore knew the Gelasian doctrine, but similarly attributed to Christ, king and priest, the separation of the two powers who share the rule of the world. Rulers will have to render account to God for the protection of the Church which Christ entrusted to them – the doctrine of the 'secular arm'. See further K. Morrison, *The Two Kingdoms: Ecclesiology in Carolingian Political Thought* (Princeton, 1964), esp. pp.36-67; I.S. Robinson, 'Church and Papacy', in Burns, *History of Medieval Political Thought*, pp.252-305, at pp.288ff.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. J.F. Niermeyer (ed.), *Mediae latinitatis lexicon minus* (Leiden, 1976), s.v. *iudex*.

<sup>33</sup> PL 73:910A; *The Desert Fathers*, ed. and trans. Ward, p.84.



saying to him: 'I will not let you go in'. 'Why not?' asks the brother. The angel replied that the Lord had sent him to ask: 'Where do you command that I should send that guilty brother whom you judged?' The brother was repentant at once, crying out: 'I have sinned, forgive me'. The angel responded that God has forgiven him, but that he should take heed in future lest he judge others rashly. Note though that this time the author does not make much effort to tinker with the yarn and edit out the monastic setting, aside from turning the judgemental 'abbas Isaac' of the source into a simple brother, and unsurprisingly censoring the reference to the desert (*ad eremum*). In fact, in this case it would perhaps have been unfeasible to do so without altering the import of the story completely. Absolute originality was not something Carolingian sermonists strived for. The sermon finishes with an Alcuinian section to explain the meaning of the story: mercy and discipline are the two key qualities for a judge. He who has mercy alone offers freedom to sin with impunity; discipline alone turns the soul of an offender to despair, and a judge will not deserve mercy from God.

The next two sermons are both concerned with judges not accepting gifts nor judging according to a person's status, again using sections from Isidore. Sermon LIII opens with the image of a just judge holding a set of scales with each side representing justice and mercy respectively. Justice pronounces the sentence for sin but this is balanced by mercy. Some need to be corrected by justice, some deserve leniency. Judgements ought to be made without consideration of a person's character. There is nothing more unjust than to accept gifts for judgements: a judge who condemns the innocent or pardons the wicked for bribes, or forsakes justice for love or hatred, ought to fear a judging God. Judges must not pervert justice by favouring blood relations or friends, or by ill-treating enemies.

In a similar vein sermon LIV affirms that judges who expect to be remunerated are committing an offence in the eyes of God because justice ought to be free. A rich man quickly corrupts a judge, but a poor man does not have anything to offer, so his case is not heard and the truth is suppressed. This sermon outlines the three senses of bribes that militate against justice: favouring friendships, flattery, and of course, accepting physical gifts. Human judgement, moreover, can be corrupted in four ways: by fear, hatred, desire and love. The text of this sermon is made up of a series of Isidorian sentences, except for one passage in the middle. This passage cannot be reconstructed in its entirety because it is only preserved in manuscript W at the bottom of a folio that pesky mice have gnawed, but its source can be identified easily enough:



Sermon LIV:

Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, IV:<sup>34</sup>

<Tu>nc enim iudex manus suas ab omni mun<ere e>xcutit, quando in iudicio suo <non solum n>ullam pecuniam, sed etiam huma<nam gratiam non> requirit. Ideoque iud<ices?> \*\*\*

dum recte iudicant, hoc pro temporali re<tribu>tione faciant. Ipsum solum testem uestri operis q<uae?>rant, quem iudicem sustinent.

4. ...Qui ergo sacros ordines tribuit, tunc ab omni munere manus excutit, quando in diuinis rebus non solum nullam pecuniam, sed etiam humanam gratiam non requirit.

5. Sed uos, fratres carissimi, quos saecularis habitus tenet, cum quae sint nostra cognoscitis, mentis oculos ad uestra reuocate. Cuncta erga uos gratis agite. Nolite operis uestri in hoc mundo retributionem quaerere, quem cum tanta iam cernitis uelocitate defecisse; caute ne mala quoquo modo, ne bona pro temporali retributione faciatis. Ipsum testem uestri operis quaerite quem iudicem sustinetis.

Gregory's homily explicates Matthew 10:5-8, in which Jesus dispatches the twelve apostles to preach the impending kingdom of heaven, telling them: 'freely have you received, freely give.' Gregory cites Isaiah 33:15 in the context of railing against simony: whoever confers holy orders should keep his hands free from every gift, including money and human favours. Gregory next lectures to those who live in the world, saying that they should also do everything for each other freely, not seeking temporal recompense for doing good. The Lord will be a witness of their labours. Our author manipulates the wording and context of this excerpt to suit his precise requirements: it is judges who ought to keep their hands free from money and human graces in judging.

From sermon LV onwards the task of reconstructing the text becomes tricky because manuscript W becomes illegible and is missing some folios. Manuscript P does not include any of the sermons after number LIII, but fortunately, manuscripts F and M contain sermons LVII-LX and LVIII-LVIII respectively to fill in the lacunae. Sermon LV entitled, 'On corrupt judges', gets underway with the statement that no judge should be dim-witted or morally unsound, because a fool is ignorant of justice while a flagrant judge corrupts the truth. Wicked judges torment the poor more than their cruellest enemies: 'there is no robber', it says, 'so greedy to take another's possessions than an unjust judge. Enemies only draw the blood of others; judges, like the most bloodthirsty

<sup>34</sup> *Homiliae in Evangelia*, CCSL 141, 4.4-5, p.31. Translated as homily 17 in *Forty Gospel Homilies*, trans. Hurst, pp.120-5. The phrase 'Qui – requirit' from Gregory also appears in Defensor's florilegium as c.XLVII *De muneribus*, PL 88:678.



torturers of the citizens, strive to gather riches by oppression.' Generally judges are good, but they have rapacious aides, whose greed they ought to curb. Here our author obviously had both Isidore's sentences and Alcuin's treatise in front of him when he wrote, for the text reads like a pick-and-mix assortment of phrases from each. Sermon LVI in W has deplorably mostly disappeared.

The next three sermons, LVII-LVIII, abandon the prior focus on judges and instead place fraud, false witness and perjury in the spotlight. Sermon LVII we have already met in chapter two. Sermon LVIII is but a literal reproduction of chapter XXI from Alcuin, omitting a few superfluous sentences. The text is built around a passage from Proverbs, the adage of which is that false witness will not go unpunished. Bearing false witness (i.e. lying in court) against one's neighbour formed part of the Decalogue. He who brings false witness against another, says the sermon, or hides the truth, provokes the wrath of God. A lying witness is liable to three people: he pays no heed to the presence of God; he deceives the judge by lying, and harms the innocent by false testimony. Both he who conceals the truth and he who lies are guilty of false witness. The poor who are oppressed by injustice finish their 'temporal misery' quickly and shall be blessed in the next world; for the oppressors eternal flames await. Those who endure tribulations should bear them stoically.

The meat of Sermon LVIII is a concatenation of quotes from Scripture, sandwiched between the bread of some Isidorian material and an Alcuinian ending. An oath, begins the sermon, must be avoided in every possible way, and should only be used in extenuating circumstances. It is not against the law of God to swear, but when it becomes a habit one runs the risk of perjury. Generally we manage alright without oaths, but the disbelief of others forces us to swear. God, who is the witness of our conscience, hears whoever swears no matter in what way, just as the person to whom one swears understands him. To glean his biblical material our author evidently did not rely on Defensor's florilegium, but may have used something comparable. The use of the Bible is striking in its liberality: Scripture is paraphrased and altered to fit the situation, most notably in the citation from Proverbs 5:22: 'His own iniquities catch the wicked, and he is fast bound with the ropes of his own sins',<sup>35</sup> which turns into: 'The oaths of a man seize him, and he is bound with false oaths like ropes.' In the middle of the scriptural quotations the sermon picks up Isidore to profess that perjurers commit a

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<sup>35</sup> 'iniquitates suae capiunt impium, et funibus peccatorum suorum constringitur'.



double offence both by taking the name of the Lord in vain and tricking their neighbour. The third paragraph brings the sermon to a close with an original and classic 'Quapropter' culmination: oaths must be avoided, false oaths even more. Fearing God is the best precaution against perjury.

### *Ministerium et iustitia*

The content and the rationale of these sermons for *principes* and *iudices* can be viewed against a backdrop of two interrelated conceptions: the idea of *ministerium*, and the debate over justice. Firstly, *ministerium*. In his book on Carolingian mirrors for princes, Hans Hubert Anton observed that although the idea of kingship as a ministry could be traced back to late antiquity through Gregory and Isidore,<sup>36</sup> it was only from the beginning of the ninth century that the office of the Frankish ruler was similarly 'objectified'.<sup>37</sup> In other words, the royal ministry (*ministerium regale*) came to be viewed as a divinely-granted post with definable responsibilities. These included above all protecting the Church and ensuring the people's spiritual destiny. Rulers were accountable to the grantor of their *munus*, God, and could be admonished by God's servants, the bishops. This ideology stemmed, Anton argued, from the Aquitanian *Fürstenspiegler*s, men such as Smaragdus and Jonas of Orléans, and gradually came to saturate the language of Carolingian legislation from the reign of Louis the Pious onwards. Nor was it just the ruler who shouldered the burden of leading the people to salvation: all office-holders, whether in the secular or ecclesiastical sphere, were shareholders in the emperor's *ministerium*; they were duty-bound to help him achieve his goal through the proper exercise of their own particular ministry.

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<sup>36</sup> Cf. Reydellet, *La royauté*, pp.554-5: 'Avec Isidore, la nouveauté essentielle consiste à concevoir la royauté non plus comme le produit du droit naturel, mais comme le gouvernement du peuple chrétien en tant que tel. L'accent est mis ainsi sur la notion de fonction et de service.'

<sup>37</sup> Anton, *Fürstenspiegel*, pp.404-19; T.F.X. Noble, 'From Brigandage to Justice: Charlemagne, 785-794', in C.M. Chazelle (ed.), *Literacy, Politics, and Artistic Innovation in the Early Medieval West* (London, 1992), pp.49-75, at p.59. For an earlier contribution to the idea of an 'objectification' of office see L. Halphen, 'L'idée d'État sous les carolingiens', *Revue historique*, 185 (1939), 59-70. But see also J. Fried, 'Der karolingische Herrschaftsverband im 9. Jahrhundert zwischen "Kirche" und "Königshaus"', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 235 (1982), 1-43, at 27-33. He maintains that, unlike the Visigoths, the Carolingians failed to distinguish clearly between the person of the king and the office: 'sie waren zwei Zeiten ein- und derselben "Sache", des einen unteilbaren Menschen, seiner moralischen, inneren Bildung und seiner nach außen gerichteten Aufgaben.' Rather, *ministerium* was viewed as personal service to a lord.



The concept of *ministerium* reached its apogee under Hincmar of Rheims,<sup>38</sup> but its beginnings can be illustrated in two key documents which come from around the time our author was working. In a rather stern letter sent by four *missi* to counts in Liège in March 806 we catch a glimpse of Charlemagne's government in action: the *missi* have been commissioned to make sure the emperor's will has been done, and if not, the unfortunate counts will be suitably chastised. In the preamble, the receiver of the letter is admonished to reread his capitularies, and 'to apply yourself with all energy to dealing with all matters, insofar as they are the concern of your office, both those pertaining to the worship of God and those pertaining to the service of our lord or to the salvation and protection of the Christian people.'<sup>39</sup> From this passage it is clear that among the secular magnates themselves there is already a self-awareness that they hold a *ministerium*, and that it comes with attendant duties. The clearest expression of the relationship between the ruler and his subordinates comes from a capitulary issued by Louis the Pious in 823-825, labelled by its first and subsequent editor the 'Admonitio ad omnes regni ordines'. This capitulary is noteworthy for being the first time that a Carolingian monarch officially confirms his rule is a ministry. Chapter three reads: 'Although the summit of this ministry may seem to consist in our person, nonetheless both by divine authority and human arrangement it is recognized to be divided by functions, so that each one of you should be recognized to have part of our ministry in his place and rank, that I ought to be an admonisher of all of you, and you all should be our helpers.'<sup>40</sup> This capitulary has formed the subject of a thorough and perceptive study by Olivier Guillot.<sup>41</sup> The point I want to stress here is the pyramidal conception of

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<sup>38</sup> See H.H. Brown, *Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims (circa 806-882): His Idea of Ministerium in Theory and Praxis* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan, 1968), who emphasizes the influence of the Benedictine Rule on Hincmar's theory of office.

<sup>39</sup> *MGH: Capit. I*, no. 85, p.184: '...ut de omni re, quantum ad ministerium vestrum pertinet, tam ex his quae ad Dei cultum quamque ex his quae ad domni nostri servitium seu ad christiani populi salvationem vel custodiam pertinet totis viribus agere studeatis.' English translation in King, *Charlemagne*, p.258.

<sup>40</sup> *MGH: Capit. I*, p.415: 'Sed quamquam summa huius ministerii in nostra persona consistere videatur, tamen et divina auctoritate et humana ordinatione ita per partes divisum esse cognoscitur, ut unusquisque vestrum in suo loco et ordine partem nostri ministerii habere cognoscatur; unde apparet, quod ego omnium vestrum admonitor esse debeo, et omnes vos nostri adiutores esse debetis.' This capitulary is extant at the head of book II of the collection of Ansegisus, and in one other manuscript, edited as no. 150 in *ibid.*, pp.303-7. I follow Guillot (see n.41) in citing from the version of Ansegisus.

<sup>41</sup> O. Guillot, 'Une ordination méconnue. Le Capitulaire de 823-825', in P. Godman and R. Collins (eds), *Charlemagne's Heir: New Perspectives on the Reign of Louis the Pious (814-840)* (Oxford, 1990), pp.455-86, esp. pp.466-471. Guillot shows that the *divina auctoritas* cited was inspired by 1 Cor. 12:4-5, 7-13, 27 and Eph. 4:7, 11-13, 15-16, in which Paul speaks about the Spirit giving each person a different gift, a different ability, a different way to serve the Lord, yet each baptized person is one part of the body of which Christ is the head and all contribute separately to the growing of the whole body. In the Christian body politic Louis, like Christ, was the head of an organism in which all Christians were a part.



power: each holder of a *ministerium* is a building block in the pyramid upon which Louis rests at the apex. The building blocks are essentially the same, evoking the identical nature of Louis's power and that of his office-holders. In order for the edifice to stand, all the blocks must slot together as one. Although the actual word *ministerium* is nowhere employed in these sermons, I would argue that they embody just this type of thinking, viz., that *principes* hold positions with clearly delineated functions to discharge.

Second, justice. There has been much excellent work in recent years on Carolingian justice, and this secondary literature helps to place the concerns voiced by the sermons in clearer perspective. Paul Fouracre has drawn attention to how the rhetoric of the Carolingian reforms placed earthly justice into a framework of moral salvation: scriptural norms informed thinking on judges' venality and their hallmark abuses.<sup>42</sup> The legislative measures enacted to 'improve' justice concentrated on trying to make justice conform to biblical ideals in which judges served God's order by supporting the law. For instance, the *Admonitio generalis* (789) exhorts judges to 'judge justly...not with regard to gifts...nor with regard to respect for persons'. Neither should a judge 'through ignorance...wander from the way of truth... [a judge] is to beware that he does not stray from [the correct judgement]...either through someone's flattery or through love of whatever friend or through fear of some powerful man or through bribery.'<sup>43</sup> Another capitulary, the 'Missi cuiusdam admonitio' (801-812), is itself couched as a sermon and extols that: 'Dukes, counts and judges should render justice to

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Moreover, the *humana ordinatio* consists of each of Louis's subjects sharing a part of his own God-given duties, corresponding to their position in the terrestrial order. Guillot shows that for Louis, 'ordering' (*ordinare*) his Empire was 'une préoccupation caractéristique'. This capitulary is also significant for its recognition of the Gelasian division of power: secular *potestas* ought to serve spiritual *auctoritas*.

<sup>42</sup> P. Fouracre, 'Carolingian Justice: The Rhetoric of Improvement and Contexts of Abuse', *Settimane*, 42 (1995), 771-803. It has also been contended by E. Magnou-Nortier, 'Note sur l'expression *Iustitiam facere* dans les capitulaires carolingiens', in M. Sot (gen. ed.), *Haut moyen-âge: Culture, éducation et société. Études offerts à Pierre Riché* (Paris, 1990), pp.249-264 that 'iustitiam facere' means essentially the payment of fixed taxes from the revenue collected by counts to the royal treasury. Not to 'do justice' does not make sense, because not dispensing actual judicial sentences deprived counts of their income. To underscore the non-judicial nature of certain capitularies is correct, but as Fouracre has pointed out, this interpretation overlooks all the evidence pertaining to a reform of the administration of justice at an abstract level along biblical lines.

<sup>43</sup> *MGH: Capit. I*, no.22, p.58, c.63: 'Omnibus. Ut quibus data est potestas iudicandi iuste iudicent, sicut scriptum est: [Zachar 8:16] 'iuste iudicate, fili hominum', non in muneribus, 'quia [Deut 16:19] munera excecant corda prudentium et subvertunt verba iustorum', non in adolatione, nec in consideratione personae, sicut in deuteronomio [1:16-17] dictum est: 'quod iustum est iudicate; sive civis sit ille sive peregrinus, nulla sit distantia personarum, quia Dei iudicium est.' Primo namque iudici diligenter discenda est lex a sapientibus populo composita, ne per ignorantiam a via veritatis erret. Et dum ille rectum intellegat iudicium, caveat ne declinet, aut per adolationem aliquorum aut per amorem cuiuslibet amici aut per timorem alicuius potentis aut propter praemium a recto iudicio declinet; et honestum nobis videtur, ut iudices ieiuni causas audiant et discernant.'



the people, mercy to the poor, should not exchange impartiality for money, nor condemn the innocent through hatred.’<sup>44</sup> A chapter of the ‘Programmatic capitulary’ of 802 highlights the role of counts and hundredmen to protect the powerless and vulnerable in society: ‘Counts and *centenarii* should compel justice to be done for all, and should have as assistants...[those] who should faithfully observe justice and the law, and will by no means oppress the poor’.<sup>45</sup> Again, identical concerns are echoed in the sermons. In fact, Mordek and Buck have stressed the religious and pastoral component of the capitularies, rather than their political and juridical function, and this aspect goes some way to explain why the content of sermon and capitulary looks similar.<sup>46</sup>

Indeed, the socio-economic context of accepting gifts, which is censured in the legislation and by the sermons, has been studied by Régine le Jan. She argued that gifts were at the heart of Carolingian social exchange: they helped to create conditions favourable for an amicable settlement by creating a link between judges and plaintiffs.<sup>47</sup> By accepting gifts, judges pledged to reciprocate by dispensing good justice and the hierarchical nature of the relationship between petitioner and judge was confirmed. Taking offerings from only one party was viewed as favouritism, although this was a way to restore equilibrium if the judge happened to be related to other party.<sup>48</sup> The prohibition of bribes was supposed to shield judges from the pressures applied to them by litigants, and safeguard the poor so that they were not reduced to penury by the demands of covetous judges. However, the practical application of these measures

<sup>44</sup> *MGH: Capit. I*, no.121, p.240: ‘Duces, comites et iudices iustitiam faciat populos, misericordiam in pauperes, pro pecunia non mutet acquitates, per odia non damnent innocentes.’

<sup>45</sup> *MGH: Capit. I*, no.33, p.96, c.25: ‘Ut comites et centenarii ad omnem iustitiam faciendum compellent et iuniores tales in ministriis suis habeant, in quibus securi confident, qui legem adque iustitiam fideliter observent, pauperes nequaquam oppriment...’

<sup>46</sup> See Mordek, ‘Karolingische Kapitularien’, p.27: ‘Kapitularien erfüllen ja in der Tat nur zum Teil eine normative Funktion, andere regeln den Einzelfall, und ebenso wie auf die juristische und politische könnte man auf die bislang weniger beachtete religiöse Komponente vieler Kapitularien abheben, auf das zuweilen pastorale Pathos, mit dem der christliche Herrscher, einem Homileten nicht unähnlich, als rex et sacerdos sein Volk zum Guten und Rechten hinleiten, ja hinreglementieren will, hin zum rechten Glauben, zu Liebe und Gerechtigkeit, zu Frieden und Eintracht, und weg eben von Haß und Neid, Habgier und Geiz...’; T.M. Buck, *Admonitio und Praedicatio: Zur religiös-pastoralen Dimension von Kapitularien und kapitulariennahen Texten (507-814)*, Freiburger Beiträge zur Mittelalterliche Geschichte 9 (Frankfurt, 1997), pp.157ff.

<sup>47</sup> R. le Jan, ‘Justice royale et pratiques sociales dans le royaume franc au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle’, *Settimane*, 44 (1997), 47-85, at 52-61. On means of settling conflicts outside the law see P.J. Geary, ‘Extra-Judicial Means of Conflict Resolution’, *Settimane*, 42 (1995), 569-601.

<sup>48</sup> The acceptance of judges by both parties is emphasized in a capitulary promulgated at Frankfurt in 794: ‘Ut electi iudices de utriusque partibus non spernantur.’ See *MGH: Capit. I*, no.28, p.77, c.44.



supposed a profound evolution of mentalities and of social customs.<sup>49</sup> Rosamond McKitterick has similarly highlighted the tension between the theory and practice, the impasse 'between absolute standards and real social pressures'.<sup>50</sup>

The satirical poem written by Theodulf of Orléans about his time spent as a *missus* sent to judge cases in southern France sometime before 798 with Leidrad, bishop-elect of Lyons, illustrates perfectly the workings of justice in the real world.<sup>51</sup> Theodulf begins with an admonition that encapsulates the whole premise of the work: 'Stern judges, take the narrow path of just judgement, and let your feet despise the crooked by-ways. The former path leads to heaven, the latter into darkness.'<sup>52</sup> Judges are encouraged to follow the path of Christian justice as set forth in the 'page of the ancient law... [and] the apostolic message', in order that 'sinister gifts may have no place.'<sup>53</sup> Moses, Samuel, David and Josiah are cited as examples of lovers of justice. In the narration of his own experiences of judicial proceedings the plaintiffs ply him with gifts of all kinds according to their means in order to influence his judgement: 'The people eagerly offered gifts, thinking that, if they gave, whatever they wanted would be done.'<sup>54</sup> 'There is no one who does not give, and no one who does not take bribes', says Theodulf ruefully.<sup>55</sup> But although justice ought to be dispensed freely, Theodulf accepts it is permissible to accept necessities such as foodstuffs in moderation to ensure harmonious relations.<sup>56</sup> Greed, the root of all evil, entices men to take bribes which pervert the truth: 'It is a sin to abandon the truth for material things, and to sell what it

<sup>49</sup> Le Jan, 'Justice royale', 84-5.

<sup>50</sup> R. McKitterick, 'Perceptions of Justice in Western Europe in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries', *Settimane*, 44 (1997), 1075-1102, at 1093.

<sup>51</sup> *MGH: Poetae I*, pp.493-517. See further G. Monod, 'Les mœurs judiciaires au VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après la Paraenesis ad Iudices de Theodulf', *Revue historique*, 35 (1887), 1-20; L. Nees, *A Tainted Mantle: Hercules and the Classical Tradition at the Carolingian Court* (Philadelphia, 1991), esp. pp.47-76; E. Magnou-Nortier, 'La mission financière de Theodulf en Gaule méridionale d'après le *Contra iudices*', in P. Guichard et al. (eds), *Papauté, monachisme et théories politiques: études d'histoire médiévale offertes à Marcel Pacaut* (2 vols, Lyon, 1994), i, pp.89-110 argues that Theodulf's assignment, and certain passages in his poem, must be understood in the context of Charlemagne's desire to reform the 'gestion publique' (i.e. the count and his *boni homines* who replaced the *curia* as collectors and distributors of taxes based on property qualifications) around Narbonne and Arles. She relies too much on Durliat's contentious notion of a still-functioning public tax system to be convincing. A complete translation of the poem can be found in N. Alexandrenko, *The Poetry of Theodulf of Orléans: A Translation and Critical Study* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane, 1970), pp.157-202; P. Godman, *Poetry of the Carolingian Renaissance* (London, 1985), pp.13-15, 162-6 offers comments and a translation of a few parts; Ruche, 'Miroirs', 361 suggests that Theodulf wrote the poem at the instigation of Louis the Pious.

<sup>52</sup> *MGH: Poetae I*, pp.493-4, ll.1-3; Alexandrenko, *Poetry*, pp.157-8.

<sup>53</sup> *MGH: Poetae I*, p.494, ll.16-20; Alexandrenko, *Poetry*, p.158.

<sup>54</sup> *MGH: Poetae I*, p.498, ll.167-8; Alexandrenko, *Poetry*, p.166.

<sup>55</sup> *MGH: Poetae I*, p.500, l.258; Alexandrenko, *Poetry*, p.170.

<sup>56</sup> *MGH: Poetae I*, p.501, ll.275-290; Alexandrenko, *Poetry*, pp.171-2.



befits each one to give free of charge.’<sup>57</sup> Theodulf offers some salutary advice to judges: pray before judging so that God directs your actions; arrive early at court; do not be a sluggard, glutton or sot.<sup>58</sup> Moreover, the underprivileged in society must be treated fairly: ‘Let it be your concern to attend to the cases of those who are orphans or widows...The weak, the cripple, the child, the sick, the old woman, or the old man’.<sup>59</sup> Judges must beware the wily words of their wives and servants who entice them to accept backhanders so they can profit.<sup>60</sup> Theodulf also advises against oath-taking, because it opens the way to crime and perjury.<sup>61</sup> A good judge must be merciful, but not shirk his duty to punish the wicked.<sup>62</sup> Godman has called Theodulf’s work ‘a complex work’ of moral-didactic literature...whose autobiographical and satirical elements are subordinated to a Biblical idea of justice.’<sup>63</sup> The reflections on justice in the poem, he argues, are transcendental, ranging from antiquity to the present, and Theodulf situates justice within a framework of universal Christian ethics (subsuming his rant against torture and oaths). Certainly, not all of Theodulf’s experiences should be taken literally, and the poem does have an edifying rationale aimed at exhorting judges to proceed in line with moral concepts of justice drawn from the Bible, but one cannot divorce it from its contemporary context and deny that Theodulf desired an overhaul of the legal system.<sup>64</sup>

The problems enumerated by Theodulf were perennial and Europe-wide. In late antiquity, provincial governors (who would not necessarily have had any formal legal training) held their trials in public, and were supposed to stay until all cases were heard. The Theodosian Code inveighed against crooked judges taking bribes, failing to turn up, and preferential treatment; *iudices* and their staff were held accountable for any infractions and liable to stringent punishments.<sup>65</sup> The Visigoths had a different solution to this problem: on 24 November 546 King Theudis published a law at Toledo aimed at

<sup>57</sup> MGH: *Poetae I*, p.502, ll.325-6; Alexandrenko, *Poetry*, p.173.

<sup>58</sup> MGH: *Poetae I*, pp.503-4, ll.357-420; Alexandrenko, *Poetry*, pp.175-8.

<sup>59</sup> MGH: *Poetae I*, p.509, ll.625-9; Alexandrenko, *Poetry*, p.187.

<sup>60</sup> MGH: *Poetae I*, pp.511-12, ll.691-738; Alexandrenko, *Poetry*, pp.190-2.

<sup>61</sup> MGH: *Poetae I*, p.514, ll.813-844; Alexandrenko, *Poetry*, pp.195-7.

<sup>62</sup> MGH: *Poetae I*, p.515, ll.845-886; Alexandrenko, *Poetry*, pp.197-9.

<sup>63</sup> Godman, *Poetry*, pp.14-15. The analysis of the poem by Nees has also revealed the complex layers of literary association present in, for example, the pejorative connotations of the pre- and non-Christian nature of the bribes. Indeed, Nees reads the poem as an extended critique of the pagan Roman heritage, based on the authority of Augustine’s *City of God*. I am not entirely convinced.

<sup>64</sup> Nees, *Tainted Mantle*, p.124 agrees.

<sup>65</sup> See J. Harries, ‘Constructing the Judge: Judicial Accountability and the Culture of Criticism in Late Antiquity’, in R. Miles (ed.), *Constructing Identities in Late Antiquity* (London and New York, 1999), pp.214-33, at pp.220-25.



the Roman courts which set out a maximum payment litigants could pay to judges to have their cases heard. This kind of legalized bribery also operated in the Ostrogothic kingdom.<sup>66</sup> Nevertheless, it is a truism that 'reform' tends to emphasize abuses which are *perceived* to exist: similar to late antiquity, repeated censure does not necessarily mean abuse was any more rife in the Carolingian period than before, just that there was an increased consciousness of a potentiality for abuse and a heightened conception of what was good justice. For example, studies in recent years have emphasized the fact that literacy among lay officeholders was perhaps more widespread than previously thought: judges owned 'pocket' law books, and law codices with annotations demonstrate signs of practical use as reference works.<sup>67</sup>

As mentioned at the head of this chapter, although there is nothing directly comparable to this independent series of sermonettes in other contemporary collections, there are references to political thought sprinkled unsystematically throughout other sermons. The Pseudo-Boniface collection, for example, contains familiar admonitions to judge justly and not accept bribes in a sermon entitled 'On faith and works of goodwill':

'He who hears trials, should judge justly, because God says, 'Judge thy neighbour according to justice (Lev 19:15)'. And again, 'With what judgement you judge, you shall be judged (Mt 7:2)'. You shall not accept gifts, because the word of God is, 'They blind the wise, and pervert the words of the just (Ex 23:8)', and when the Lord calls [you] to live in His tabernacle, that is in his kingdom, 'he who does not accept bribes against the innocent (Ps 14:5)'.<sup>68</sup>

In the same sermon the audience is exhorted to, 'Love justice, just as it is written, 'Love justice, you that are the judges of the earth (Sap 1:1)'.<sup>69</sup> In a crucial passage, for which I

<sup>66</sup> E.A. Thompson, 'The Barbarian Kingdoms in Gaul and Spain', *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*, 7 (1963), 3-33, at 15; idem, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford, 1969), p.14.

<sup>67</sup> McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp.40ff; R. McKitterick, 'Some Carolingian Law-Books and their Function', in B. Tierney and P. Linehan (eds), *Authority and Power: Studies on Medieval Law and Government Presented to Walter Ullmann on his Seventieth Birthday* (Cambridge, 1980), pp.13-27. See also J.L. Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian Government', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The Uses of Literacy in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1990), pp.258-96. For a fairly optimistic interpretation of the actual use of *lex scripta* in Bavaria, although he notes that the code was probably most often used to determine compositions, see C.I. Hammer, 'Lex scripta in Early Medieval Bavaria: Use and Abuse of the Lex Baiuvariorum', in E.B. King and S.J. Ridyard (eds), *Law in Medieval Life and Thought*, *Sewanee Medieval Studies*, 5 (Sewanee, 1990), pp.185-95.

<sup>68</sup> Sermo V, PL 89:853: 'Qui causas audit, juste judicet, quia Deus dicit: *Iuste judica proximo tuo*. Et iterum: *In quo iudicio judicaveritis, judicabimini*. Munera non accipietis, quia Dei sermo est: *Obcaecant oculos sapientium, et subvertunt verba justorum*, et cum Dominus dicit in tabernaculo suo, id est, in regno suo, habitare *qui munera super innocentem non accipit*.'

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., PL 89:854: 'Justitiam diligite, sicut scriptum est: *Diligite justitiam qui iudicatis terram*.' Cf. sermo XV, PL 89:870.



have not been able to trace any direct source, the author of Pseudo-Boniface discusses the social order:

‘For there is one soul for our body, in which life exists, but there are many separate limbs with diverse duties. In such a way there is one faith in the Church...but many ranks having different duties. On the other hand there is one order of those in command, the other of subordinates; one of the wealthy, the other of the poor; one of the old, the other of the young; and each person having his own precept, just as each limb has its own duty in the body...Thereon the regal honour ought to be feared and revered by the people, because there is no power except from God. Likewise it is fitting that all the *potentes* and *iudices* who cleave to the king should be loyal, humble and merciful, judge in accordance with equity and not in regard to bribes, protect widows and orphans and the poor, and be subordinate to their bishops...’<sup>70</sup>

Thus in this extract the author harnesses the Pauline concept of Christ as one body with many members (1 Cor 12:4-5, 7-13, 27 and Eph 4:7, 11-13, 15-16) to explain and validate the social order. The sermon also uses the ecclesiological conception of power from Romans 13:1 to propound the idea that the *regius honor* should be obeyed by all. Moreover, there is clearly implicit the idea of *ministerium*: *potentes* and *iudices* share in the king’s delegated power. They must perform their duties in a way appropriate to the king’s divinely ordained duty to rule ‘justly’ and guarantee the social order, that is, protect the powerless from oppression and effect the implementation of social practices with God’s order under the guidance of the episcopate.<sup>71</sup> Justice is a principal virtue to be cultivated equally by the king’s agents.

The sermons in the Pseudo-Eligius collection also offer comments on the social order and how judges ought to behave. For instance, emulating Isidore’s explanation of the etymology of the word king, one sermon explains what the function of kings, leaders and judges ought to be: ‘The king however should guard the dignity of his name in right living and conduct. *Principes* and *iudices* should listen and obey, and do more willingly, what Holy Scripture tells them to do willingly. ‘Love justice, you that are the judges of the earth. Think of the Lord in goodness, and seek him in simplicity of heart

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<sup>70</sup> Sermo IX, PL 89:860: ‘Una est enim corpori nostro anima, in qua vita consistit, sed multa sunt membra diversis distincta officiis. Sic in Ecclesia una est fides, quae per charitatem ubique operari debet, sed diversae dignitates proprias habentes ministrationes. Nam alius ordo praepositorum est, alius subditorum; alius divitum, alius pauperum; alius senum, alius juvenum; et unaquaeque persona habens sua propria praecepta, sicut unumquodque membrum habet suum proprium in corpore officium. Nam episcoporum officium est prava prohibere, pusillanimes consolatoria protervos corripere. Deinde regius honor populis debet esse timori et venerationi, quia non est potestas nisi a Deo. Item, potentes et iudices omnes qui regi adhaerent fideles sint oportet, et humiles, et misericordes, in aequitate judicare et non in muneribus, viduas et pupillos et pauperes defendere, episcopis suis subditos esse, neminem vi opprimere, non injustis divitiis inhiare, sua magis indigentibus dare quam aliena rapere.’

<sup>71</sup> See further J.L. Nelson, ‘Kings with Justice, Kings without Justice: An Early Medieval Paradox’, *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull’alto medioevo*, 44 (1997), 797-823, at 819-20.



(Sap 1:1).’ And the former: ‘And now, O ye kings, understand: receive instruction, you that judge the earth. Serve ye the Lord with fear (Ps 2:10-11)’.<sup>72</sup> Hrabanus sermon 58 ‘On judging justly and not accepting false witnesses’ likewise lifts the same source material from Alcuin’s *De virtutibus et vitiis* as our sermons, although Hrabanus adds an original ending which calls the audience to always remain faithful to justice and truth, when judging, defending or allowing others to do so, ‘so that you may deserve to receive an everlasting crown in eternal beatitude.’<sup>73</sup>

On a slightly different note, and from a time when different political conditions existed, come the sermons of Abbo of Saint-Germain des Près. Abbo paints a picture of a realm in rack and ruin where all the tenants and slaves are dead or captured due to the Northmen: what are we to do without them, asks Abbo plaintively, for we don’t know how to farm or tend vines.<sup>74</sup> The sterility of the soil and the pagan menace is a sign of God’s anger, hence the people should henceforth be like ‘good trees, which produce good fruits’. Robbers who pillage the church estates should repent most of all and give their ill-gotten gains to the poor. They must heed the example of their forefathers who defended the realm, that of the pagan Romans who lived chastely and soberly and conquered the world, and that of the Jews who converted to the Lord and enjoyed peace and abundance. A veteran of the siege of Paris in 885-6, Abbo urges his audience to resist the pagans in a rousing address: ‘O Francia, guard yourself! Do not let your enemies multiply and grow, but as Scripture recommends, fight for your fatherland, do not fear to die in the war of God. If you die you will without doubt be holy martyrs.’<sup>75</sup> Plunderers of church property come in for acerbic criticism in other sermons.<sup>76</sup> Rapine is denounced as a grave sin which will lead to perdition; rapine distracts from the

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<sup>72</sup> Homilia I, PL 87:595-6: ‘Rex autem, in recto vivendo et agendo, nominis sui dignitatem custodiat. Principes et iudices, quod sibi sacra dicit Scriptura libenter audiant et obediant, atque libentius faciant. *Diligite* (inquit) *justitiam qui iudicatis terram: sentite de Domino in bonitate, et in simplicitate cordis quaerite illum*. Et illud: *Nunc, reges, intelligite, crudimini qui iudicatis terram: servite Domino in timore*. Publicani et peccatores beatum Joannem Baptistam sibi dicentem audiant, et obediant: *Nihil* (inquit) *amplius quam quod constitutum est vobis, faciatis, et ne ultra praeseri tum quid exigatis*. Milites, quod sibi ab eodem dicitur attendant; nec calumniam facientes praedam acquirant. *Neminem* (inquit) *concutiatis, neque calumniam faciatis, et contenti estote stipendiis vestris*.’

<sup>73</sup> Woods, *Critical Edition*, p.306: ‘Contestans obsecro uos, fratres karissimi, ut semper hoc attendatis, quando aliquem iudicatis, seu defendatis, siue etiam hoc facientibus consentiatis, quod ueritatem et iustitiam non relinquantis, sed in omnibus obseruare studeatis, quatenus a uero iudice nostro, ipsa uidelicet ueritate, quae iudicabit orbem terrae in aequitate et iustitia, coronam immarcescibilem cum benedictis in aeterna beatitudine accipere mereamini, ipso tribuente qui uiuit et regnat etc...’

<sup>74</sup> 6. Sermo aduersus raptos bonorum alienorum, 22 *Predigten*, ed. Önnersfors, pp.94-9.

<sup>75</sup> Ibid., p.98: ‘O, Francia custodi temetipsam! Nolite uestros inimicos multiplicare et crescere sed, sicut commendat Scriptura, pugnate pro patria uestra, nolite timere mori in bello Dei.’

<sup>76</sup> 11. Sermo aduersus raptos qui bona pauperum hominum diripiunt, 22 *Predigten*, ed. Önnersfors, pp.113-7; 24. Sermo aduersus eos qui res ecclesiasticas diripiunt, ibid., pp.199-202.



pressing need to repulse the Norse. While offering an interesting commentary on the prevailing social and political problems, unlike our sermons Abbo does not offer any observations on the theory of power as such.

### Sermon LX: *De pace et concordia*

The previously unedited sermon entitled 'On peace and harmony' is the last to appear in the second part of the sermonary in the section on the virtues and vices and deserves to be treated separately. In chapter two we saw that this sermon contains a passage similar in phraseology to a canon from the Council of Mainz. The comparatively long sermon itself begins by insisting that the audience must ponder how someone can be said to believe in God without keeping His commandments, because faith and belief in God's mandates are demonstrated through actions (cf. 1 Jn 3:18). The sermon then proceeds to elucidate God's commands. Firstly, to love God above everything else in the world with one's whole heart and understanding. Next, to love one's neighbour as oneself, for it is impossible to love God without loving one's neighbour. In addition, the sermon urges that both friends and enemies should be loved and, in a series of rhetorical questions, asks:

'Who is our friend if not he who remains with us in the holy church in unity of faith? Who is the son of God just like us, who is the brother of Christ just like us, who has one God and one God the Father just like us, and one mother church just like us, one baptism like us, looks towards one inheritance, that is towards the kingdom of heaven, just like us?'

The people who presume to hate those who hold these same beliefs, who are their brothers and neighbours, cannot love God nor do His will. Likewise, the listeners are exhorted to love and pray for the life and salvation of their enemy, who does not believe in God, neither follow Him nor perform His will, so that he might be converted from his wickedness and believe in God. This could be an allusion to pagans, most probably Avars, who may be living in close proximity to the audience.<sup>77</sup> Notably, it speaks of love and conversion of one's enemies in peaceful terms, without any allusion to political 'persuasion' favoured by other Carolingian authors.<sup>78</sup> This passage need not be

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<sup>77</sup> M. Garrison, 'The *Collectanea* and Medieval Florilegia', in M. Bayless and M. Lapidge (eds), *Collectanea Pseudo-Bede*, *Scriptores latini Hiberniae*, xiv (Dublin, 1998), pp.42-83, at pp.79-85 points out that unlike areas further west, in both Freising and Salzburg it was impossible not to be aware of unconverted pagans living nearby and this must have impacted on the educational practices of the region.

<sup>78</sup> See further R.E. Sullivan, 'The Carolingian Missionary and the Pagan', *Speculum*, 28 (1953), 705-40; idem, 'Early Medieval Missionary Activity: A Comparative Study of Eastern and Western Methods',



construed in so literal a fashion though, and may have been intended for those Christians who have lost their way and need a jolt to get back on the correct path.

Nonetheless, there is an intriguing passage in sermon XXXI which might confirm the supposition that our author was working in a region adjacent to heathen peoples. This sermon, on alms, reprises Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis* chapter XVII slavishly until near the end, when it breaks off and appends an original conclusion:

*'Therefore, whilst we have time, let us work good to all men, but especially to those who are of the household of the faith, to those who abide with us in one faith, hope and love in the holy Church, or to those who dwell with us in one profession (i.e. of the faith) and office (i.e. the Eucharist). Let us act in accord through good zeal and will, because there is one Lord. Let us remain in one love, and likewise let us come to the heavenly kingdoms with the Lord...'*<sup>79</sup>

Who better to turn to than Haymo of Auxerre for an exegetic explanation of the verse from Paul's letter to the Galatians quoted by our author: 'In such time we ought to do good to all men, to brothers, to heretics, to pagans, as much in the duty of giving alms as in the teaching of the Word...Those of the household are called so from the word 'house'; they are nurtured and abide in one house. Certainly we ought to do good to all, that is, to heretics and pagans, but especially to those who are in one house with us, that is in the unity of the Church, and have the same faith...'<sup>80</sup> While in our sermon there is no explicit mention of unbelievers, the gist of the excerpt is that the audience should disburse alms to everyone, which presupposes the fact that there are those who are not 'of the household of the faith' to whom to disburse. Maybe, though, this is reading too much into it.

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*Church History*, 23 (1954), 17-35; idem, 'Carolingian Missionary Theories', *Catholic Historical Review*, 42 (1956), 273-95; Amos, *Origin and Nature*, pp.216-7.

<sup>79</sup> E (f.150<sup>v</sup>); H (f.146<sup>v</sup>); W (f.40<sup>v</sup>-41<sup>r</sup>): *'Ergo dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum ad omnes, maxime autem ad domesticos fidei* [Gal 6:10], his qui in una fide, spe et caritate [castitate *sed corr. in marg.* E] nobiscum in ecclesia sancta commorantur, uel his qui in una nobiscum professione et officio conuersantur. Nos unanimes simus per bonum studium et uoluntatem, quia unus est Dominus. In una caritate maneamus, et [ut E] simul ad caelestia regna cum Domino ueniamus, cui honor et imperium per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.'

<sup>80</sup> PL 117:697D-698A: *'Ergo dum tempus habemus, operemur bonum ad omnes. Tempus seminandi et operandi virtutes, praesens vita est, quia post istam non erit tempus vel spatium poenitentiae atque salutis. De hoc tempore dicit Apostolus alibi: Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile, ecce nunc dies salutis. In isto tempore debemus operari bonum ad omnes homines, ad fratres, ad haereticos, ad paganos, tam in eleemosynae officio quam in doctrina verbi. Omnibus enim hominibus misericordia impendenda est, et doctrina fidei imitando patrem nostrum, qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos. Maxime autem ad domesticos fidei oportet bonum operari. Domestici dicuntur a domo, qui in una domo nutriuntur et conuersantur. Ad omnes quidem bonum debemus operari, hoc est, ad haereticos, ad paganos, sed maxime ad illos qui in una domo, id est in unitate Ecclesiae nobiscum sunt, et qui eandem fidem habent, et praecipue ad illos qui iter rectitudinis nobis ostendunt verbo et exemplo.'*



Sermon LX carries on by picking up on the idea that because Jesus said to love even one's enemies instead of hating them, nobody should have the temerity to hate a friend. There follows a sequence of fairly difficult lines to interpret. The argument runs that it is the work of the 'ancient enemy' when we quarrel for earthly and fleeting things and hate one another, because Jesus decreed (in the Sermon on the Mount) to hunger and thirst after righteousness. With the same desire as we quench our greatest hunger and thirst we ought to seek righteousness for everyone. Righteousness here seems to mean moral conduct in conformity with God's will which will merit salvation. If anyone may struggle to bear righteousness for Christ, if the audience truly want to love God, they are 'to pray and rejoice for those as we said above, so that we would have been worthy to suffer indignity for the name of Jesus'. The allusion must be to the 'infidelis'. The passage quoted is from Acts and refers to the apostles being whipped: the sermon author was obviously aware of this, but here it might be construed either metaphorically, or literally with missionary overtones. Those who follow the 'Devil, author of discord', and perform his will, work against their salvation by hating their brother and neighbour, or quarrelling over such things as 'one field', which 'like dung' they ought to reject for Christ.<sup>81</sup> The next lines could be an allusion to Judgement Day, which leads on to the statement that hatred of neighbour overcomes us to hate God. Nobody can have a righteous life who hates his life. After a battery of scriptural citations, the sermon says that whoever hates his brother must be lamented because that person has surrendered Himself to death and punishment. It continues by asking how such a person can dare to receive the holy sacrifice as long as he hates his son and brother of Christ. He who has even a spark of hatred in their heart against their brother and neighbour should be turned back to harmony, light and life from shadows and death, through the means of confession and penance if they wish to have a propitious God. He should love Christ who gave himself so that Christians would be redeemed from all sin and eternal death. The sermon concludes with a final refrain including several jussive subjunctives:

'Let him return to peace, reject falsehood, not by words alone, but let him send away hatred from a pure heart... Let us preserve peace and harmony amongst ourselves, and

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<sup>81</sup> This is the same general message as conveyed in the *Admonitio generalis*, c.62. See *MGH: Conc. I*, no.22, p.58: '...“diliges proximum tuum sicut te ipsum”; item in euangelio: “beati patifici, quoniam filii Dei vocabuntur”. Et iterum: “in hoc cognoscent omnes quia mei discipuli estis, si dilectionem habueritis ad invicem”. In hoc enim praecepto discernuntur filii Dei et filii diaboli; quia filii diaboli semper dissensiones et discordias movere satagunt: filii autem Dei semper paci et dilectioni student.'



let us love mutually, so that we can be sons of God and brothers of Christ, and His co-heirs in the kingdom of heaven...'

There are three important points to raise about the substance of this sermon. Firstly, in theological terms, man's paramount duty to love God, expressed tersely as one of the commandments in the Old Testament, is fused with the double precept of charity as elucidated by Christ in the New Testament to love God *and* neighbour. The sermon develops the New Testament argument that to have eternal life one must keep the commandments (Mt 19:16-19). However, Jesus also simplified and interpreted the commandments by enjoining newly even love of enemies, for instance in the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5:7) and the parable of the good Samaritan (Lk 10:25-37). To love one's neighbour for the sake of God entails rising above mere natural solidarity to a higher view of our common Divine adoption and heavenly heritage: from this lofty motive universal fraternal charity follows as a necessary consequence, mirroring Christ's love for us (Jn 13:34-5) and a kind of moral identity between Christ and the neighbour (Mt 25:40). Whoever sees God-given and God-like privileges in his neighbour, not simply human peculiarities, can no longer restrict his love to family or friends but must broaden it to encompass all humankind. This is portrayed as the 'way of life', as opposed to the 'way of death', in the first chapter of the early Christian text known as the *Didache*, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles.<sup>82</sup> The sermon thus propagates the two most fundamental and basic tenets of the Christian faith in a powerful manner.<sup>83</sup>

Secondly, I have been unable to locate any sources at all for this sermon, so it seems likely that it is a Carolingian composition, but not by our author. The text is extremely dexterously constructed around a framework of scriptural maxims, with a logically consistent argument. The allusions to those that do not follow God, and the mention of the Eucharist towards the end of the sermon, leads to the inference that this sermon was composed by a different person and at a different time from the *Ratio de*

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<sup>82</sup> *Doctrina XII Apostolorum una cum antiqua versione Latina prioris partis. De Duabus Viis*, ed. J. Schlecht (Freiburg im Brisgau, 1900): 'De doctrina apostolorum. Vię duę sunt in sęculo vitę, et mortis. lucis et tenebrarum. In his constituti sunt angeli duo. unus equitatis. alter iniquitatis. Distantia autem magna est duarum viarum. Via ergo vitę hęc est. Primo diliges deum ęternum qui te fecit! Secundo proximum tuum ut te ipsum. Omne autem quod tibi fieri non vis. alii non feceris.'

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Heer, *Ein Karolingischer Missions-Katechismus*, p.38: 'Doch trifft er den Kernpunkt aller Tugendlehre, indem er von dem Gebot der Liebe Gottes und des Nächsten handelt, mit Einschluss der Goldenen Regel, um daraus die Pflicht der Liebe gegen Freund und Feind abzuleiten und zu Friede und Eintracht zu ermahnen.'; p.38, n.1: '...auch in diesem Sermo das Hauptgebot mit der Goldenen Regel verbunden ist.'



*cathecizandis rudibus*, although for a Christian community probably living in close proximity to the heathen.<sup>84</sup>

Thirdly, its content fits perfectly with the other sermons in this section on the virtues and vices, such as the two little Pomerian sermons on *caritas*, and it is clear that the didactic aim of the whole section as envisaged by the compiler was to implant the seeds of a cultural reform amongst the Carolingian notables based on the ecclesiological lines outlined in the capitularies. Roger Bonnaud-Delamare has demonstrated in a thorough survey that the notion of ‘pax’ in Charlemagne’s reign had two strands: the capitularies present ‘pax’ as respect for the social order whereas the other constituent, as explicated by Carolingian writers, was a moral notion founded on individual conscience and good will, although the two were not mutually exclusive.<sup>85</sup> The desire for peace to reign in the Empire was habitually promulgated in the capitularies, because as the *Admonitio generalis* (789) sets forth: ‘nothing pleases God without peace, not even a gift of holy offering at the altar’.<sup>86</sup> If peace and concord hold sway amongst the Christian people of the Empire, then the ruler’s subjects can truly be called ‘children of God’ and ensure their salvation.<sup>87</sup> Charlemagne assumed the role of ‘peacekeeper’, protecting the powerless in society and punishing those who caused infractions of the peace. Bonnaud-Delamare points out though that the perception developed, for instance at the reform councils of 813, that it was not only the ruler who was responsible for the peace but all echelons of the social hierarchy, who must abide in fraternal unity given that every Christian was a member of a community with one God the Father, one mother Church, one faith and one baptism. This unity in turn underpinned the social order and unity of the Empire. In this sense ‘peace’ took on a moral and religious meaning and rested upon a voluntary collective goodwill or *caritas*, no longer on the

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<sup>84</sup> Heer, *Ein Karolingischer Missions-Katechismus*, p.38 n.1: ‘Sprachlich steht er viel höher als unsere Heiden-Katechesen. Der Gedankengang ist logisch konsequent, ohne Weitschweifigkeit; die Bibel ist reichlich und sorgfältig benützt’; p.48: ‘Der fast unmittelbar folgende Sermo De pace et concordia mit seinem besseren Latein weist nur einmal faciet statt faciat auf und ist sonst ziemlich fehlerfrei geschrieben.’

<sup>85</sup> R. Bonnaud Delamare, *L’idée de paix à l’époque carolingienne* (Paris, 1939), esp. ch.7. For the concept of peace as expressed in Louis the Pious’s councils of 825 and 829 see pp.209-12.

<sup>86</sup> *MGH: Capit.* I, no.22, c.62, p.58: ‘...quia nihil Deo sine pace placet nec munus sanctae oblationis ad altare’. The biblical allusion is to Mt 5:23-4: ‘So if you are about to offer your gift to God at the altar and there you remember that your brother has something against you, leave your gift there in front of the altar, go at once and make peace with your brother, and then come back and offer your gift to God.’ On Alcuin’s conception of peace derived from Augustine and the similarity of the *Admonitio* see Anton, *Fürstenspiegel*, pp.99-101.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Mt 5:9 and Jn 13:35, both cited in the capitulary mentioned above.



sole force of the ruler's precepts. Nonetheless, the 'two peaces', 'imperial' and 'moral', were never clearly separated in reality.<sup>88</sup>

Moreover, other historians have emphasized that *pax et concordia* became a guiding principle for the functioning of public institutions under Charlemagne, expressed by Ganshof as 'a fundamental rule of the Carolingian system of government...that is, confident collaboration – between ecclesiastical authorities and secular officials of royal power.'<sup>89</sup> Fichtenau has also documented the fact that the establishment and maintenance of terrestrial peace was the ruler's overriding duty, but that it had 'more exalted purposes – namely, the promotion of order in the universe in conformity with God's will'.<sup>90</sup> In other words, a state of *pax* on earth ensured auspicious natural conditions, whereas *discordia* sowed by the Devil among the hearts of men led to disturbance of the cosmic order. Charlemagne tried to institute 'a sort of City of God' on earth in which his subjects lived virtuously according to secular laws and the eternal laws of God.<sup>91</sup> Reminiscent of this sermon, Augustine's 'city of God' refers to the assemblage of good people on earth who have been restored by God's grace and are able to forego self-love, love God as they should and consequently deserve salvation.<sup>92</sup> The city of God which sojourns on earth must live by the two greatest commandments: love the Lord your God, and your neighbour as yourself. Although the two cities share a universal craving for peace, the earthly city strives for civic obedience and rule as the product of man's will and intelligence; the heavenly pilgrims avail themselves of this peace only to facilitate living by the faith in their mortal state: they do this in order to realize their ultimate goal of attaining heavenly peace, consisting of the perfectly ordered and harmonious enjoyment of God and of one another in God. Therefore, the principles outlined in this sermon can be explained on two, though not mutually exclusive, levels: firstly, it can be viewed as a pastoral work written to impart basic Christian dogma to a Bavarian audience dwelling close to the heathen. Alternatively, and perhaps concurrently, on a more abstract level as an attempt to channel the philosophy of Carolingian legislation down to a lower level which, if adhered to, would underpin the social order and unity. This does have contemporary

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<sup>88</sup> Bonnaud Delamare, *L'idée de paix*, pp.205, 310, 314.

<sup>89</sup> F.L. Ganshof, *Frankish Institutions under Charlemagne*, trans. B. & M. Lyon (Providence, Rhode Island, 1968), p.5.

<sup>90</sup> H. Fichtenau, *The Carolingian Empire*, trans. P. Munz (repr. Toronto, 1978), pp.55ff., 81.

<sup>91</sup> Arquillière, *L'Augustinisme politique*, pp.162-9.

<sup>92</sup> In contrast, Augustine's 'earthly city' contains the damned, whom God has not chosen to save. See for what follows esp. 14.28; 19.13, 17.



analogies: the *Missi cuiusdam admonitio* (801-812), itself cast in the form of a sermon, insists that the listeners ‘Love your neighbours just like yourselves, and give alms to the poor according to your means...Reconcile quickly to peace among you’.<sup>93</sup> In his correspondence Alcuin likewise encourages his addressees to preach peace. Both interpretations would fit with the content of the other sermons in this section, ranging from the Pomerian sermons also on love of neighbour to the Isidorian sermons on duties of leaders and judges to protect the poor – a further expression of *caritas* and interlinked in the capitularies with harmony.<sup>94</sup>

### Conclusion

While there are sermons on individual virtues and vices in other Carolingian sermonaries, plus scattered allusions to political thought, I know of nothing comparable to this independent section addressed explicitly to lay magnates treating the obligations of power. It is inconceivable to imagine the composition of these texts without the prevailing shifts in ideology which occurred in the late eighth and early ninth century. The subject of justice came to the fore, and Carolingian noblemen began to regard their position as an office with moral responsibilities and social duties: they needed guidance in how to discharge their tasks and achieve salvation. Of course, how far the message actually had an impact on the conduct of laymen is impossible to say. One might raise the objection that the monastically-oriented content of the exempla contained within two of the sermons negates the possibility that these texts were meant for a lay audience. It is unquestionably true that certain works treating political power and wielders of authority were written for solely monastic consumption, such as Odo of Cluny’s *Collationes* (c.925).<sup>95</sup> Nevertheless, in this case it is fairly safe to say that the texts were composed to be used in a secular milieu: the context of the sermonary as a whole proves this. Moreover, the first sermon in the Pseudo-Eligius collection –

<sup>93</sup> *MGH: Conc. I*, no.121, pp.238-40: ‘Haec est ergo fides nostras, per quam salvi eritis, si eam firmiter tenetis et bonis operibus adimpletis, quia fides sine operibus mortua est, et opere sine fide, etiamsi bona sunt, Deo placere non possunt. Primum ergo diligite Deum omnipotentem ex toto corde et ex omnibus viribus vestris, et quicquid potestis scire quod Deo placet...Diligite proximos vestros sicut vos ipsos, et aelemosina facite pauperibus secundum vires vestras...Reconciliate citius ad pacem inter vos...’

<sup>94</sup> See, e.g. *MGH: Capitularia*, no.104, p.214; no.69, c.3, p.158.

<sup>95</sup> PL 133:517A-638C. On this work see further B.H. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1982), p.57ff. John, abbot or prior of Salerno, composed a life of Odo c.943 and claimed that his *Collationes* ‘has already been sent to various churches’, but it is extremely unlikely that this work was disseminated outside the cloister. See *St Odo of Cluny: Being the Life of St Odo of Cluny by John of Salerno and the Life of St Gerald of Aurillac by St Odo*, ed. and trans. G. Sitwell (London, 1958), I.37, p.40.



irrefutably meant for an audience including the laity – also includes a yarn drawn from the *Verba seniorum*. Finally, the presence of such sermons in a Bavarian collection poses its own questions. Bavaria had only been part of the Frankish realm since 788: does this assemblage represent, in some way, an attempt at a ‘frankicization’ of the Bavarian nobility instigated by Charlemagne’s crony, Archbishop Arn? It is certainly feasible given what we know about Arn’s attempts to reform the Bavarian Church along Romano-Frankish lines, though this will always remain impossible to prove. Perhaps whoever put together these sermons wanted to inculcate a Christian class ethic and a consciousness of private morality in the Bavarian notables which would lead to the collective salvation of the people. The governance of any early medieval polity relied totally on the ‘efficiency, loyalty and support’ of a ruler’s subjects, and indeed by necessity, ‘lesser officials became increasingly independent’, much like the Civil Servants of the British Empire.<sup>96</sup> Consequently it is not surprising that these sermons endeavour to inculcate ethical precepts into the *potentiores* as well as lower sections of society.

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<sup>96</sup> R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms Under the Carolingians, 751-987* (London, 1983), p.77.



## Conclusion

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This thesis has attempted to shed some light on the question of how sermons were used as a medium to bring about the correction and ultimate salvation of the peoples in the Frankish empire through a comprehensive analysis of the 'Sermonary of Salzburg'. This collection was compiled by a Bavarian churchman at some point in the first two decades of the ninth century as a response to the call for regular preaching in Carolingian legislation. Our unknown author may have been a canon in Salzburg itself, perhaps working at the behest of Arn or another reform-minded bishop (Atto (783-810) or Hitto of Freising (811/12-36)? Adalwin (792-816/17) or Baturich of Regensburg (817-47)?)<sup>1</sup> to make available examples of paradigmatic sermons to guide preachers. Indeed, on the basis of the manuscript evidence of other extant sermonaries, it appears that something of a golden age of sermonary composition occurred between 800 and c.825 in Bavaria. *Vis-à-vis* the number of surviving manuscripts of our collection, it is fair to say that it enjoyed a moderate, though not particularly spectacular, degree of popularity throughout the ninth century within Bavarian climes. Thereafter its popularity (and its applicability to the prevailing circumstances?) appears to have waned, but a close derivative was exploited by Robert of Bardi in the fourteenth century for his compendium thanks to the (pseudo-) Augustinian items it transmitted. Of course, if the premise be accepted that this sermonary was designed to be disseminated and used by the lower clergy in their pastoral work (*à la* Caesarius) then the fact that only a few copies remain is perfectly understandable. The survival rate for such workaday, well-thumbed manuscripts must have been horrendous, with only the copies safely ensconced in monastic and cathedral libraries being saved for us.

The internal textual evidence of the sermons themselves demonstrates beyond any reasonable doubt that our author intended them to reach an audience made up of the general public at some remove. The subject matter of the sermons is in perfect harmony with the capitularies promulgated by the Frankish rulers and the Frankish episcopate as regards dominical and festal preaching to the Faithful, both by bishops in cathedral

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<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, the book by Stephan Freund, *Von den Agilolfingern zu den Karolingern. Bayerns Bischöfe zwischen Kirchenorganisation, Reichsintegration und Karolingischer Reform (700-847)*, Schriftenreihe zur bayerischen Landesgeschichte, Bd. 144 (Munich, 2004) came to my attention too late to be considered in this thesis.



churches and by priests in parish churches. Taken as a whole, the collection seems to have had two major aims: firstly, to educate both the immediate audience of the collection, namely the clergy, and the ultimate audience, the layfolk, about the solemnities of the Christian year and their scriptural foundations; the second aim, no less important, but much more ambitious, was to moralize the populace at large. We saw in chapter three how many of the sermons are structured with this twofold aim in mind: the first part would enlighten the listeners as to the rationale of the commemoration at hand, while the second would beseech them to act in a manner befitting the occasion. Other sermons are simply straightforward admonitions to cultivate certain Christian ethics: for instance, sermons XII-XV on concupiscence and almsgiving, or sermons XLI-LII on confession and penance. The exegesis contained in the sermons is oriented towards this twofold aim: it is mainly typological, in that it seeks foreshadowings and analogies in the Old Testament for events of the New, while also using allegory to explain Christ's life, and tropological, in that moral lessons are drawn and urged on the audience. Of course, preaching being an oral genre, we cannot recover the actual words preached in the ninth century nor the gestures, emotions or audience reactions that accompanied the act, but we can study the written vestiges of model sermons to discover the brand of instruction that was delivered vocally to the laity.

The anonymous author of our sermonary manifestly had a well-equipped library at his disposal. The composition of the collection must have entailed many hours of rummaging around among codices containing sermons, treatises and hagiographical works. For many of the sermons it is likely that our author had in mind a text to use, something that he had read before perhaps, or maybe had heard preached to him; for others, serendipitous browsing may have contributed some useful passages: these could be copied out onto a wax tablet or a scrap of parchment to be incorporated into the finished article. The authors upon whose works he drew and acknowledged in the rubrics, though sometimes (inadvertently) incorrectly, include all the usual suspects: Alcuin, Augustine (i.e. Caesarius!), Bede, Chromatius, Eusebius 'Gallicanus', Fulgentius (and in all probability the enigmatic Pseudo-Fulgentius), Gregory, Isidore, and Maximus of Turin; the homiliary of Alan of Farfa provided a convenient ready-made source for our author to exploit to glean some of this material, as apparently did the sermonary of Beaune. The heavy dependence upon Alcuin's *œuvre* has already been remarked upon: it is redolent of a link to Arn and Salzburg, but not conclusive. The



analysis of the sermons in this thesis has shown that, although our author was not above slavish copying in many instances, he by and large exhibits considerable ingenuity in the way in which he adapts his source texts and weaves his compositions together. Finally, even with all the modern technology, it has still proved impossible to find sources for a few of the sermons. It is exceedingly doubtful that these are original Carolingian compositions in their entirety; rather, they must have been excerpted from the works of known writers which are now lost forever, or, more likely, from other sermonaries compiled by nameless authors in late antiquity (perhaps in imitation of the style of their more famous forebears and contemporaries) and circulated widely at the time, but also today lost. Sermons XII-XV undoubtedly derived from a homiliary of the latter type.

Where should early medieval sermon studies go from here? All told, the era of discovery and preliminary analysis of anonymous composite collections – those sermonaries compiled by unknown authors, or teams of authors, for multidimensional purposes – seems to be over. It is conceivable, though, that more remain to be discovered. The trend now is towards editing and studying those sermonaries in detail. More new editions and full studies of the neglected sermon collections indicated in chapter I should be the highest priority. Although article-length studies are satisfactory to get the gist of a sermonary, for reasons of space they cannot unmask how much the compiler rewrote his source material, structured it or introduced new material: only a critical edition and study can extricate the true character of a sermon collection. Furthermore, there is now surely sufficient material, both in terms of printed editions of sermons and secondary literature, for a monograph on the rôle of sermons and preaching in the Carolingian renaissance. Such a monograph would have to range chronologically from the time of Caesarius of Arles to the end of the tenth century, and deal with all the issues raised above. One bar to the production of a monograph is the fact that unknown numbers of sermons lie neglected in manuscripts dotted about the archives of Europe. Oft-times, descriptions in antediluvian catalogues are next to useless. Who knows what treasures lie therein? To cite but one example, the nineteenth-century manuscript catalogue of the St Gallen Stiftsbibliothek records the details of a codex in two parts, the second being a tenth-century manuscript containing Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*,



sermons by Augustine and ‘sermone anonymi’.<sup>2</sup> One would dearly love to know at the very least how many ‘anonymous sermons’ there are, not to mention their rubrics, incipits and explicits, and any easily identifiable sources. Finally, in terms of new directions, it would be interesting to compare and contrast contemporary western and Islamic preaching, notwithstanding the formidable linguistic hurdle.<sup>3</sup>

Modern historiography on sermons and preaching in the early Middle Ages can trace its roots back to the remarkable works of German historians of the late nineteenth century. In anglophone scholarship, Ullmann and McKitterick laid the foundations for the study of preaching as a facet of the Carolingian renaissance, but it was the scholarship of the late Tom Amos that truly put the study of early medieval sermons on the map. His pioneering contribution was to show definitively the central place that the sermon occupied in Carolingian efforts to correct society. This thesis has made a modest contribution towards confirming his premise. It has shown what type of religious instruction was deemed suitable for the laity in Bavaria and the way in which this instruction was to be delivered: one can no longer deny that *renovatio* was inextricably linked to *praedicatio*.

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<sup>2</sup> G. Scherrer, *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen* (Halle, 1875), ms. 146, p.54. This manuscript has not yet been digitized as part of the ongoing Codices Electronici Sangallenses (CESG) - Virtual Library: <http://www.cesg.unifr.ch/de/index.htm>. Millemann, ‘Caesarius’, 20 refers to A.J. Nürnberger, *Aus der literarischen Hinterlassenschaft des hl. Bonifatius und des hl. Burchardus* (Neisse, 1888) who apparently looked at the ‘17 Katechesen’ in this manuscript. Frustratingly, this book is not in any UK libraries.

<sup>3</sup> For an introduction to preaching in Islam, see J.P. Berkey, *Popular Preaching and Religious Authority in the Medieval Islamic Near East* (Seattle and London, 2001)



## Appendix I. Inventory of the Sermonary

Title · [Cl. = <i>Clavis patristica pseudoepigraphorum medii aevi, Opera homiletica I-A-B</i> , ed. I. Machielsen, CCSL (Turnhout, 1990)]	Manuscripts							Collectorium	Milleloquium	Alan of Farfa	Previous editions	Sources
	W	E	F	H	K	M	P					
SERMO SANCTI LEONIS PAPAE DE NATALE DOMINI [Cl. 5514]	1	1				28						Eusebius 'Gallicanus', <i>Hom.</i> 18.5, CCSL 101, pp.217-8. Cf. Leo, <i>Tract.</i> 24.1, CCSL 138, pp.109-10; 52.1, CCSL 138A, pp.307-8.
ITEM VNDE SVpra OMILIA SANCTI HIERONYMI [Cl. 5036]	2			2							Folliet, 'Deux nouveaux témoins', 181-2.	Cf. Ps.-Jerome, <i>Epist.</i> 25.1, PL 30:220; Aug., <i>Serm.</i> 194.2, PL 38:1015.
OMELIA SANCTI AVGVSTINI DE SANCTO STEPHANO [Cl. 1799]	3	2		3				II, 53			Ps.-Aug., <i>Serm.</i> 191 in Mai, <i>NPB</i> I, pp.448-9.	Caesarius, <i>Serm.</i> 220, CCSL 104, pp.871-3.
OMELIA SANCTI AVGVSTINI DE SANCTO EVANGELISTA IOHANNE [Cl. 1800/4515]	4	3		4				II, 54			Ps.-Aug., <i>Serm.</i> 192 in Mai, <i>NPB</i> I, pp.449-50.	Chromatius, <i>Serm.</i> 21.1; 22.3; 21.4; 22.5, ed. Lemarié, SC 164, pp.40-2, 54, 46, 56.
SANCTORVM INNOCENTVM. SERMO SANCTI AVGVSTINI [Cl. 1801]	5	4	1	5				II, 55			Ps.-Aug., <i>Serm.</i> 193 in Mai, <i>NPB</i> I, pp.450-1; Lemarié, 'Le sermon Mai 193', 141-2.	Eusebius, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i> , I.6.1-2; I.8.1-2; I.8.3, 7, 9, 11; plus a lost sermon by Chromatius?
[Title lost]	6				6						Folliet, 'Deux nouveaux témoins', 183.	Extracts from an ancient life of St Sylvester; traces in Mombritius, <i>Sanctuarium</i> II, pp.513-14.
OMILIA SANCTI AVGVSTINI DE CIRCVMCISIONE [Cl. 2189]	7	5	2	6	7			II, 61		I, 31	Ps.-Caesarius, <i>Serm.</i> 191, CCSL 104, pp.778-9; PLS 4:456-7.	Alan of Farfa, <i>Hom.</i> I.31 = Ps.-Aug., <i>Serm.</i> 112.2 in Mai, <i>NPB</i> I; PLS 2:1214.
OMILIA SANCTI AVG	8	6	7	9	8			II, 12			Ps.-Aug., <i>Serm.</i> 189 in Mai, <i>NPB</i>	











QVID SIT ELYMOSINA. FVLGENTII [Cl. 4881]	32	26														Fulgentius, <i>Serm.</i> 7.1-2, CCSL 91A, pp.931-2.
DE ELYMOSINAE. AVGVSTINI [Cl. 2438]	33	27														Leo, <i>Serm.</i> 10.2, CCSL 138A, pp.41-3; Maximus of Turin, <i>Serm.</i> 22.1, CCSL 23, p.83.
DE ORATIONE ELYMOSINA. FVLGENTII [Cl. 4880]	34	28														Aug., <i>Serm.</i> 210.1, 9, 11-12, PL 38:1047-1054.
ITEM DE IEIVNIO ET ORATIONE ELEMOSINA. FAVSTINI [Cl. 4755]	35	29												I, 70		Alan of Farfa, <i>Hom.</i> I.70 = Caesarius, <i>Serm.</i> 198, CCSL 104, pp.799-802.
ITEM DE IEIVNIO ET ORATIONE ET ELYMOS. OMILIA SANCTI AVG [Cl. 2439]	36	30										II, 109	127			Aug., <i>Serm.</i> 207, PL 38:1042-3.
ITEM UNDE SUPRA. LEONIS [Cl. 5513]	37	31														Leo, <i>Serm.</i> 15, CCSL 138, pp.58-60; Leo, <i>Serm.</i> 9.3, CCSL 138, p.36
SERMO FVLGENTII. QUALITER ORANDVM SIT [Cl. 4882]	38	32														Fulgentius, <i>Serm.</i> 7.3-5, CCSL 91A, pp.932-4.
DE ORATIONE. YSIDORI [Cl. 2440]	39	33											433			Isidorus, <i>Sent.</i> III.7.12-14, 2-6, 15-17, CCSL 111, pp.220-4.
DE YSIDORI [Cl. 5310]	40	34									14					Alcuin, <i>De virtutibus et vitiis</i> , c.11, PL 101:620C-621B (Alcuin uses Isidorus, <i>Sent.</i> II.12.1, 3-5)
DE CONFESSIONE. VICTORIS.	41	35														Victor Cartennae, <i>De poenitentia liber unus</i> , c.1, PL 17:971A-972B.
ITEM VNDE SVPRA. VICTORIS.	42	36														Victor Cartennae, <i>De poenitentia liber unus</i> , c.1-2, PL 17:972B-973D.
ITEM ALIA VNDE SVPRA. SERMO VICTORIS.	43	37														Victor Cartennae, <i>De poenitentia liber unus</i> , c.17-18, PL 17:991A-







RECORDATIONE VEL CONSVETVDINE. YSIDORI [CI. 5312]																	8.2-3, CCSL 111, pp.109, 138-141.
QVAM MALVS SIT VITAE ISTIVS AMOR. SERMO SANCTI SEBASTIANI.	58	52								58							Ps.-Ambrosius, <i>Acta s. Sebastiani martyris</i> , c.III-IV.10-12, PL 17:1025B-1026C; BHL 7543.
ITEM VNDE SVPra. SEBASTIANI.	59	53								59							Ps.-Ambrosius, <i>Acta s. Sebastiani martyris</i> , c.III-IV.10-11, 12-13, PL 17:1026A-1027B; BHL 7543.
NON GAVDENDVM DE PROSPERITATE HVIVS SAECVLI. IVL POMERII.	60	54								60							Julianus Pomerius, <i>De vita contemplativa</i> , II.XIII, PL 59:456A-457C.
DE PASSIONE DOMINI. SERMO LEONIS PAPAE [CI. 5482]	61	55	13							61	134						Leo, <i>Serm.</i> 52.1, CCSL 138A, p.307.
ITEM DE PASSIONE. LEO [CI. 5512]	62	56								62							Leo, <i>Serm.</i> 52.1-2, CCSL 138A, p.308.
ITEM ALIA. LEONIS [CI. 5483]	63	57								63							Leo, <i>Serm.</i> 56.6, CCSL 138A, pp.328-9.
ITEM VBI SVPra. AVGVSTINI [CI. 1753]	64	58	14							64		II, 142					Leo, <i>Serm.</i> 54.1, CCSL 138A, p.317.
DE CAENA DOMINI. SERMO AVGVSTINI [CI. 1751/4510]	65	59	15	18	65							II, 139					Chromatius, <i>Serm.</i> 15.1, 4-6, ed. Lemarié, SC 154, pp.246, 248, 254, 256.
DE MYSTERIIS CENAE DOMINI [CI. 1752]	66	79										II, 140		II, 90			Alan of Farfa, <i>Hom.</i> II.90 = ancient Latin version of John Chrysostom, <i>Hom.</i> 1, PG 49:373-82.
DE PARASCEVEN. SERMO AVGVSTINI [CI. 1754]	67	60	16	20	66							II, 143					Aug., <i>Serm.</i> 218.1, PL 38:1084.
DE SABBATO. AVGVSTINI [CI. 1755]	68	61	17		67							II, 148					Eusebius 'Gallicanus', <i>Serm.</i> 8 extrau., CCSL 101B, pp.881-6 (or hom. 18);
DE DIE SANCTO PASCHAE. AVGVSTINI [CI. 1724]	69	62	18	25	68							II, 170		II, 7			Alan of Farfa, <i>Hom.</i> II.7 = Caesarius, <i>Serm.</i> 204.1-2, CCSL 104, pp.819-22.



QUALITER CHRISTVS INFEROS VISITAVIT [Cl. 2444]	70	63				69					II, 147	147	II, 2		Alan of Farfa, <i>Hom.</i> II.2 = Ps.-Aug., <i>Serm.</i> 160, PL 39:2059-61.
DE PASCHA. SERMO AVGVSTINI [Cl. 1764]	71	64	19			70					II, 171		II, 3	Ps.-Aug., <i>Serm.</i> 155 in Mai, <i>NPB</i> 1, pp.348-9; PLS 2:1253-4.	Alan of Farfa, <i>Hom.</i> II, 3 = Ps.-Aug., <i>Serm.</i> Caillau 1, 21.
ITEM VNDE SVPRA. AVGVSTINI [Cl. 2445]	72	65		26		71									
DE RESURRECTIONE DOMINI VEL DE EO QVOD CHRISTVS SIT HERI ET HODIE. AVGVSTINI [Cl. 2448]	73	66				72					II, 169	174	II, 8		Alan of Farfa, <i>Hom.</i> II.8 = Ps.-Maximus, <i>Serm.</i> 36, PL 57:605B-610A.
ITEM DE PASCHA VEL QUALITER DIABOLVS REGNAT PER PECCATVM IN MVNDO.	74	67				73									Eusebius 'Gallicanus', <i>Hom.</i> 14.1-3, CCSL 101, pp.165-8; Leo, <i>Serm.</i> 55.5, CCSL 138A, pp.326-7
ITEM DE PASCHA. LEONIS [Cl. 5511]	75	68				74					II, 194	164	II, 12		Eusebius 'Gallicanus', <i>Hom.</i> 22.1-3, CCSL 101, pp.257-9; Leo, <i>Serm.</i> 59.8, CCSL 138, pp.359-62.
DE CLAVSV PASCHAE [Cl. 2449]	76	69	21			76					II, 197	166	II, 14	NB. Should be no.75 in <i>K</i> .	Alan of Farfa, <i>Hom.</i> II.14 = Ps.-Aug., <i>Serm.</i> 172, PL 39:2075-6.
DE RESURRECTIONE COMMVN. AUG [Cl. 2450]	77	70				76	20							Lemarié, 'Nouveaux fragments', 200-2.	
ITEM ALIA VNDE SVPRA [Cl. 2451]	78	71				77									
ITEM VNDE SVPRA. AVGVSTINI [Cl. 2452]	79	72				78								Lemarié, 'L'homélaire carolingien', 575-6. Also to be found in Clm 14470, s.ix ff.109 <sup>v</sup> -110 <sup>v</sup> .	
ITEM DE RESURRECTIONE. SERMO SANCTI GREGORII [Cl. 2453]	80	73		27		79									Gregorius, <i>Hom. in Hiezechihelem prophetam</i> , lib. II, hom. 8.6-7, CCSL 142, p.339; Leo, <i>Serm.</i> 69.4-5, pp.423-4.
ITEM ALIA VT SVPRA. AVG [Cl. 2002/4923]	81	74												Wilmart, 'Un sermon', 5-7; PLS 4:1585-6.	Gregorius, <i>Hom. in Hiezechihelem prophetam</i> , lib. II, hom. 8.7-8,



																	CCSL 142, p.341; Leo, <i>Serm.</i> 71, CCSL 138A, pp.439-40.
QVID SIT CAPTIVITAS MENTIS. AUG [CI. 2454]	82	75						45									Eusebius 'Gallicanus', <i>Hom.</i> 19.3-4, CCSL 101, pp.224-6; conclusion identical to Beaune no.70.
DE LETANIA MAIORAE. AUG [CI. 2446]	83	76	22										II, 18				Alan of Farfa, <i>Hom.</i> II.18 = Caesarius, <i>Serm.</i> 208, CCSL 104, pp.832-4.
ITEM VNDE SVpra [CI. 2447]	84	77	23							II, 199	120						Caesarius, <i>Serm.</i> 207.1-2, CCSL 104, pp.828-9.
ITEM ALIA. AVG [CI. 1765]	85	78	24	16						II, 200							Fulgentius, <i>De remissione peccatorum</i> , lib. II, c.XX, XXII, CCSL 91A, pp.704, 706-7.
DE ASCENSA DOMINI. AVGVSTINI [CI. 1766]	1		25										II, 24, 23, 22				Alan of Farfa, <i>Hom.</i> II.24, 23, 22 = Ps.-Leo, <i>De ascensione</i> , PLS 3:339-40; Eusebius 'Gallicanus', <i>Serm.</i> 27, CCSL 101, p.328; Caesarius, <i>Serm.</i> 210.1-3, CCSL 104, pp.837-8; Eusebius 'Gallicanus', <i>Serm.</i> 27, CCSL 101, p.329.
								1		II, 200 bis							
QVOD VICIBVS POST RESVRRECTIONEM DISCIPVLIS SVIS DOMINVS APPARVIT [CI. 4099]	2							2									Bede, <i>Hom.</i> II.8, CCSL 122, pp.236-8 = <i>hom.</i> II.3, PL 94:147C-149B.
DE VIGILIA PENTECOSTEN. LEONIS [CI. 2455/5519]	3		26	31				3					II, 30, 31				Alan of Farfa, <i>Hom.</i> II.30, 31 = Maximus of Turin, <i>Serm.</i> 40.1-2, CCSL 23, p.160; Maximus of Turin, <i>Serm.</i> 44.4, CCSL 23, p.180; Ps.-Aug., <i>Serm.</i> 185.3, PL 39:2094.
DE PENTECOSTEN. LEONIS [CI. 2456/5518]	4		27	32				4					II, 29				Alan of Farfa, <i>Hom.</i> II.29 = Ps.-Aug., <i>Serm.</i> 182.1-2, PL 39:2087-8.
DE PASSIONE SS. TIBVRTII, VALERIANI ET	5							5									Acta s. Caeciliae, AASS (1866), pp.204-8. BHL 1495.



MAXIMI. XVIII. KAL. MAIAS.																			
DE PASSIONE SANCTI GEORGII.	6									6								Cf. BHL 3368.	
DE PASSIONE SANCTI PHILIPPI APOSTOLI.	7									7								Cf. Mombritius, <i>Sanctuarium II</i> , p.385; cf. BHL 6814.	
V. NON. MAIAS. INVENTIO SANCTAE CRVCIS.	8									8								Cf. Mombritius, <i>Sanctuarium I</i> , pp.376-9; cf. BHL 4169.	
DE PASSIONE SANCTI FLORIANI. IIII. NON. MAIAS.	9									9								Cf. Passio s. Floriani, <i>MGH: SS rer. Merov.</i> , pp.68-71; BHL 3054.	
DE PASSIONE SANCTORVM NAZARII GERVASI PROTASII ET CELSI.	10									10								Cf. BHL 6043.	
DE PASSIONE SANCTI IACOBI APOSTOLI FRATRIS DOMINI.	11									11								Cf. BHL 4089.	
SANCTI MAXIMI. DE NATALE SANCTI IOHANNIS BAPTISTAE [Cl. 5865]	12					28	36			12								Ed. from ms. P in PL 57:649C-652A.	Ps.-Maximus, <i>Serm.</i> 59.
ITEM ALIA DE NATIVITATE ET PRECVRSIONE SANCTI IOHANNIS BAPTISTAE [Cl. 5866]	13									13								Ed. from ms. P in PL 57:651B-654C.	Ps.-Maximus, <i>Serm.</i> 60.
DE PASSIONE SANCTORVM IOHANNIS ET PAVLI.	14									14									Cf. BHL 3239.
DE PASSIONE APOSTOLORVM PETRI ET PAVLI.	15									15									Cf. BHL 6662.
ITEM DE NATALI APOSTOLORVM PETRI	16					29				16							II, 50	Alan of Farfa, <i>Hom.</i> II.50 = Maximus of Turin, <i>Serm.</i> 1.1-2,	







SANCTAE MARIAE [Cl. 5520]										64		96:269C-271B; Ps.-Ildephonsus, <i>Serm.</i> 7, PL 96:269B.
DE PASSIONE SANCTI CYPRIANI EPISCOPI. XVIII. K. OCTOBRIS.	28								28			Cf. BHL 2037.
DE PASSIONE SANCTAE EUFEMIAE. XVI. KL. OCTOBRIS.	29								29			Cf. Mombritius, <i>Sanctuarium I</i> , pp.454-9; cf. BHL 2708.
DE PASSIONE SANCTI MATHEI APOSTOLI. XI. KAL. OCTOBRIS.	30								30			Cf. Mombritius, <i>Sanctuarium II</i> , pp.257-63; cf. BHL 5690.
DE PASSIONE SANCTORVM MAVRITHI ET SOCIORVM EIVS. X. KAL. OCTOBRIS.	31								31			Cf. BHL 5749.
IN NATALE SANCTI CORBINIANI (P ROTHPERTI). VIII. K. OCTOBRIS [Cl. 4668]	32								32			Eusebius ‘Gallicanus’, <i>Hom.</i> 51, CCSL 101A, pp.593-603; Leo, <i>Serm.</i> 94.2, CCSL 138A, p.579
DE PASSIONE SANCTORVM COSMAE ET DAMIANI. V. KAL. OCTOBRIS.	33								33			Cf. BHL 1967.
MEMORIAM SANCTI MICHAELIS. III. KAL. OCT.	34					33			34			<i>Relatio de dedicatione ecclesiae sancti Michaelis et miraculis ostensis</i> , PL 95:1522-25, PL 110:60-63; MGH: <i>SS rer. Lang.</i> , pp.541-3. Cf. BHL 5948.
DE PASSIONE SANCTI DYONISI ET SOCIORVM EIVS VII. ID. OCTOBRIS.	35								35			Cf. BHL 2178.
DE VITA ET VIRTVTIBVS SANCTI AMANDI CVIVS FESTA EST VII. KAL. NOV.	36								36			Cf. Vita s. Amandi, MGH: <i>SS rer. Merov. V</i> , pp.431-49; cf. BHL suppl. 332.
DE THATHEO	37								37			Cf. Eusebius, <i>Historia</i>











																			missing folios.			PL 101:629C-630A.
DE PERIVRIO. YSIDORI.	59		54									18							NB. The text is absent in W due to missing folios.			Isidorus, <i>Sent.</i> II.31.1-2, 6-8, CCSL 111, pp.155-6.
DE PACE ET CONCORDIA.	60		55																NB. The text is absent in W due to missing folios.			



## Appendix II: Sanctoral

The second part of the sermonary incorporates forty-one sermons *de sanctis*; more hagiographical sermons are embedded in the first part of the sermonary. Although the primary focus of this thesis has been on the sermons for the liturgical seasons, for the sake of thoroughness, and to convey a flavour of a typical saint's day sermon, I have elected here to present an analysis of a sermon for the renowned St George, whose latter-day dragon-slaying fame rests to a large extent on the embellished account in James of Voragine's *Golden Legend* (c.1260).<sup>1</sup> The real George is shrouded in mystery, and, although various apocryphal *acta* dating back to the fifth century have been dismissed as outrageously unhistorical, there is reliable early evidence that attests to a cult centred around Lydda in Palestine where he suffered, probably before the time of Constantine.<sup>2</sup> The complex textual history of George's *passio* is interesting in itself. It is helpful first of all to provide an outline of the story of George's martyrdom as related by the original apocryphal Greek account, the earliest remnants of which are fragments dating from the fifth century, in order to discern the ways in which the text of the sermon differs.<sup>3</sup> In its barest essentials, the story runs as follows: Datianus, emperor of Persia, convoked a council of seventy-two kings by an edict and threatened the Christians with most hideous tortures. George of Cappadocia, a military commander, arrives at the court, distributes his goods to the poor and confesses to being a Christian. Datianus interrogates him and invites him to sacrifice to idols, but George refuses. There ensues a series of nauseating tortures: for instance, he is forced to wear shoes with nails inside and is struck repeatedly on the head with hammer-blows. After these tortures, George is thrown in prison, where the Lord appears to him to announce that his suffering will last seven years (!), but the torments will not cause him any pain, and he will die three times and be resurrected before finally expiring. After more stomach-

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<sup>1</sup> Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend: Readings on the Saints*, trans. W.G. Ryan (2 vols, Princeton, 1993), i, pp.238-242.

<sup>2</sup> For background, although it concentrates mainly on Greek texts, see H. Delehaye, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* (Paris, 1909, reprinted New York, 1975), pp.45-76. Delehaye refutes all the attempts made to identify George with various documented historical figures.

<sup>3</sup> See Delehaye, *Les légendes*, pp.51-5; J.E. Matzke, 'Contributions to the History of the Legend of Saint George, with Special Reference to the Sources of the French, German and Anglo-Saxon Metrical Versions', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 17 (1902), 464-535, at 467-475. See also the continuation to this article in vol. 18 (1903), 99-171. On the early Greek texts see also F. Cumont, 'La plus ancienne légende de saint Georges', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 114 (1936), 5-51. I have not been able to see M. Huber, 'Zur Georgeslegende', in, *Deutscher Neuphilologentag. Festschrift zum XII. allgemeinen Deutschen Neuphilologentage* (Erlangen, 1906), pp.175-235.



churning torments, such as molten lead being poured into his mouth and being sawn in two, various miracles and conversions (including the empress Alexandra), George at last achieves martyrdom. Just before his final death he prays to God that He will destroy Datianus and the other kings, but grant the wishes of all those who invoke his name and honour his relics.

Moving onto the sermon itself, the text begins by setting the purportedly historical scene for George's martyrdom. It tells how a pagan king called Datianus wrote to each of his kingdoms asking them whether 'countless Gods of the pagans or Christ alone' ought to be worshipped. This however was merely a ruse to root out and persecute Christians. And so, as the sermon author states, 'just as we read, seventy-two kings and a vast crowd came to him.' Datianus then ordered different kinds of punishments to be brought with which to torture those who cherished the name of Christ, until they either denied Christ's name and sacrificed to idols or perished. Whereupon it happened (understandably) that 'there were few who would dare to name Christ.' One of these few was a Cappadocian named George, who had performed his military service well and risen to the rank of tribune. Seeing the situation, he gave all his wealth to the poor and prepared himself for martyrdom. Coming before the king, he exclaimed that demons had blinded their hearts because they were exercising their fury against Christians: pagan gods are nothing but demons and the idols they worship are merely 'works of human hands'. There follows a statement by George of orthodox Christianity: 'We Christians however believe in a living and true God, and we worship Him who made sky and earth, the sea and all things which are in them.' The audience would doubtless have recognized this profession of Christian faith as reminiscent of the Nicene Creed, and it lends an almost liturgical gravity to George's speech.<sup>4</sup> It is noteworthy that the sermon author devoted a large proportion of the text to George's condemnation of polytheism and idolatry, and included this statement of Christian dogma in full. In comparison, the details of the various tortures are glossed over in relative silence. The author concentrates rather on George's resolute Christian beliefs because he wanted his audience to focus more on these than the shocking details. Moreover, George's denunciation of heathenism might conceivably have had a contemporary resonance for the author. Hearing George's refusal, Datianus ordered him

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. H. Magennis, "'Listen Now All and Understand": Adaptation of Hagiographical Material for Vernacular Audiences in the Old English Lives of St Margaret', *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 27-42, at 29: 'By means of a tissue of Psalm allusions, Margaret's utterance achieves a quasi-liturgical dignity'.



to be punished by various instruments but George remained steadfast until his death, and also managed to convert 'ninety thousand and more' to God.

The last few lines of the sermon switch from narrative into a direct address to the audience to emulate the virtues of the martyr, whose 'holy memory' they are celebrating solemnly. The author, with the use of a hortatory subjunctive, encourages his listeners to strive in 'humility, chastity, patience, in purity of life, in works of mercy, and care of the needy and poor, equally in fear and love of the Lord, in proper faith, in firm hope to the Lord, in true and perfect love of God and neighbour.' If these guidelines are followed then they will share in the 'glory of eternal beatitude at the same time with him [George].' It is palpable that some of these virtuous qualities are not discussed on their own in a non-figurative milieu. Instead they are associated with a tangible character, saint George, and are manifested in the definite context of worldly human conduct. For example, 'care of the needy and poor', is one of George's saintly qualities that the audience can realistically emulate in their everyday lives. Obviously, it was unlikely that many in the Carolingian period would follow the saint's pathway to martyrdom literally, but the lives of martyrs could be used didactically to teach such things as 'patience' and 'proper faith', and influence the audience to stoically tolerate any present anguish with the hope of future happiness in heaven. The sermon author makes this point clear: 'Whence it is fitting, most beloved, that if we are unable to be sharers of his passion, nevertheless let us strive to imitate him with good works as much as we are able.' The obligation to cultivate these virtues are scattered throughout Carolingian royal and episcopal capitularies, and sermons such as this provided examples of holy men and women to imitate who lived their lives according to Christian teaching.

There exist today a huge number of Latin redactions of the *Passio sancti Georgii*, some differing quite widely in their details, which scholars have spent years of painstaking research attempting to classify. The most recent and thorough study is by Wolfgang Haubrichs.<sup>5</sup> So how does this sermon fit into this immense and confusing corpus of texts? In 494 at a Roman synod Pope Gelasius I (492-6) promulgated a catalogue of *libri sacri et authentici*, distinguishing these from apocryphal and illicit tomes.<sup>6</sup> Among the latter he lists certain 'deeds of the holy martyrs' whose authors are

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<sup>5</sup> W. Haubrichs, *Georgeslied und Georgslegende im frühen Mittelalter: Text und Rekonstruktion* (Königstein, 1979)

<sup>6</sup> PL 59:157A-164B.



unknown or whose contents smacked of heresy. Cited as an example is the *passio* of saint George.<sup>7</sup> This censure is thought to refer to the Latin apocryphal version (in general, version *O*) of the legend rediscovered in 1874 by Wilhelm Arndt in a ninth-century manuscript (*G*).<sup>8</sup> Another version of this text was printed the following year from two ninth-century manuscripts emanating from St Gall (*Sg*).<sup>9</sup> Both belong to the same version, *A*, and derive from a common source. The author of *Sg* abridged the source and introduced some variations, although it is *Sg* which is closer to the original form. Therefore, both *G* and *Sg* are translations of two different Greek sources ( $X^1$  and  $X^2$ ), which in turn, originated from a primitive legend (*O*). This has been shown by comparing *G* and *Sg* to the fifth-century Greek palimpsest fragments. *G* and *Sg* have been dated to the period before Jerome (d.420) translated the bible, because scriptural citations in both do not concur with the Vulgate text.<sup>10</sup> There were, however, yet other versions: a canonical Greek version which changed certain details to address Gelasius' criticisms, such as introducing Diocletian as the persecutor instead of Datianus and toning down the tortures and miracles; and later western Latin versions (*Y* and *Z*), which derive from the apocryphal version and can be further subdivided internally.

As Haubrichs has already indicated, this sermon is a shortened version of the St Gall redaction (*Sg*), the manuscripts of which almost exclusively come from south Germany.<sup>11</sup> The sermon also features in a twelfth-century manuscript from Brussels.<sup>12</sup> It is worth contrasting briefly certain passages from the sermon to the text of the St Gall manuscripts to discern to what extent the sermon compiler adapted his material. Take, for instance, the opening section:

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<sup>7</sup> Ibid., cols 160D-161A: 'Sed ideo secundum antiquam consuetudinem, singulari cautela in sancta Romana Ecclesia non leguntur, quia et eorum qui conscribere nomina penitus ignorantur: et ab infidelibus aut idiotis superflua, aut minus apta, quam rei ordo fuerit, scripta esse putantur; sicut cujusdam Quirici et Julitae, sicut Georgii, aliorumque hujusmodi passionum, quae ab haereticis perhibentur compositae.'

<sup>8</sup> The Latin text can be found in W. Arndt, 'Passio sancti Georgii', *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, phil.-hist. Cl.*, 26 (1874), 43-70, and Haubrichs, *Georgeslied*, pp.405-73. For what follows see Matzke, 'Contributions', 464-80; Haubrichs, *Georgeslied*, pp.250ff. In general, I follow Matzke's proposed classification and sigla to avoid confusion.

<sup>9</sup> F. Zarnke, 'Eine zweite Redaktion der Georgeslegende aus dem 9. Jahrhundert', *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, phil.-hist. Cl.*, 27 (1875), 256-77.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid., 260.

<sup>11</sup> See Haubrichs, *Georgeslied*, p.259, n.228 for a list of manuscripts.

<sup>12</sup> *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae regiae Bruxellensis. Pars I. Codices latini membranei* (2 vols, Brussels, 1886-1889), ii, p.358: 'Compendium quoddam Actorum apocryphorum, de quibus cfr AASS, ad. d. 23 Apr tom II p.101 – Pessimos habet errores, ob quos Papebrochius haec Acta "non tantum fide, sed etiam lectione indignissima" judicat.'



Sermon:

Erat quidam rex paganorum nomine Datianus, qui scripsit litteras in omnem regnum suum, ut uenirent ad eum omnes gentes sub regno eius, eos interrogans, utrum dii innumeri paganorum an Christus solus debuisset adorari. Et uenerunt ad eum, sicut legimus, septuaginta duo reges cum inmensa multitudine.

Sg:<sup>13</sup>

In tempore illo erat rex paganorum nomine Datianus, qui fuit persecutor christianorum, et posuit tribunal suum et sedit super eam scripsitque literas et misit eas in omnem regionem habentes in hunc modum: *Vobis dicetur...*

Et pervenerunt reges lxxii et multus populus cum eis...

Thus the author did not stick too slavishly to his source, but felt free to summarize and excise passages where he saw fit. The most striking omissions and additions made by the sermon compiler are the tortures and George's avowal of Christianity with the associated condemnation of idolatry. Compare the following:

Sermon:

Tunc rex Datianus iussit diuersa adferri genera poenarum, quibus adficerentur atque damnarentur, omnes qui Christi nomen colerent...

Sg:<sup>14</sup>

...iussit ut adducerentur omnes poenae [ms. pene] in iudicio omnium populorum, graticulas ferreas, caccabum cum pice et resinam ferventem aliaque feramenta, que oculos cecabant, vel alia, que cervices frangebant, seu alias diversas posuit penas ante conspectu populorum, ut viderent et timerent.

Excaecauerunt daemones corda uestra quia furorem uestrum contra Christianos exercuistis. Dii enim uestri sunt daemonia et quos colitis non sunt dii, sed opera manuum hominum, et perdent omnes confidentes in se qui dispereunt a facie Christi, et permanent in inferno cum dracone antiquo. Nos autem Christiani Deum uiuum et uerum credimus, et ueneramus qui fecit caelum et terram, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, qui habet omnem potestatem in caelo et in terra. Hunc adiutorem nostrum quaerimus eumque saluatorem omnium confitemur uiuentem et regnantem in saecula saeculorum.

Excecavit Dominus corda uestra, quia furorem uestrum contra christianos posuistis; sed festina, rex, et deos tuos nominare. Dii autem, qui non fecerunt celum et terram, dispereant a facie Christi, fiant in inferno sub dracone magno; nos autem christiani deum vivum et verum querimus adiutorem nostrum, qui fecit celum et terram, mare et omnia, que in eis sunt.

The contrast simply between the length and detail of the two texts is striking. Perhaps the author wanted to save his audience from the macabre particulars: such adjustments do seem apt for a preaching text.

<sup>13</sup> Zarnke, 'Eine zweite Redaktion', 265.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 266.



However, there are some aspects of the sermon which do not feature in the St Gall redaction, such as the specific number the sermon cites as being converted by George, 'circiter mille nonaginta et amplius' as opposed to the vague, 'multa autem milia paganorum crediderunt in Domino' in the St Gall manuscripts.<sup>15</sup> Maybe this was a whimsical fabrication on the part of our writer. In addition, the section at the end of the sermon where the tone changes from narrative to direct address does not feature in the St Gall version, nor the so-called 'Gallicanus'. It does, though, appear almost verbatim in a thirteenth-century manuscript now in Brussels,<sup>16</sup> and a fourteenth-century manuscript once at the monastery of St Hubert in the Ardennes. The beginning of the St Hubert manuscript was published by the Bollandists in 1882:

Sermon:

Erat quidam rex paganorum, nomine Datianus, qui scripsit litteras in omnem regnum suum...

Dii enim uestri sunt daemonia et quos colitis non sunt dii, sed opera manuum hominum, et perdent omnes confidentes in se qui dispereunt a facie Christi, et permanent in inferno cum dracone antiquo. Nos autem christiani Deum uiuum et uerum credimus, et ueneramus qui fecit caelum et terram, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, qui habet omnem potestatem in caelo et in terra. Hunc adiutorem nostrum quaerimus eumque saluatorem omnium confitemur uiuentem et regnantem in saecula saeculorum...

Namur, *Bibl. publ.*, 2<sup>17</sup>

Erat igitur quidam rex paganorum, nomine Datianus, qui diabolica ambitione arreptus...

Nam dii tui, imperator, opera hominum sunt; aurea et argentea...

Qui etiam dispereunt a facie Christi, et permanent in inferno cum dracone antiquo. Nos autem christiani in Deum uiuum et uerum credimus, et colimus qui fecit coelum et terram et omnia quae coelo et [terra] continentur, quique habet potestatem in coelo et in terra; hunc adiutorem quaerimus, eumque saluatorem confitemur, uiuentem et regnantem in secula seculorum. Amen...

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 277. This number does not agree with the so-called 'Gallicanus' version, which has: 'Omnes enim qui crediderunt per sanctum Georgium in Christum Iesum dominum nostrum, haec est numerus eorum, XXX<sup>1a</sup> milia DCCCC...'. See Arndt, 'Passio', 70. Nor does it correlate with any of the variant readings of this version, or indeed the Y-version or BHL 3385, as published by Haubrichs, *Georgeslied*, pp.472-3, 496, 505.

<sup>16</sup> Cod. Bruxelles Bibl. Royale no.9290. See *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae regiae Bruxellensis*, ii, p.304, no.36, ff.87<sup>v</sup>-90<sup>v</sup>: 'in parte uero recta saeculo xiii varia scripta fuere'. The text has been printed by Haubrichs, *Georgeslegende*, p.289, n.322. Haubrichs characterizes this as an 'erbauliche Bearbeitung von Za [i.e. Paris, BN, nouv. acq. F.L. ms. 2288, a.1425 etc. – printed by Matzke, 'Contributions', 530-4; see also 'Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae civitatis Carnotensis [Chartres]', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 8 (1889), 86-208, at 137ff. on ms. 150, s.xii] für ein Kloster, wie vor allem Prolog und aszetischer Epilog dokumentieren'. Although these later manuscripts were for monastic use, I cannot see any reason to limit the use of our sermon to such an audience.

<sup>17</sup> Edited in 'Appendix ad Catalogum Codd. Hagiog. Civit. Namurcensis', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 1 (1882), 609-32, at 615-7. Cf. Matzke, 'Contributions', 111: 'The text as far as published shows close verbal agreement with that contained in Za.' Note the long declaration of George's Christian beliefs also match our sermon.



As is evident, the sermon text agrees closely, and this poses problems for attributing a source for the sermon. The text of these much later manuscripts shows conformity with that of the *Za* family, but the text of *Za* does *not* include the exhortatory epilogue.<sup>18</sup> The presence of this ending in the sermon then necessitates the conclusion that the sermon author borrowed it from another, now lost, redaction of the *passio* which he had at hand, and that this version was also known to the writers of the later manuscripts. On the other hand, because there is no evidence of this ending antedating the early ninth-century, it is possible that it was indeed an original Carolingian interpolation and was known to the author of the version in the manuscripts from Brussels and Namur. The textual history of the *passio* is so convoluted it is impossible to be sure.

An entirely logical question to pose at this point would be: why is there a sermon for Saint George in a Bavarian sermonary in the first place? Evidence for a cult of Saint George in the West reaches back to the sixth-century, and probably spread northwards from Italy. Marinus Maier has made a thorough survey of all documents, church dedications and onomastic evidence pertaining to the existence of the cult in Bavaria, and argued for a continuum in George's veneration in this region from late antiquity through the *Völkerwanderung* up to the present.<sup>19</sup> Although his arguments cannot always convince – for instance, there can be no proof that a contemporary church dedicated to George always had the same patron despite mention of a church's existence in say, Carolingian documents, or aside from archaeological evidence, that it even existed before this period – he does muster ample proof of a widely dispersed *cultus* of saint George in Bavaria reaching back to Roman times. There is, for example, documentary corroboration from the 'Indiculus Arnonis' or *Breves Notitiae* which explicitly lists among the parish churches a church of saint George at Salzach, and other written verification for a church of saint George in the parish of Dietersburg, diocese of Passau, between 774 and 788.<sup>20</sup> Of the approximately ninety modern-day churches dedicated to saint George in the diocese of Freising, at least sixteen can probably be linked back to early-Christian foundations. Many of these churches were sited along, or at junctions of, Roman roads, or have had Roman finds discovered nearby. Maier concluded that Christian Roman soldiers or colonists disseminated George's cult in

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<sup>18</sup> See n.16.

<sup>19</sup> M. Maier, *Früher Georgskult im Altbayerischen Raum*, Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Benediktinerakademie, Band IX (Munich, 1965)

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., pp.17-18: 'ad Georgii ecclesiam'; p.23: 'ecclesia sancti Georii [sic]'. In addition, George was the original patron of St Emmeram in Regensburg.



Bavaria. Moreover, Haubrichs has shown how a specific new cult of the saint was inaugurated at Reichenau by Hatto (c.850-913), later archbishop of Mainz, in 888 when he was appointed abbot there, although the abbey's library catalogue from 821/2 does show possession of a *passio*.<sup>21</sup> The early veneration of George in south Germany explains the diffusion of manuscripts containing the St Gall redaction and why this version formed the basis for the sermon considered here.

It is important now to consider the historiography which treats the function of hagiography in this period, because this may shed light on the intention behind the composition of these sermons. In her survey of Merovingian and Carolingian *vitae*, Katrien Heene concluded that the practical, direct pastoral aim of Merovingian *vitae sanctorum* diminished in the Carolingian period.<sup>22</sup> Heene highlights several references to Merovingian hagiography being read aloud during Mass on the respective saint's feast day, and the hagiographers themselves include allusions to the fact they are tailoring their material to be understood by an illiterate audience. Although there are some instances of Carolingian authors stating that they deliberately wrote for the common people, she argues that these *vitae* were principally intended to be read passively by, or to, an ecclesiastical audience.<sup>23</sup> Obviously, whether the written Latin of Carolingian hagiographical texts could still be listened to and understood is somewhat irrelevant in a Bavarian context, at least for the *vulgus*, because everything would need to have been translated into the Germanic vernacular anyway. It should also be noted that there is some evidence to suggest an audience for Latin hagiography of lay nobles. Indeed, Eberhard of Friuli possessed two copies of Sulpicius Severus' *Vita sancti Martini*, and also, more intriguingly, a copy of the *Vitae Patrum*.<sup>24</sup> Recently, Van Egmond has widened the boundaries by pointing out that we should not take too restricted a view of hagiography: people could become acquainted with the texts

<sup>21</sup> W. Haubrichs, 'St. Georg auf der frühmittelalterlichen Reichenau: Hagiographie, Hymnographie, Liturgie und Reliquienkult', in G. Jenal and S. Haarländer (eds), *Herrschaft, Kirche, Kultur: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Mittelalters. Festschrift für Friedrich Prinz zu seinem 65. Geburtstag* (Stuttgart, 1993), pp.505-37.

<sup>22</sup> K. Heene, 'Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography: Continuity or Change in Public and Aims?', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 107 (1989), 415-28; eadem, 'Audire, legere, vulgo: An Attempt to Define Public Use and Comprehensibility of Carolingian Hagiography', in R. Wright (ed.), *Latin and the Romance Languages in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1991), pp.146-63.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. J.M.H. Smith, 'Review Article: Early Medieval Hagiography in the Late Twentieth Century', *Early Medieval Europe*, 1 (1992), 69-76, at 73: 'Despite rare evidence of lay patrons commissioning *vitae*, or even owning copies of saintly biographies, a consensus would seem to be emerging that (at least in the Carolingian realms) saints' lives were generally destined for a monastic or clerical readership, and particularly for liturgical use.'

<sup>24</sup> Riché, 'Les bibliothèques', 98.



through private reading, listening to a reading in church, or having episodes from a *vita* recounted to them by someone outside of church who had heard or read it.<sup>25</sup>

Furthermore, Heene contends that the loose shape of the Gallican liturgy made it easier for a hagiographical reading to be substituted for a Gospel reading during the Mass. However, the more rigid shape of the Roman rite, coming into use from the mid-eighth-century, curtailed this practice. This argument, however, seems somewhat disingenuous: a recent study by Yitzhak Hen has again emphasized the sheer diversity and flexibility of Carolingian liturgical practices, and has also refuted any claim of a controlled 'Romanization' of the liturgy.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, even if the evidence for hagiographical readings during the Mass is rare from the eighth century, there is proof that attests to their use in the Divine Office, in the refectory and for private meditation.<sup>27</sup> Many legendaries, collections comprised solely of saints' lives, betray signs of liturgical use, such as wear and tear on certain folios, divisions into *lectiones* and marginal notes.<sup>28</sup> Still, this sort of data only proves the use of hagiography in a monastic and clerical milieu.

In addition, the foregoing arguments concern actual hagiographic texts themselves. Here we are dealing with short sermons, mainly abridged from full *vitae*, arranged according to the cycle of the liturgical year, which could be read out or even declaimed from memory.<sup>29</sup> Homiliaries explicitly intended for monastic use incorporated texts to be preached on saints' feasts: Paul the Deacon's homiliary includes a section encompassing a plentiful assortment.<sup>30</sup> Yet, there can be no doubt that sermons such as these, comprised of abridged *vitae* or cobbled together from other sources with interpolations, formed an integral part of contemporary sermonaries designed with a pastoral aim in mind. The Bavarian homiliary of Mondsee, for instance, drawn up during the abbacy of Lantperhtus (811/12-819) of St Michael's, Mondsee for bishop Hildebald of Cologne (d.819) to preach to his flock, contains many sermons celebrating the feast days of saints, although these look to be exclusively composed

<sup>25</sup> Van Egmond, 'Audience', pp.41-67.

<sup>26</sup> Hen, *Royal Patronage of Liturgy*, *passim*.

<sup>27</sup> Martimort, *Les lectures*, pp.97-102.

<sup>28</sup> G. Philippart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, Typologie des sources du moyen âge occidental 24-25 (Turnhout, 1977), pp.112-121.

<sup>29</sup> On the multiplicity of different genres of hagiography and their function see I. Wood, 'The Use and Abuse of Latin Hagiography', in E. Chrysos and I. Wood (eds), *East and West: Modes of Communication* (Leiden, 1999), pp.93-109.

<sup>30</sup> Grégoire, *Les homéliaires*, pp.190-114



from other homilies and sermons, rather than actual hagiography.<sup>31</sup> Hrabanus Maurus's preface to his sermon collection, compiled for bishop Haistulf of Mainz between 822 and 825, is also revealing pertaining to what uses Hrabanus visualizes for his sermons *de sanctis*:

'Obeying your orders, most blessed father, I have put together a sermonary for preaching to the people, concerning all the things which I believed necessary for them; this is, in the first place what sort of observance they ought to have on the especial feast days which are in the yearly cycle, so that being free from worldly work, they would not be devoid of the divine word, but learning the will of God, they would strive to fulfil it by deeds...'<sup>32</sup>

Hrabanus's testimony has a parallel in what Alcuin writes in his preface to the life of saint Willibrord, addressed to Beornrad, archbishop of Sens (c.792-7) and abbot of Echternach: 'I have also added one homily to the former little book: if only it were worthy to be preached to the people by your praiseworthy mouth'.<sup>33</sup>

Heene has commented that Alcuin's *homilia* is written in a 'more simple language and style' to his other prose and metrical compositions and constitutes 'a kind of condensation of the life of the saint'.<sup>34</sup> Alcuin expressly states that his prose life is for reading aloud in church to an audience of brothers and his metrical version for private meditation.<sup>35</sup> Hagiographical texts could be used indirectly to provide models for the Frankish population to emulate by incorporating elements from them in sermons preached to a wider public on a saint's feast day.<sup>36</sup> Amos has argued that saints 'served as examples of conduct and moral teaching for both clergy and laity... [sermons] used the example of the holy to teach basic Christian beliefs and right patterns of conduct.'<sup>37</sup> The contents of such sermons may differ from the *vita* from which the sermon was drawn. For example, Heene has contended that, 'descriptions of the miracles – by actualizing *hic* and *nunc* God's power working in his saints – were much more

<sup>31</sup> Barré, 'L'homiliaire', 78: 'Cependant, qu'il soit dû à la requête du même Hildebold ou à la initiative de Lantperhtus, il procède bien d'une inspiration pastorale identique et l'on n'y relève rien de spécifiquement monastique. Il est fait pour un évêque, qui doit sans cesse exhorter ses fidèles et ses prêtres.'

<sup>32</sup> PL 110:9A: 'Jussionibus tuis obtemperans, beatissime Pater, sermonem confeci ad praedicandum populo, de omnibus quae necessaria eis credidi; hoc est, primum qualem observantiam deberent habere in festivitibus praecipuis quae sunt in anni circulo, ut vacantes ab opere mundano, non vacui fierent a verbo divino, sed cognoscentes Dei voluntatem, factis eam implere studerent...'

<sup>33</sup> PL 101:694: 'Unam quoque priori libello superaddidi homiliam, quae utinam digna esset tuo venerando ore populo praedicari.'

<sup>34</sup> Heene, 'Merovingian and Carolingian Hagiography', 421-2.

<sup>35</sup> PL 101:693-4.

<sup>36</sup> See R. Aigrain, *L'hagiographie: Ses sources – ses méthodes – son histoire*, Subsidia hagiographica 80 (reprinted Brussels, 2000), pp.241-2.

<sup>37</sup> Amos, 'Early Medieval Sermons and the Holy', p.23.



important for the edification of the ordinary believers'.<sup>38</sup> The more biographical sections of the *vitae* might be reserved for learned audiences. The popularity of saints' cults amongst the Carolingian laity is well documented.<sup>39</sup> Hans-Werner Goetz has underlined the enormous impact of church feasts on the everyday lives of the *populus*, not least because of their sheer number.<sup>40</sup> Worldly business was banned on holy days, although this evidently did not deter some people; others turned the occasion of churchgoing into a social event, wearing the Sunday best and taking the opportunity to socialize. Saints' days always drew large crowds, especially relic translations. In fact, the church calendar was itself secularized: events were dated according to it, important political proceedings took place on holy days, rents were collected and markets held on feast days. Although, of course, it is impossible to establish church attendance with any certainty, it seems the sermon for St George edited here and the others were designed to be preached on a saint's feast day as part of a service that would have been heard by a lay audience.

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<sup>38</sup> Heene, '*Audire, legere, vulgo*', 147.

<sup>39</sup> See, for example, P.J. Geary, 'The Ninth-Century Relic Trade – A Response to Popular Piety?', in idem, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 1994), pp.177-93.

<sup>40</sup> H.-W. Goetz, 'Der kirchliche Festtag im frühmittelalterlichen Alltag', in D. Altenburg, J. Jarnut and H.-H. Steinhoff (eds), *Feste und Feiern im Mittelalter* (Sigmaringen, 1991), pp.53-62.



### Appendix III. Excursus: The Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Period

Since many works on sermons and preaching have rightly raised the vexed question of the education of the Carolingian clergy, it is worth an excursus to set out what can be surmised. It was the ordinary priests, of course, upon whom the duty to preach was incumbent. The evidence for how priests acquired their education is, unfortunately, slight. With the demise of the late antique secular schools, the institutional framework for instruction in the Carolingian period was provided primarily by cathedrals and monasteries.<sup>1</sup> Were a family affluent enough, basic instruction in the Psalter might take place at home from a matriarch or tutor; if a child were to pursue a career in the Church, he might be coached by a local priest. Both, however, are *ad hoc* measures. In the *Admonitio generalis* (789) Charlemagne ordered schools to be set up in every monastery and episcopal residence ‘for teaching boys the psalms, musical notation, singing, computation and grammar’.<sup>2</sup> The Council of Châlons (813) alludes to this directive and suchlike.<sup>3</sup> Naturally, there was also the palace school, breeding ground for many of the period’s greatest scholars: Notker includes some moralistic yarns about hard-working, but poor, young boys excelling and gaining promotion over their more affluent, but lazy, counterparts.<sup>4</sup>

At Attigny in 822 the episcopate lamented the fact that up to that point they had been less zealous in their provision of schools than they ought.<sup>5</sup> Every man, said they,

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<sup>1</sup> See E.P. Pride, ‘Ecclesiastical Legislation on Education, A.D. 300-1200’, *Church History*, 12 (1943), 235-54, esp. 240-46; P. Riché, *Daily Life in the World of Charlemagne*, trans. J.A. McNamara (Philadelphia, 1978), pp.191-7; Amos, *Origin and Nature*, pp.268-76; M.R. Lines, *Charlemagne’s Monastic Policy and the Regula Benedicti: Frankish Capitularies from 742 to 813* (Unpublished MA thesis, Toronto, 2000), pp.55-57, 73, argues that Charlemagne’s promotion of the Rule was part of his educational policy, but was also in response to the political events of the early 790s; McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, pp.145-152; eadem, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp.211-227; P. Riché, *Écoles et enseignement dans le Haut Moyen Age* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Paris, 1999); Godding, *Prêtres*, pp.51-73, based on mainly hagiographical sources, identifies the bishop as the key player in the provision of public elementary and secondary education in the Merovingian city and outlying areas: this was not just for future clerics, although masters were usually priests. The Council of Vaison in 529 decreed that a ‘seminary’ system was to operate in the parishes, whereby a priest would take in a lector to live with him and train him to be his successor, although there is no evidence for this edict being enacted. There were also, of course, episcopal (in the *domus ecclesiae*) and monastic schools.

<sup>2</sup> *MGH: Capit. I*, no.22, c.72, p.60: ‘Et ut scolae legentium puerorum fiant. Psalmos, notas, cantus, compotum, grammaticam per singula monasteria vel episcopia et libros catholicos bene emendate...’

<sup>3</sup> *MGH: Conc. I*, no.37, c.III, pp.274-5.

<sup>4</sup> *MGH: SS II*, lib. I, cc.1, 3-4, pp.731-3; *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, trans. L. Thorpe (London, 1969), pp.93-7.

<sup>5</sup> *MGH: Capit. II*, no.42, c.3, p.357: ‘Scolas autem, de quibus hactenus minus studiosi fuimus quam debueramus, omnino studiosissime emendare cupimus, qualiter omnis homo sive maioris sive minoris



whether young or old, who is nourished thus he might be promoted to any position in the church, should have a suitable master. Parents or lords should defray the costs, so that students would not desist from study on account of penury. In larger parishes two or more schools might be required. At a Roman council held in 826 the prelates legislated to revive schools for the study of letters, the liberal arts and sacred doctrine, because news had reached them that in certain places there were no masters to be found, nor concern for teaching.<sup>6</sup> The bishops assembled at Paris in 829 suggested to Louis that he found 'public schools in at least three of the most suitable places of your empire', lest the efforts of both Charlemagne and Louis be undermined through neglect.<sup>7</sup> This measure, said the bishops, would be of great utility. The wording here implies that the bishops had secular schools in mind to teach pupils destined for both a lay and clerical vocation. At this same council, it is revealed that previous admonitions which enjoined the heads of churches to 'prepare and educate vigorous soldiers of Christ, pleasing to God, in the churches entrusted to them', had up until then only been done apathetically. The council admonished that it be done more diligently, and to prove it, bishops had to bring their students along with them to provincial councils.<sup>8</sup>

Specifically Bavarian legislation on pedagogy is similarly meagre and ambiguous. The so-called *Instructio pastoralis*, a circular containing a résumé of the decisions of a church council for suffragans to transmit to their clergy, can most probably be ascribed to Archbishop Arn of Salzburg between 798 and 800. Similar to

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aetatis, qui ad hoc nutritur ut in aliquo gradu in ecclesia promoveatur, locum denotatum et magistrum congruum habeat. Parentes tamen vel domini singulorum de victu vel substantia corporali unde subsistant providere studeant, qualiter solacium habeant, ut propter rerum inopiam doctrinae studio non recedant. Si vero necessitas fuerit propter amplitudinem parroeciae, eo quod in uno loco colligi non possunt propter administrationem quam eis procuratores eorum providere debent, fiat locis duobus aut tribus vel etiam ut necessitas et ratio dictaverit.'

<sup>6</sup> *MGH: Conc. II*, no.46, p.581: 'De quibusdam locis ad nos refertur non magistros neque curam inveniri pro studio litterarum. Idcirco in universis episcopis subiectisque plebibus et aliis locis, in quibus necessitas occurrerit, omnino cura et diligentia habeatur, ut magistri et doctores constituentur, qui, studia litterarum liberaliumque artium ac sancta habentes dogmata, assiduae doceant...'

<sup>7</sup> *MGH: Conc. II*, no.50, c.XII, p.675: 'Similiter etiam obnixae ac suppliciter vestrae celsitudini suggerimus, ut morem paternum sequentes saltem in tribus congruentissimis imperii vestri locis scholae publice ex vestra auctoritate fiant, ut labor patris vestri et vester per incuriam, quod absit, labefactando non depereant, quoniam ex hoc facto et magna utilitas et honor sanctae Dei ecclesiae et vobis magnum mercedis emolumentum et memoria sempiterna adcrecet.'

<sup>8</sup> *MGH: Conc. II*, no.50, c.XXX, p.632: '...ut rectores ecclesiarum in ecclesiis sibi commissis strenuos milites Christi, quibus Deus placari posset, praepararent et educarent...Sed super hac eiusdem principis ammonitione, immo iussione a nonnullis rectoribus tepide et desidiose hactenus actum est. Unde omnibus nobis visum est, ut abhinc postposita totius torporis negligentia ab omnibus diligentior in educandis et erudiendis militibus Christi et vigilantior adhibeatur diligentia, et quando ad provinciale episcoporum concilium ventum fuerit, unusquisque rectorum, sicut iam in praecedentibus memoratum est, scolasticos suos eidem concilio adesse faciat, ut suum sollers studium circa divinum cultum omnibus manifestum fiat.'



the *Admonitio*, it states that each bishop should establish a school and a wise teacher in his *civitas*, who could teach chant ‘according to the tradition of the Romans’.<sup>9</sup> There are many other well-intentioned, but fuzzy, instructions that bishops teach their clergy and ensure that they read every day.<sup>10</sup> The Council of Mainz (813) proclaimed: ‘it is proper, that they [i.e. the *populus Christianus*] should hand over their sons to a school, whether at a monastery or with priests outside the church (?) (*foras*), in order that they may learn the Catholic faith [i.e. the Symbol] correctly and the Lord’s prayer, so that they can teach others at home. Let him who might not be able to do this otherwise learn it in his own tongue.’<sup>11</sup> The digest of the canons from the five councils recaps that bishops should establish schools for instruction in Scripture.<sup>12</sup> In the *Interrogationes examinationis* a canon apparently addressed to the laity announces that, ‘each one should send his son to learn letters, and there he should remain with every solicitude, until well instructed.’<sup>13</sup> Whither to send them is, however, not specified.

The question of whether ‘external schools’ provided an education for students with no monastic vocation has been studied recently by Hildebrandt.<sup>14</sup> Scholars have variously used the modern term ‘external school’ to describe a building physically set outside the monastic enclosure, to describe the practice of segregating students from oblates within a monastery, or to describe the joint schooling of externs and oblates. The number of oblates grew exponentially in the Carolingian period.<sup>15</sup> This development was linked to the rise in the number of priest-monks who performed private masses as part of prayer confraternities or as commutations of penance: oblates

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<sup>9</sup> Étaix, ‘Un manuel’, c.VIII, p.119: ‘Episcopus unusquisque in ciuitate sua scolam constituat et sapientem doctorem, qui secundum traditionem Romanorum possit instruere et lectioni uacare et meditum discere, ut per canonicas horas cursus in ecclesia debeat fieri unicuique secundum congruum tempus uel dispositas festiuitates, qualiter illic cantus adornet ecclesiam Dei et audientes aedificent. Et cum summa reuerentia et amore Dei ministrent in altare Domini, ut populus qui hoc uidet, cum minime alia praedicatio non adiuuauerit, uel illa compunctio quam uidet et audit adtrahat eum ad amorem celestem, et compunctus hoc agat quod Deo placeat.’

<sup>10</sup> E.g. *ibid.*, cc.III, IV, VI.

<sup>11</sup> *MGH: Conc. I*, no.36, c.XLV, pp.271-2: ‘Propterea dignum est, ut filios suos donent ad scolam, sive ad monasteria sive foras presbyteris, ut fidem catholicam recte discant et orationem dominicam, ut domi alios edocere valeant. Qui vero aliter non potuerit vel in sua lingua hoc discat.’

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, c.LXXXIII, p.305: ‘Ut episcopi scholas constituent propter documenta scripturarum.’

<sup>13</sup> *MGH: Capit. episc. III*, c.XII, p.215: ‘Ut unusquisque filium suum litteras ad discendum mittat, et ibi cum omni sollicitudine permaneat, usquedum bene instructus perveniat.’ On p.98 n.14 the editor provides a list of other episcopal statutes that broach the subject of schooling.

<sup>14</sup> M.M. Hildebrandt, *The External School in Carolingian Society* (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1992)

<sup>15</sup> See M. de Jong, ‘Growing up in a Carolingian Monastery: Magister Hildemar and his Oblates’, *Journal of Medieval History*, 9 (1983), 99-128, esp.114-5 – there are scant references to schooling in Hildemar’s commentary, nor does he refer to an ‘external school’ (see also 125, n.13); eadem, ‘Carolingian Monasticism: The Power of Prayer’, in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History vol. II c.700-c.900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.622-53, esp. pp.628-9, 633, 637-44.



were considered best suited for ordination thanks to their education and ascetic upbringing which would assure the efficacy of their prayers. Hildebrandt argues that external schools were a new and sanctioned part of Charlemagne's educational policy: Angilbert of St Riquier (†814) mentions the presence of boys from the abbey school and those from a lay school in a liturgical procession. However, under Louis the Pious an edict was issued which limited the functioning of schools 'in a monastery' to the education of oblates, since external schools contradicted the tenets of the Benedictine Rule on segregation and *stabilitas*.<sup>16</sup> This is problematic, for the Plan of St Gall, a detailed drawing of a monastic complex which postdates the interdict, has a clearly labelled 'school' outside the enclosure.<sup>17</sup> Hildebrandt contends that the Plan reflects the pre-reform ethos of its creator Hatto, abbot of Reichenau and bishop of Basel (†836), a keen pedagogue who got round the decree by placing the school outside the *claustrum*. McKitterick suggested this was a kind of primary school where every student, regardless of vocation, would be taught.<sup>18</sup> Yet, archaeology has shown that the Plan was not realized at St Gall itself, and Hildebrandt decries the Plan as 'neither paradigmatic nor typical'.<sup>19</sup> The embargo itself shows that those intended for a clerical career and probably even lay boys were being educated in monasteries as a result of Charlemagne's quest to improve literacy. Notwithstanding the ban, monasteries continued to educate non-oblates and oblates together.<sup>20</sup>

Clergy could also be trained by monks at outlying proprietary churches, thus solving the problem of educating non-monks within the monastic precinct.<sup>21</sup> Indeed, this further touches on the conflict between the cloistral ideal of the monastic life as enforced by legislation on the one hand, and on the other hand, monks' exercise of

<sup>16</sup> This is the famous 'ut schola' act of 817: 'Ut schola in monasterio non habeantur nisi eorum qui oblati sunt.' *MGH: Capit. I*, c.45, p.346.

<sup>17</sup> For further details see the useful review article of W. Sanderson, 'The Plan of St. Gall Reconsidered', *Speculum*, 60 (1985), 615-32. The Plan was addressed to Guzbert of St Gall (816-36), who rebuilt the abbey c.830. It was originally drawn up perhaps as early as the 810s, with inscriptions and a dedication to Guzbert added in the late 820s. The Plan is probably best conceived of as a set of suggested ideas for Guzbert's eyes only, not a copy of a somehow 'official' blueprint for a typical Carolingian monastery. It is also doubtful whether the Plan is connected in any way to the Aachen synods of 816/7, *contra* Hildebrandt.

<sup>18</sup> McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, p.221.

<sup>19</sup> Hildebrandt, *External School*, p.99. She concludes that the 'external school' only ever existed as an institution 'for educating the secular clergy' (p.139): there was no formal education for the laity, nor were separate facilities provided for those with neither a monastic nor clerical vocation.

<sup>20</sup> M. de Jong, *In Samuel's Image: Child Oblation in the Early Medieval West* (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1996), pp.232-45.

<sup>21</sup> Hildebrandt, *External School*, pp.134ff; de Jong, *In Samuel's Image*, p.242 discusses a Fulda list from the 870s which records the details of six of its dependencies, each containing about a dozen *scolastici*, some of whom probably went on to become parish priests.



pastoral care.<sup>22</sup> In the Carolingian period monk-priests, by virtue of necessity, continued to serve the parish churches acquired by monasteries through bequests (e.g. *Eigenkirchen*), as well as those rural churches on monastic estates, all of which provided a source of income, not least from tithes.<sup>23</sup> Preaching must have formed an important part of monks' duties. Canons too performed pastoral work. Carolingian legislation, especially that of 816, and Chrodegang's *Regula canonorum* clarified their *raison d'être* and corporate identity as distinct from monks following the Benedictine Rule: as a community of cathedral clerics living a common life, not only were they committed to the celebration of the liturgy, but they also engaged in the cure of souls.<sup>24</sup> One of the chief concerns of Chrodegang's rule is for the spiritual care of the *matricularii*, those paupers who were entered on church rolls as official recipients of charity.<sup>25</sup> According to chapter thirty-four, the *matricularii* are to attend church every other Saturday of the year, where a bishop or cleric will read to them and preach a homily.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Dom. U. Berlière, 'L'exercice du ministère paroissial par les moines dans le haut moyen-âge', *RB*, 39 (1927), 227-50; G. Constable, 'Monasteries, Rural Churches and the cura animarum in the Early Middle Ages', *Settimane*, 28 (1982), 349-89; Amos, *Origin and Nature*, pp.263-67; T.L. Amos, 'Monks and Pastoral Care in the Early Middle Ages', in T.F.X. Noble and J.J. Contreni (eds), *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan* (Kalamazoo, 1987), pp.165-80. See also Lemarignier, 'Encadrement religieux', 765-800. He calculated that in the reign of Charles the Bald out of all the private churches mentioned in royal diplomas, 86% were monastic. This, he reckoned, was a good thing: the polyptychs show that, in accord with the capitularies, monastic churches were properly endowed and well-managed, thus offering the king and the episcopate a surer guarantee of quality pastoral care than lay churches.

<sup>23</sup> This was undoubtedly a large part of the reason that bishops clashed with abbots over ownership of churches. See W. Brown, *Unjust Seizure: Conflict, Interest, and Authority in an Early Medieval Society* (Ithaca and London, 2001), pp.113-19 on disputes between the see of Freising and the monasteries of Chiemsee and Tegernsee. The (arch)bishopric of Salzburg owned some 68 *ecclesiae parochiales* in benefice, together with their *barscalci* (tenant-farmers), slaves and land, according to chapter 6.26 of the *Notitia Arnonis* (788-90) – see F. Lošek, 'Notitia Arnonis und Breves Notitiae. Die Salzburger Güterverzeichnisse aus der Zeit um 800: Sprachlich-historische Einleitung, Text und Übersetzung', *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, 130 (1990), 5-192, at 88-9. Note also the exchanges of churches and land between Arn and *comites/presbyteri* recorded in the *Breves notitiae* (798-800) chs 18.8, 18.9, 23.3, 23.4, 24.2, on pp.136, 140. On the character of these churches see further H. Dopsch, 'Salzburg zur Zeit Erzbischof Arns', in M. Niederkorn-Bruck and A. Scharer (eds), *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg*, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung Bd. 40 (München, 2004), pp.27-55, at pp.48-55.

<sup>24</sup> Claussen, *Reform*, pp.70, 202, 225-30. On the *matricularii* in late antiquity see Finn, *Almsgiving*, pp.84-6.

<sup>25</sup> Claussen, *Reform*, pp.107-113, 229-30, 257-8.

<sup>26</sup> PL 89:1118A-B: 'Propterea una cum consensu fratrum spiritualium constituimus ut bis in mense per totum annum de quatuordecim in quatuordecim dies in Sabbato omnes matricularii tam qui in domo sunt quam illi qui per caeteras ecclesias infra civitatem vel vicis matriculas habent, ad conventum statutum omnes in ecclesia in domo veniant, mane primo expectantes in ordinibus suis, usque dum signum pulsaverit horae tertiae; tunc veniens episcopus, si in aliis utilitatibus occupatus non fuerit, et jubeat legere lectionem de tractatibus, vel homilias sanctorum Patrum congruas, quae aedificent audientes, et doceant eos viam salutis, qualiter ad vitam aeternam Deo auxiliante perveniant.'



Another possible method to uncover whence clergymen came by their education was suggested by Carine van Rhijn.<sup>27</sup> Certain form-letters contain information about priests' careers. These *litterae formatae*, akin to a passport, were letters of recommendation written by one bishop to another on behalf of an itinerant cleric, so that the bearer would be permitted to perform communion and other priestly duties in another diocese.<sup>28</sup> In the eighth to the tenth centuries, a cleric released from duty in one diocese to take up a higher position in another might also use such an epistle, likewise written by his bishop to another. They differ from letters of commendation in that the latter are more general in application, addressed to one or more clerics or laymen. The letters with actual names preserved therein reveal that the bearers were ostensibly educated at monasteries or cathedral schools.<sup>29</sup> A *sacerdos* named Ursio, for example, is described by his suffragan, John of Cambrai (866-79), as having been 'promoted through all the grades canonically and reverently by our predecessor lord Teuderic of blessed memory at our mother church', strongly intimating that he was taught there.<sup>30</sup> Those model letters without names included likewise cater for the possibility that the anticipated user was brought up and educated at an episcopal school or monastery, although it is often difficult to deduce which is meant.<sup>31</sup> Other priests might have been tutored at local schools, run by a priest or a subordinate *clericus*. Perhaps the brighter amongst them then graduated to a cathedral school. One should bear in mind that the formulas of these model letters indubitably conceal a good deal more detail than they reveal; stock phrases, by their nature, have to be generic. One could counter, of course,

<sup>27</sup> C. van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord. Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period* (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Utrecht, 2003), pp.204-9. She does not, however, consider the limitations of this type of source material.

<sup>28</sup> C. Fabricius, 'Die Litterae formatae im Frühmittelalter', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 9 (1925), 39-86, 168-194 (not cited by van Rhijn). See p.179 for a handy definition of the genre. A selection of these letters was published by Migne in PL 129:1381C-1398C, but see also *MGH: Formulae Merovingici et Karolini aevi*, ed. K. Zeumer (Hannover, 1882). Fabricius also provides a table on pp.190-3 detailing the letters.

<sup>29</sup> E.g. *MGH: Formulae*, no.17, pp.560-1 (822-39): 'iste clericus nomine Anno, nostra in paraecia instructus ac detonsus...'; *ibid.*, no.14, pp.218-9 (810-18): 'iste presens presbyter nomen Dodobertus, parrochianus noster, in nostra diocese natus et sacris litteris edocatus...'

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, no.15, p.519: '...praesens sacerdos Ursio vocabulo, a beatae recordationis praedecessore [nostr]o domno Teuderic[o] apud matrem ecclesiam nostram per omnes gradus canonice promotus religioseque...' van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord*, p.205 unfortunately errs when she writes: 'A letter dating to 865, written by Bishop John of Cambrai for his priest Teuderic...'. Note also the reference to Northmen in this letter: 'sed instan[te] Nrotmannorum feritate nolenter propulsum.'

<sup>31</sup> E.g. *MGH: Formulae*, no.16, p.219 (801-16): 'presens presbyter nomine ille in parrochia et in ecclesia nostra sacris litteris edocatus fuit et ab infantia fuit apud nos seu praedecessores nostros...' *Infantia*, according to Isidore of Seville, was up to the age of seven. See also *ibid.*, no.26, p.567 (894-902): 'Audientes, praesentem ecclesiae nostrae filium illum, in eadem quoque natum, nutritum atque eruditum et usque in presbyterii dignitatem a nostro praecessore provectum...' *Nutritus*, as van Rhijn notes, has a monastic connotation.



that a priest was unlikely to carry such a document around with him that was simply not accurate, and in any case, they could be adapted easily enough when copied. The *formulae* do indicate though what the scribes thought was the most common circumstance.

Those who reached the highest levels in the Carolingian Church were equally products of the monastic or cathedral schools. A remarkable document recording the episcopal examination of Willebert, bishop-elect of Châlons-sur-Marne, at Quierzy on 3 December 868 contains his answers to questions about his education.<sup>32</sup> Present were Archbishop Hincmar of Rheims, his suffragan bishops Hincmar of Laon and Odo of Beauvais, delegates from other bishops, a royal committee and the *plebs* of Châlons. Hincmar as president interrogated Willebert: whence did he originate? In the district of Tours. Where was he taught? He was handed over to be instructed in the liberal arts at the school of Tours. Thus Willebert had been educated as an oblate, thence promoted up the ecclesiastical ranks to deacon, and eventually to priest. After being tested on Gregory's *Regula pastoralis* and other points of dogma, Willebert signs various documents and the date of his ordination is set. Another example is Archbishop Arn of Salzburg: he was offered as an oblate to the bishop of Freising on 25 May 758, and thenceforth educated at the cathedral school.<sup>33</sup>

The work of John Contreni on school codices and letters written by pupils to masters has been valuable in establishing what was actually learnt, and how.<sup>34</sup> It seems that schoolmasters favoured the *quaestio*, i.e. dialectic, method in their instruction. Letters reveal the issues uppermost in the minds of the students: the pronunciation of Latin was high on the agenda, as were questions about Latin vocabulary, plus assorted scriptural and theological problems. The replies from masters were sometimes taken from old lecture notes or *catenae* of Patristic quotations; they were themselves

<sup>32</sup> PL 87:914A-B: 'Qui in praesentia veniens interrogatus est unde esset. Isque respondit: Pago Turonico oriundus...Item: Ubi didicisti? Item ipse: In schola Turonica liberalibus disciplinis erudiendus traditus sum. Item: Cujus ordinis, vel cujus es ordinatus? Item ipse: Praesentis patris mei domni Herardi per singulos gradus usque ad diaconum sum ordinatus; postea autem ab eodem patre meo Herardo litteris ad Erpoinum datis presbyterii onus suscepi.' See further H.G.J. Beck, 'Canonical Election to Suffragan Bishoprics According to Hincmar of Rheims', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 43 (1957), 137-159, esp. 158-9; idem, 'The Selection of Bishops Suffragan to Hincmar of Rheims, 845-882', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 45 (1959), 273-308, esp. 288-9, 297; J. Devisse, *Hincmar, Archevêque de Reims 845-882* (3 vols, Geneva, 1975-6), ii, pp.858-9.

<sup>33</sup> See most recently W. Störmer, 'Der junge Arn in Freising', in M. Niederkorn-Bruck and A. Scharer (eds), *Erzbischof Arn von Salzburg* (Vienna and Munich, 2004), pp.9-26.

<sup>34</sup> See Contreni, *Cathedral School*, plus the papers, 'Learning in the Early Middle Ages', 'Education and Learning in the Early Middle Ages: New Perspectives and Old Problems', 'The Carolingian School: Letters from the Classroom', and, 'Inharmonious Harmony: Education in the Carolingian World', all reprinted in his *Carolingian Learning, Masters and Manuscripts*, chs I, II, IV, XI.



preserved and used as teaching tools for their Latin style. The Psalter was learned first, by heart; pupils then progressed to reading classical Latin poets and grammarians in order to fathom the meaning of Scripture, though some voices of protest were inevitably raised. Sometimes the works of the Fathers were too difficult for Carolingian pupils: compilations were produced with reworked or simplified versions of Patristic works, as well as commentaries. Marginal notes in manuscripts can also help to illuminate the pedagogical process. For example, a rather rough-and-ready 'schoolbook', written in the script of Tours in the second quarter of the ninth century at Auxerre or Fleury, contains the second part of Donatus' *Ars Maior*.<sup>35</sup> The corrector of the text went beyond his call of duty, adding clarifying glosses in several places. The lines were deliberately spaced to facilitate annotations: at least two hands duly added glosses, the first of which belonged to the schoolboy Sado, who proudly wrote: 'Sadonis iste liber est sua mater dedit illi Magnum (sic) onor illa (sic) sit qui (sic) dedit hunc librum'. Thus the book was a present from his mother. Grammar was obviously not Sado's favourite subject (nor evidently his best!); he scrawled 'Stultissimo (sic) grammatica' at the point where Donatus discusses superlatives. He also added explanatory notes, probably provided by his teacher, and tried his hand at declining nouns in the margins. *Probationes pennae* in other manuscripts reveal how scribes learnt to write, for example, by copying out sentences containing all the letters of the alphabet.<sup>36</sup>

What about the priests in outlying parishes who might not have had the benefit of an upbringing in a monastic or cathedral school? How to raise their educational level? In her study of baptism in the Carolingian period, Susan Keefe divided the manuscripts containing instructions on baptismal rites or other related literature into four categories: instruction-readers for priests, bishops' pastoral manuals, bishops' reference works, and schoolbooks.<sup>37</sup> Instruction-readers are those utilitarian books of modest size with content corresponding to the reform capitularies. Unlike schoolbooks, they were to help a priest become more learned in his office, and as a rule, are lacking in *probationes pennae* and excerpted texts of the edifying sort. These instruction-readers are difficult to distinguish from bishops' pastoral manuals, those books intended to help them carry out their office and reform of the clergy, often including material

<sup>35</sup> R. McKitterick, 'A Ninth-Century Schoolbook from the Loire Valley: Phillipps Ms 16308', *Scriptorium*, 30 (1976), 225-31.

<sup>36</sup> See B. Bischoff, 'Elementarunterricht und Probationes Pennae in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters', in idem, *Mittelalterliche Studien* (3 vols, Stuttgart, 1966-1981), i, pp.74-87.

<sup>37</sup> S.A. Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire* (2 vols, Notre Dame, 2002), i, pp.22-38.



superfluous to the needs of priests. Bishops' reference works, on the other hand, were meant for private reading, or to be consulted for occasional information rather than to be read continuously. These de luxe codices contain complete works, rather than excerpts. Finally, schoolbooks can be identified from their excerpted contents from pagan authors, glosses, marginalia and so on. The content of some of these manuscripts, oriented towards pastoral concerns, shows that either priests were being educated in monastic schools, or monks were intending to serve as parish priests. Whilst it is not clear whether each manuscript can be neatly pigeonholed as Keefe would like (and as indeed she admits), her thought-provoking classification and discussion of the manuscripts nonetheless goes some way to explaining how ordained priests became better educated, and how future clergy were schooled.<sup>38</sup> Tom Amos identified two codices in the *Bibliothèque nationale* which he regarded as bishop's pastoral manuals: lat. 2328 and 10612.<sup>39</sup> Both manuscripts contain sermons, expositions of the Mass, and other exegetical works; lat. 2328 contains Isidore's *Sentences* and Alcuin's treatise on the virtues and vices: both works, as we have seen, provided our author with much of his preaching material.

What to make of all this? There is no doubt that in the late eighth and early ninth century an earnest effort was made to improve the standard of education amongst the clergy. Bishops were supposed to ensure that all candidates for ordination had attained a minimum level of knowledge, and it was expected that their clergy should be interrogated as to their understanding of their duties at regular visitations and synods. Better educated priests would mean better preachers. The legislation repeatedly stated that schools were to be provided to this end, though evidence for their operation is exceedingly sketchy. All of those priests whom we can document were taught in important monastic or cathedral schools: this is unsurprising in view of the nature of the surviving evidence. We can be sure that at least some of those educated at these schools went on to become priests and performed pastoral work, but what of the majority who did not have the benefit of such training? It seems that Carolingian scriptoria copied 'instruction-readers' to order for the priests of dependent churches and others, containing such things as baptismal instructions and handbooks of penance (e.g.

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<sup>38</sup> Ibid., pp.36-7: 'at the grassroots level an effort can be seen to provide parish priests with instruction through the use of readers. At another level one sees the pastoral activity of individual bishops who instructed their clergy...Finally, the manuscripts force one to take another leap in imagination to the enclosure of the monastic or episcopal schoolroom...In them [the mss] we see monastic schools taking care of the needs of the dioceses in which they lay.'

<sup>39</sup> Amos, *Origin and Nature*, pp.273-5, 390-7.



Paxton's 'Bonus liber'<sup>40</sup>). Undoubtedly, collections of sermons numbered amongst these 'instruction-readers', perhaps provided by a wealthy lay patron: witness the evidence of parish inventories adduced in chapter II. Bishops too owned books containing works designed to help them perform their duties (e.g. Dido of Laon), an important duty being preaching. All these efforts to improve priestly education must have paid some sort of dividends: Boniface's now infamous priest who baptized 'in the name of the fatherland and the daughter' would surely have been a rare occurrence in the ninth century, especially in regions with particularly zealous reforming higher clergy, such as Bavaria.

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<sup>40</sup> See ch.IV, n.22.



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# **An Edition and Study of Select Sermons from the Carolingian Sermonary of Salzburg**

Part II: Edition



## **Note to the Edition**

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### **Editorial Method**

Given that there is no extant complete copy of the sermonary and because of the relatively small number of manuscripts involved, I decided to eschew the customary ‘base manuscript’ method of editing. This method involves choosing a ‘base’ manuscript to form the main body of the edition, then collating the variant readings of the other manuscripts, emending the base text only when it is obviously corrupt. Any contentious decisions are usually resolved in favour of the base text. The main advantage of this method is that the edition provides a full transcription of a representative manuscript, as a result making the process of collation and rechecking one’s work much easier. It also reduces subjectivity by establishing one witness as the favoured text by means of objective criteria.

Instead, I embraced the method (better-known among biblical textual critics) of ‘eclecticism’. This is the practice of examining a number of witnesses and selecting the variant that seems best, relying on both external and internal evidence; theoretically, no single witness is preferred. The end result of this process, of course, is a ‘reconstructed’, heterogeneous text with readings drawn from many witnesses. That is the major criticism of this methodology: one ends up with a text that does not reflect any single manuscript. Another downside is that it is much more time-consuming, but in this case, with so few manuscripts, it was an eminently feasible task. The chief benefit of this method is that each alternative reading is appraised both in terms of intrinsic probability (e.g. context, sense, style) and transcriptional probability (i.e. carelessness or officiousness of the scribe), plus editorial conjecture, to recreate a ‘best’ text.

### **Editorial Principles**

In general, the edition presented here complies with the principles set forth in the guidelines to the Corpus Christianorum series. Purists may object, but I have standardized the medieval orthographic peculiarities in the interest of presenting a consistent, eminently readable text e.g. elymosina, elimosina &c. = elemosina; I print tt or ti for cc or ci, h for ch,



ae or oe for e, mn for mpn and so on.<sup>1</sup> I do not note purely orthographic variants in the apparatus. I print u for u and v; V for U and V; i for i and j; I for I and J. The e caudata I print as ae. I have punctuated the Latin in order to assist the modern English reader as fully as possible; I have also added paragraphing for the reader's convenience. To prepare and publish the texts I used the Classical Text Editor (<http://www.oeaw.ac.at/kvk/cte/>). Although I do not intend to venture a reconstruction of the *stemma codicum*, a few comments about the relationship between the manuscripts are in order. Clearly, E is descended from a different branch to the other manuscripts; just as clearly, K and W are closely related, since both share many variants in common. Both F and M are related to the latter family, and look as if they are quite close to one another. Often, the text in F throws up unique readings not found in other manuscripts: its text is quite poor. How much is down to scribal lapses or the exemplar is unknowable. From the few sermons I have edited that are preserved in both W and P, it seems that they are both derived from different archetypes.

### Principles of Selection

The size of the sermonary meant that a complete edition was impractical, and as a result I had to apply certain criteria to whittle down the amount of texts to include. Obviously, if a sermon had been published previously elsewhere it was of little utility to re-edit it here. The focus of this thesis is on the sermons for the main feasts of the liturgical year; the sermons for saints' days I have left for others, save for one archetypical example so the reader can garner a flavour of the species. The final section on the virtues and vices, addressed to lay *potentiores*, is something peculiar to this sermonary, and as such merited a full edition, despite the fact that the actual sermons include little that is intrinsically original.

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<sup>1</sup> For a concise little guide to morphology, syntax and orthography in medieval Latin see K. Sidwell, *Reading Medieval Latin* (Cambridge, 1995), pp.362-75. See also A.G. Rigg, 'Introduction', 'Orthography and Pronunciation', and 'Morphology and Syntax' in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, eds F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington D.C., 1996), pp.71-92. D.L. d'Avray, *Medieval Marriage Sermons*, pp.1-49 provides an excellent guide to the editing of sermons. Of a more general nature, but still useful, is R.B.C. Huygens, *Ars Edendi: A Practical Introduction to the Editing of Medieval Latin Texts* (Turnhout, 2000).



## SIGLA

A	Munich, <i>Bayerische Staatsbibliothek</i> , Clm 14410
B	Munich, <i>Bayerische Staatsbibliothek</i> , Clm 14470
E	Munich, <i>Bayerische Staatsbibliothek</i> , Clm 14445
F	Munich, <i>Bayerische Staatsbibliothek</i> , Clm 6310
H	Berlin, <i>Staatsbibliothek</i> , Hamilton 56
K	Prague, <i>Archiv Pražského hradu</i> , A 156
M	Udine, <i>Biblioteca arcivescovile</i> , 4
P	Munich, <i>Bayerische Staatsbibliothek</i> , Clm 14418
R	Munich, <i>Bayerische Staatsbibliothek</i> , Clm 14635
V	Valencia, <i>Biblioteca històrica</i> , 481
W	Würzburg, <i>Universitätsbibliothek</i> , M.p.th.q.15



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# ABBREVIATIONES

*add.*                      *addit uel addunt*

*a.c.*                      *ante correctionem*

*eras.*                      *erasit uel eradunt*

*in marg.*                      *in margine*

*om.*                      *omittit uel omittunt*

*sub l.*                      *sub linea*

*sub pag.*                      *sub pagina*

*sup. l.*                      *supra lineam*

*ut uid.*                      *ut uidetur*



I. SERMO SANCTI LEONIS PAPAE DE NATALE DOMINI.

5	1. Misericors et miserator Dominus, qui sua magna clementia humanum genus ad immortalitatem et aeternam beatitudinem possidendam formare dignatus est, sed diabolo suadente perditum et abiectum per primi hominis peccatum iterum ad pristinam dignitatem renouandum, multis antea figurationibus atque dictis per sanctos patriarchas et prophetas esse promisit. Quam promissionem, fratres, hodierno tempore misericorditer adimpleuit. Nam unigenitum suum filium Deus Pater, ante omnia saecula genitum coaeternum sibi, et per omnia coaequalem, et Spiritu sancto conceptum, ad redemptionem humani generis, Deum uerum, hominem uerum, hodie nasci fecit ex uirgine. O quam magna misericordia conditoris nostri filii Dei! qui nos propria uoluntate perditos, non auro, non argento, nulloque alio pretio, nisi cum semetipso redimere dignatus est, et ad dignitatem pristinam reuocare, ut is qui erat sine initio Deus et sine fine pro nobis filius hominis dignatus est fieri, ut qui eramus filii perditionis et mortis per peccatum efficeret filios Dei et coheredes sibi in regno Dei per magnam misericordiam suam. Magnum quidem esse hoc hominibus potest quod pro hominibus homo fieri dignaretur, sed multo plus esse quod nos suo proprio sanguine redemit; carum quidem esse quod diabolo nos abstulit, sed multo plus esse quod Deo nos Patri suo reconciliauit.	5
10		10
15		15
20		20
25		25
30	2. Potuit autem filius Dei in caelis positus diabolum nutu suae diuinitatis elidere, sed ne conqueri posset ut potentia esset uictus non iustitia. Ideo se hominem a peccato securum pro humano genere offerre dignatus est ad mortem. Hac itaque iustitia uictus, tantus humani generis	30

EMW

18–19 non<sup>1</sup> ...est cfr I Petr. 1, 18-19

30–36 Potuit...inuenit Eusebius 'Gallicanus', *Collectio homiliarium*, ed. F. Glorie, CCSL 101, hom. 18.5, ll.97-100, 120-121, 125-7, pp.217-218

1 PAPAE] om. M | NATALE] NATIVITATE M 4 qui] quia E 7 per] om. MW 12 suum filium] tr. E 15 hominem] hominum E 16 quam] qua W 19 redimere] redemere M 26-28 nos...quod] om. E 30 positus] positum ut uid. W 31 conqueri] conquiri E conquiri M



35	inimicus totum ius suum in homine perdidit, quia in	35
	Christo homine nullum peccatum inuenit. Nemo enim	
	hominum ad patriam paradisi peruenire potuisset, nisi ipse	
	pro nobis Dei filius mori uoluisset. Et quia nisi ipse suae	
	diuinitatis potentia inferna lustrasset cum anima quam pro	
40	nobis accepit et imperium diaboli destruxisset, nobis	40
	aditus regni caelestis patefactus non esset, neque	
	humanum genus a morte liberaretur aeterna. O Domine	
	quibus gaudiis tanta tuae pietatis munera prosequamur, aut	
	quid tantis beneficiis agere ualeamus, nisi ut humiliter	
45	deprecamur quatenus in nobis tuam uoluntatem operare	45
	digneris; et quos propria dignatus es morte redimi, ne non	
	dimittas iterum a diabolo seduci.	
	3. Ideoque fratres, summopere cogitemus et quantum	
	possimus laboremus, ut bonis operibus et sanctis moribus	
50	mereamur quatenus idem Dei filius conditor noster atque	50
	redemptor omne bonum quod pro nobis et in nobis	
	operatus est sua in nobis misericordia conseruare dignetur.	
	Vitam nostram moresque conponamus, carnis	
	concupiscentias fugiamus, ebrietates et comessiones	
55	noxias deponamus, sobrietatem atque iustitiam in omnibus	55
	teneamus. In diebus praesentibus quos in honore Domini	
	natiuitatis celebramus, cum misericordiae largitate	
	uiuamus, ut in futuro iudicio misericordiam quam	
	quaeremus percipere mereamur. Per Dominum nostrum	
60	Ihesum Christum, cui sit honor, laus et potestas, per omnia	60
	saecula saeculorum. Amen.	

36 nullum] ullum *a.c. sup. l. IV* 38 Dei] *om. E* 40 destruxisset]  
destruisset *MIV* 41 patefactus] patefactum *EMIV* 42 liberaretur]  
liberetur *M* 46 redimi] redemi *MIV a.c. E* | ne] *om. EM* 47 dimittas]  
demittas *EM* | diabolo] dibulo *M* | seduci] seduceri *MIV -eri eras. ut uid.*  
*E* 48 Ideoque] -que *om. E* | fratres] *om. IV* 57 celebramus] celebramur  
*IV* 59 quaeremus] quaeramus *E* 59-60 Dominum...Christum] *tr. EM*  
60 sit] est *E*



VIII. ITEM ALIA COTIDIANA OMILIA SANCTI BASILII.

1. Monet nos et exhortatur de dilectione Dei, fratres  
5 dilectissimi, diuina scriptura, dicens: *Ex tota uirtute tua* 5  
*dilige Deum, et in omnibus actibus tuis stude placere illi.*  
Sicut enim qui coniugi copulatur festinat placere uxori,  
multo magis christianus omnino contendat ut Christo  
placeat suo creatori. *Qui enim diligit Deum, eius praecepta*  
10 *custodit.* Deus enim non se uerbis tantum diligi cupit, sed 10  
corde puro et operibus iustis. Qui enim dicit *diligo Deum,*  
*et mandata eius non custodit, mendax est.* Huiusmodi  
enim uir fallitur, et a semetipso seducitur, quia homo uidit  
in facie, Deus autem cordis inspector est, et diligit eos qui  
15 in simplicitate cordis seruiunt ei. Et si terrenos parentes 15  
cum tali affectu diligimus, qui paruo tempore pro nobis  
sustinuerunt labores, et quod eorum erga nos obsequium  
fuerat, Christi est beneficium, qui omnium dispensator est  
optimus. Nam antequam nasceremur in hoc saeculo,  
20 parentes nobis praeparauit, quorum obsequio nutriremur. 20  
Nos ergo multo magis diligamus Dominum qui nos ex  
parentes nostros propriis manibus finxit, et cuncta quae  
erga nos bona geruntur cotidie eius beneficiis  
adscribamus. Parentes igitur nostros ut propria uiscera  
25 diligamus si ad seruitium Dei nos accedere non prohibent: 25  
si autem prohibuerint, nec sepultura illis debetur a nobis.  
Christus diligendus est super parentes, quia illorum tantum  
copulatione nascimur, a Domino autem spiritum et uitam  
percipimus.

FKMW

5-6 Ex...illi Marc. 12, 30 9-10 Qui...custodit I loh. 2, 4  
11-12 diligo...est I loh. 2, 4

5-45 Ex...proximos Ps.-Basil, Die Admonitio sancti Basilii ad filium  
spiritualem, ed. P. Lehmann, c.III-IV, pp.34-7; PL 103, cols 686D-687D

1 ITEM] om. K 1-2 ITEM...BASILII] OMELIA SANCTI AVGVSTINI.  
COTIDIANA F OMELIA COTIDIANA SANCTI BASILII M 5  
dilectissimi] karissimi F 14 facie] faciem K 16 diligimus] dilimus a.c.  
sup. l. diligamus F 17 sustinuerunt] sustinuer W 18 dispensator]  
dispentor a.c. sup. l. K 21 magis] gis a.c. sup. l. F | ex] ad F et K 22 quae]  
om. M 23 geruntur] gerentur K 25 seruitium] uitium a.c. sup. l. F | Dei]  
nostros sup. l. F 26 nec] ec M | sepultura] sepulturam K a.c. M



30	2. Quis ergo eius umquam potest beneficia enarrare, uel quantum tribuit, et cotidie praebere non desinit? Et quanto plus eius studeamus laudare clementiam, tanto amplius laus eius in corde nostro augeri oportet. Nam misericors Deus uidens innumeris peccatis obnoxios non despexit,	30
35	nec cum alienamur ab eo, diuersis obducti erroribus aufert a nobis misericordiam suam, sed ad uitam nos per gratiam suam reuocat aeternam. Et cum nobis immensa beneficia praestat, nihil a nobis exigit, nisi ut diligamus eum, et ut corda et corpora nostra impolluta seruemus illi, ut dignis	35
40	moribus et actibus mereamur, ut ille semper in nobis habitet, et nos maneamus in illo. Non enim res transitorias quaerit a nobis, sed si ista habeamus, ut ea pauperibus largiamur. Nos ipsos quaerit et in nobis requiescere cupit.	40
45	Ideoque post tanta beneficia eius inhereamus firmiter in affectu eius, et nos ipsos salubriter amemus et proximos, perennem possessuri mercedem. Per Christum Ihesum filium Dei coaeternum genitori, et Spiritui paraclito, dominantem in saecula saeculorum. Amen.	45

---

31 quantum] quanta nobis *F* | praebere] praeuere *K* 39 nostra] *add. sup. l.*  
*W* 41 maneamus] manemus *F* 42 ut] ab *add. K* 43 largiamur]  
largiemus *FKW* largiemur *M* | Nos ipsos] nonpsos *K* | ipsos] ipso *a.c. M*  
44 beneficia] beneficio *K* 47 Dei] eius *KM*



XII. DE CONCVPISCENTIA FVGIENDA. OMILIA  
SANCTI AVGVSTINI.

5	1. Beatus apostolus Paulus, in cuius ore ad nostram salutem locutus est Christus, noxiam nobis concupiscentiam deuitare docet, dicens: <i>Magna est enim pietas cum sufficientia. Nihil enim intulimus in hunc mundum, haud dubium quia nec auferre quid possumus. Habemus enim alimenta et quibus tegamur, his contenti</i>	5
10	<i>simus. Nam qui uolunt diuites fieri, incidunt in temptationem et laqueum diaboli, et in desideria multa et inutilia, quae mergunt homines in interitum et perditionem.</i> Ecce uerax medicus, nobis a Domino destinatus, ostendit salubria quae tenenda sunt nobis,	10
15	demonstrauit noxia, quae necesse est, ut caueantur a nobis; ut agnoscentes pestiferam radicem ex qua mentis infirmitas pullulat, adtendamus qualiter salus nostra diuino munere reparetur.	15
20	2. <i>Radix omnium malorum, inquit, est cupiditas: quam quidam appetentes errauerunt a fide, et inseruerunt se doloribus multis.</i> O radix pestifera, per quam a fide disceditur, et infelix anima doloribus innumeris implicatur! Fugienda est, fratres mei, rerum temporalium insana cupiditas quae mortiferis hominem laqueis	20
25	inretitum in hoc saeculo excaecat, distentit et cruciat; in futuro autem inextinguibilibus mancipat flammis et	25

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*E F K M V W*

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6-13 *Magna...perditionem* | Tim. 6, 6-9 19-21 *Radix...multis* | Tim. 6, 10

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4-27 *Beatus...suppliciis* cfr Hrabanus Maurus, *Homiliae*, CXXX, PL 110, cols 394D-395B; Ps.-Bede, *Homiliae ueneralis Bedae...in D. Pauli epistolas & alias ueteris & noui testamenti lectiones*, ed. Gymnicus, no.84, pp.198-201

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1-2 DE...AVGVSTINI] OMELIA SANCTI AVGVSTINI COTIDIANA DE CONCVPISCENTIA FVGIENDA *F* INCIPIT SERMO EIVSDEM SIVE OMELIA DE CONCVPISCENTIA FVGIENDA *V* 1 OMILIA] OMELIA *M* 1-2 OMILIA...AVGVSTINI] OMELIA AVGVSTINI *E* 5 salutem] salute *F* | locutus] lacutus *a.c.* *K* loquutus *W* | nobis] nos *F* no *M om.* *E* 7 pietas] *add. sup. l. K* 8 haud] aut *EKV* | auferre] fert *F* | possumus] possimus *W* 10 simus] sumus *FV a.c. M* | incidunt] *add. in marg. E* 11 et!] in *add. E* 13 nobis] nobin *ut uid. K* 17 diuino] dino *a.c. sup. l. F* 18 reparetur] reperetur *V* 19 Radix] enim *add. E* 20 appetentes] apetentes *a.c. sup. l. K* 23 Fugienda] Fugenda *F*



	sempiternis facit deputare suppliciis. Cupiditas enim rubigo est cordis, subuersio mentis, mater infidelitatis, aemula concordiae, amica nequitiae, uia gehennae,	
30	iurgiorum genetrix, odii liuorisque nutricula, pacis inimica, caritatis ignara. Quae nullo copiarum termino concluditur, neque copia neque inopia minuitur. Nam sicut inruentibus damnis uehementior efficitur, ita succedentibus lucris acrius efferatur.	30
35	3. Quapropter, karissimi fratres, fugite malum cupiditatis, audite salubre consilium Domini saluatoris: <i>Nolite</i> , inquit, <i>thesaurizare uobis thesauros in terra, ubi erugo et tinea</i> <i>demolitur, et ubi fures effodiunt, et furantur. Thesaurizate</i> <i>autem uobis thesauros in caelo ubi</i> nihil perditis quicquid	35
40	ibi reconditis: ibi thesaurizate, si salutem uultis perpetuam possidere. Date hic parua ut accipiatis immensa. Date transitoria ut adquiratis aeterna. Instate quantum possitis elemosinis et operibus sanctis, quia quicquid hic pauperibus erogatis, ante uos hoc totum ad caelum	40
45	mittatis. Date quod dimissuri estis in saeculo, ut accipiatis quod numquam amplius dimittere nec perdere potestis in caelo. Isto caduco commodo adquirite uitam sine fine perpetuam. Quod ipse in nobis omnibus faciat, ipseque conseruet Dominus Ihesus Christus, secumque ad gloriam	45
50	nos perducatur aeternam.	50

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36–39 *Nolite...ubi* Matth. 6, 19-20

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29 nequitiae] nequitiae *M* 30 iurgiorum] iuriorum *F* 33 uehementior]  
uehemertior *M* | ita] ite *F* 34 efferatur] efferatus *F* 35 Quapropter]  
Quia propter *a.c. F* | karissimi fratres] *tr. FM* | cupiditatis] cupitatis *a.c.*  
*sup. l. IV* 36 salubre consilium] *tr. E* 37 tinea] tine *V* 39 autem] *om. F*  
41 possidere] possedere *K* | accipiatis] accipietis *F* 42 adquiratis]  
adinquiratis *IV* | Instate] in *add. V* 44 uos] *add. in marg. V* | hoc] ho *a.c.*  
*sup. l. M* 45 mittatis] mittitis *V* | accipiatis] accipietis *FKM a.c. ut uid. E*  
46 dimittere] dimittere *K* 47 adquirite] adquirete *a.c. sup. l. ut uid. F* 48  
Quod] Quo *a.c. sup. l. M* | faciat] faciet *FKMIV a.c. ut uid. E* 49 Christus]  
*om. V* | secumque] -que *om. F add. sup. l. M* 50 aeternam] Amen *add. E*



XIII. ITEM ALIA VNDE SVpra. SERMO SANCTI  
AVGVSTINI.

5	1. Oportet quidem, karissimi, caelestis oraculi terrifico intonante praecepto, quo radix omnium malorum esse cupiditas demonstratur, indubitantī fide credere, et ad cupiditatem penitus abhorrendam, iugiter indefessam tenere cautelam. Per cupiditatem enim primus homo pactum damnationis inuenit cum diabolo, et perditionis foedera cum morte firmauit. Ideo namque aeternae beatitudinis donum amisit, et factus est miseriarum mortisque mancipium. Quia carnali cupiditate caecatus diuina praecepta contempsit et cibum interdictae arboris appetiuit, et ita per cupiditatem perdidit uitam, perdidit beatitudinem sempiternam.	5
10		10
15	2. Ita quippe omnis auarus quantum pecunias acquirendo ditior efficitur, tantum pauperior et miserior inuenitur. Nam augescente pecunia, securitas minuitur, rabies egestatis augetur. Et licet multiplicare ei uideatur ex acquisitione substantia, magis tamen auaro crescit ex cupiditate miseria; et tanto magis sibi securitatem laetitiamque adimit, quanto multiplicare substantiam concupiscit. Auarus numquam in propriis requiescit, dum aliena diripere quaerit. Non ergo sibi blandiatur auarus de nomine christiano, quia inanium christianum portat nomen qui non operibus ostendit christiani nominis ueritatem. Neque potietur aeternae beatitudinis munere qui Christum esurientem non cibāt in paupere nec sitientem potat, qui in peregrino Christo non praebet hospitium nec nudo tribuit uestimentum.	15
20		20
25		25
30		30

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*E K V IV*

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5-6 *radix...cupiditas* cfr 1 Tim. 6, 10    27-30 *qui...uestimentum* cfr Matth. 25, 35-6

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1-2 ITEM...AVGVSTINI] ITEM SERMO EIVSDEM DE EODEM *V* 7 iugiter indefessam] *tr. E* 8 tenere] *tenenere K* | enim] *add. sup. l. K* 13 contempsit] *cotempsit a.c. sup. l. E* 14 cupiditatem] *perdiditatem add. V* 16 acquirendo] *adinquirendum KIV a.c. E* 17 efficitur] *reficitur IV* 19 augetur] *augeatur KIV a.c. E* | ei] *om. V* 20 acquisitione] *adquitione IV* | substantia] *substancie E substantiam KV* 22 adimit] *admisit E sed adimit add. in marg.* 23 in propriis] *impropriis V* 24 blandiatur] *blanditur a.c. sup. l. K* 25 quia] *qui IV* 28 Christum] *non add. K sed eras.*



	3. Vos igitur, fratres mei, adtendite Christum in paupere et de bonis suis quae uobis dispensare commendauit, fideles uos erogatores esse pauperibus demonstrate. Memento apostolum eius dicentem: <i>Hilarem enim datorem diligit Deus</i> . Spem beatæ retributionis nulla egestas pauperum frangat, quia Domino diuiti feneratis, quicquid in eius nomine pauperibus erogatis. Magnis enim uos copiis ditabit in caelo, si uos ei fideliter dederitis in saeculo. Quia uos ei dabitis nummum, ille uobis aeternum largiturus est regnum. Christus enim qui nos suo prætioso sanguine redemit in terris, qui cum Patre simul et Spiritu sancto unus et uerus Deus mansit et permanet in aeternum, ipse nobis hoc recta fide, operibus sanctis, plenissima caritate tribuet promereri, ut in aeterna cum illo gloria gaudeamus per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.	
35		35
40		40
45		45

34–35 *Hilarem...Deus* II Cor. 9, 7

32 de] *add. sup. l. K om. V* | quae] quas *EK* | dispensare] dispendere *EKV*  
sed dispensare *add. in marg. E* 33 uos] suos *V* | esse] in *add. EVW* 37  
enim] etiam ei *V* | uos copiis] *tr. V* 38 Quia] si *add. FMV* 40  
sanguine] *add. sup. l. K*



## XIII. ITEM SANCTI AVGVSTINI. VT SVPRA.

1. Audi ergo o homo qui huius saeculi substantiam habes,  
 5 qualiter in aeternum possis seruare quod habes, ut nec tu  
 pereas, et quod uideris habere non perdas. Non enim  
 inuenitur in terra locus qui sit ab omni sollicitudine  
 penitus alienus. Quia ubicumque in terra pecunia  
 reconditur, ibi aut fur, aut raptor, aut etiam praedo  
 10 domesticus, aut uorax ignis, aut rubigo uel tineas, aut pellax  
 putredo formidatur. Aduerte igitur christiane cum  
 salubritate, ut bene possis quod diligis reseruare. Qui enim  
 tibi dedit quod habes, ipse tibi locum praeparauit  
 tutissimum ubi sine timore reponas. Qui dixit: *Nolite*  
 15 *thesaurizare uobis thesauros in terra, ubi erugo et tineas*  
*exterminat, et ubi fures effodiunt et furantur*, ostendit quod  
 caueas, ostendit quo fugias. Quia tunc proderit noxia  
 spernere, si ipse sibi curauerit utilia praeuidere. Ideo  
 addidit: *Thesaurizate autem uobis thesauros in caelo, ubi*  
 20 *neque tineas demolitur, neque fures effodiunt nec furantur*.  
 2. Ecce habes tutissimum locum ubi possis intrepidus  
 pecuniam recondere; habes ditissimum et fidelissimum  
 dominum cui possis sine sollicitudine commendare. Nec  
 tibi consilarii huius uideatur uilis esse persona, quia ipse  
 25 consiliarius est Dei Patris, cuius consilio et uoluntate, et  
 per quem omnia quae sunt fecit ex nihilo. Quomodo enim  
 tibi diuitias non reseruat in caelo, qui pro te pauper esse

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EFKRVI

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3 qui...habes cfr I loh. 3, 17 13-15 Nolite...furantur Matth. 6, 19  
 18-19 Thesaurizate...furantur Matth. 6, 20

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1 ITEM...SVPRA] ITEM VNDE SVPRA F ITEM SERMO EIVSDEM  
 DE EODEM V 3 o] om. RVIV 6 sollicitudine] sollitudine IV 7  
 penitus] om. R 8 ibi] ubi FKV a.c. ut uid. E om. R 8-9 praedo  
 domesticus] praedomesticus IV 9 domesticus] om. F | uel] aut K |  
 pellax] eras. R om. F pellat KIV 10 igitur] ergo R 11 reseruare] seruare  
 F 13 reponas] ponas F 14 thesaurizare uobis] tr. R 14-15  
 in...furantur] om. R 15 exterminat] exterminant F 16 quo] quod F 17  
 spernere] fugere ut uid. R | sibi] om. F | utilia] om. K 19 neque<sup>2</sup>] nec  
 EFKV | neque<sup>2</sup>...furantur] om. R 20 tutissimum] titissimum a.c. sup. l. F  
 20-21 ubi...recondere] om. R 23 consilarii] consilari K 24  
 consiliarius] consiliarius E | consiliarius est] tr. R | Dei] om. R 25  
 quem] corr. sup. l. K | quae sunt] tr. R | Quomodo] quomo a.c. sup. l. K |  
 enim] om. R 26 non] om. V | esse] om. R



dignatus est in saeculo? Aut quomodo tibi negavit  
substantiam tuam, qui pro te posuit animam suam? Ecce  
30 de hoc saeculo quandoque es exiturus, numquid dignum  
est ut omnia tua aliis relinquant, et tu ex hinc inanis 30  
uacuuque discedas? Sed forsitan dicis filiis tuis te uelle  
cuncta dimitti. Age hoc ergo, et rogatus ab amicis dum  
uiuis filiis tuis cuncta largire, et tu forsitan respondebis:  
35 Quamdiu in hoc saeculo sum, res meas dare non possum.  
Numquid ea ideo adquisiui, ut paupertate postmodum 35  
crucier? Ecce enim iam non totum filiis colligis, sed  
auaritiae seruis. Quia in hac uita non uis esse pauper ad  
breue tempus, non formidas in futuro miser esse  
perpetuus. Ergo qui sollicite curas quomodo uitam istam  
40 breuem transigas, cur non cogitas quomodo possideas 40  
aeternam laetitiam gloriosam atque beatam?  
3. Quapropter, karissimi fratres, dirigite aliquid Deo, ut  
securi possitis exire de saeculo. Propitiate uobis hic  
iudicem, priusquam actuum uestrorum incipietis reddere  
45 rationem. Praemittite ante uos partem substantiae uestrae, 45  
si non uultis in aeterna indigentia remanere. Quicquid  
enim in manibus pauperum posueritis in terris, integrum  
uobis seruatis in caelis. Praestante et hoc in nobis, ipso  
Domino operante omnipotente aeterno Deo, ipse qui nos  
50 adquisiuit sanguine suo, ipse nos faciet secum in aeternum 50  
gaudere in regno suo.

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27-28 *Aut...suam* cfr I Ioh. 3, 16-17

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27 quomodo] quomo *K* | tibi negauit] *tr. R* 28 tuam] suam *V* 32  
dimitti] dimitte *E* | amicis] inimicis *K* 34 hoc] *om. F* 36 colligis]  
colliis *a.c. sup. l. E* 38 miser] miseri *V* | miser esse] *tr. R* 39 qui] quis *K*  
| uitam istam] *tr. V* 40 possideas] possedeas *FK* 41 laetitiam] laetam  
*EW* laetiam *a.c. sup. l. K* 42 karissimi fratres] *tr. R* 42-43 ut...saeculo]  
*om. sed ins. K* 43 de] hoc *add. ER* | uobis hic] *tr. R* 44 incipietis]  
incipiatis *V* | reddere] redde *a.c. sup. l. K* 45 substantiae] substantia *W*  
46 remanere] permanere *R* 47 posueritis] posuetis *a.c. sup. l. K* | terris]  
terra *E* 48 caelis] caelo *E* aelis *K* | hoc in] *tr. V* | in nobis] uobis *R* 49  
omnipotente] *om. V* | ipse] *om. F* | qui] *om. EKVV* | nos] uos *R* 50  
faciet] faciat *R*



XV. ITEM SANCTI AVGVSTINI. VT SVPRA.

<p>5</p> <p>10</p> <p>15</p> <p>20</p> <p>25</p> <p>30</p>	<p>1. Cauendum est nobis summopere, fratres mei, ne mens aut cogitatio nostra desideriis inutilibus et noxiis imprudenter inhereat, ne in mortis praecipitium deuoluamur. Ideo fugienda est omnimodis rerum transeuntium nociua cupiditas, quae omnis origo malitiae nominatur, quia omnis auarus congestis diuitiis pauper est: abundat et eget, cupit abscondenda congeri, peritura formidat publicare. Vt aliena rapiat, igne cupiditatis exuritur; ne acquisita depereant, timoris acerbitate torquetur. Miser est igitur auarus dum formidat suis, miserior dum inhiat alienis, ut quid autem miserrimus cupit rapere quae non potest perpetuo possidere. Successu quippe decessu dierum uita hominum festinat ad terminum. Incertus enim humanae fragilitatis status cotidie uenturam insinuat mortem, et auarus uitam sibi promittit improuidus longiorem. Nonne dies ille auaro uenturus est quo nec habere pecuniam potest, et patitur poenam de qua exire non potest?</p> <p>2. Fugite igitur, fratres, auaritiae malum, uitate laetale contagium. Adquirite uitam sine fine perpetuam, possidete ditissimam sine defectu substantiam. Non ubi fallens cupiditas mundana mentitur, sed ubi diuina ueritas pollicetur. Cum gaudio ergo et cum laetitia instate operibus bonis; et terrena ista necessaria pauperibus erogate; et regnum caelorum uili uobis pretio comparate; et ad comparandam talis regni possessionem, omnis intentissime currite, omnis alacriter festinate. Currat iudicator, currat negotiator, currat ditissimus, currat mediocris et infimus, currat dominus, currat et seruus, currant generaliter omnis masculus et femina. Quia ibi possessorem numquam angustat persona consortis, ubi omnis pariter integram possident latitudinem caritatis.</p>	<p>5</p> <p>10</p> <p>15</p> <p>20</p> <p>25</p> <p>30</p>
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E K V W

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28-32 *omnis...femina* cfr I Cor. 9, 24

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1 ITEM...SVPRA] ITEM SERMO EIVSDEM DE EODEM V | VT]  
VNDE E 6 fugienda] fugenda K 7 omnis] omni a.c. E 8 nominatur]  
et add. V 10 rapiat] rapit a.c. ut uid. W 11 acerbitate] acer itate W 16  
status] statis W 17 uenturam] uenturum a.c. E 18 longiorem]  
languorem V | dies ille] tr. E 20 non] om. V 21 uitate] uitae K 22  
possidete] dices add. ut uid. V 30 negotiator] negator K 31 infimus]  
infimis W 32 currant] et add. V



35	Regnum enim caelorum non copia facultatis, sed puritas	35
	comparat uoluntatis, quam Deus non solum adtendit	
	quantum aliquis debet, sed ex quanta dederit uoluntate.	
	Tamen necesse est, ut qui plus habuerit, amplius donet; et	
	cui sit parua facultas, sit in corde magna uoluntas. Quia	
40	uoluntas bona ante Deum pro opere facto reputatur:	40
	<i>Hilarem enim datorem diligit Deus</i> , qui et manum dantem	
	et animum perspicit operantem; et quem uiderit hilarem	
	datorem, ipsum faciet regni caelestis perpetuum	
	possessorem, in quorum nos consortio, ipse qui fecit nos,	
45	ipse qui nos propria morte redemit faciat permanere,	45
	Ihesus Christus Dominus noster, qui cum Patre et Spiritu	
	sancto uiuit et regnat Deus per omnia saecula saeculorum.	
	Amen.	

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41 *Hilarem...Deus* II Cor. 9, 7

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35 enim] *om. K*    37 aliquis] *aliquid VW*    38 qui] *add. sup. l. E*    39  
sit<sup>2</sup>...uoluntas] *om. V*    42 perspicit] *prospicit KV*    47 Deus...saeculorum]  
in saecula saeculorum *V*



XVIII. SANCTI AMBROSII. DE PURIFICATIONE  
SANCTAE MARIAE.

5	1. Sancta et ueneranda solemnitas, fratres karissimi, quam hodie celebramus, dies est quadragesimus natiuitatis Domini, in qua secundum legem mater purificata post partum simul cum filio in templo Domini praesentari praecipitur. Quod hodie in ipso Domino ac saluatore nostro celebratur completum, cum eum sacratissima mater	5
10	uirgo Maria Simeonis uiri iusti manibus obtulit praesentandum in templum et digna pro eo munera offerenda. Hanc igitur uenerationem legalium mandatorum in bonum sancta ecclesia commutauit usum, ut pro reuerentia praesentationis Domini in templum eadem die	10
15	cuncta turba fidelium in unum collecta singuli cereis accensis, quasi Dominum ipsum praesentantes in templum, cum letaniis ac magnifica gloria ecclesiam intraturi; Dominum consona uoce laudabunt, et pro salute omnium ac uita deprecabuntur aeterna.	15
20	2. Ad hanc igitur solemnitatem, fratres, fidei oculos erigite; ad hanc pietatis affectu uenite. Christum quem pro uobis incarnatum in uestri pectoris arcana suscipite, et in sua maiestate excelsissimum adorate. Nobis quoque optandum simul et deprecandum est, fratres, ut eadem pia	20
25	mater uirgo Maria ad eundem filium suum Dominum nostrum pro nobis orare dignetur, suisque sanctis precibus nos suae sanctae uoluntati atque caritati faciet semper uniri. Nam pro ueneratione eius haec festiuitas celebratur, ut sicut ipsa filium suum Dominum nostrum Ihesum	25
30	Christum obseruatione legali obtulit in templum, ita et nos	30

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*E F K M W*

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4-36 *Sancta...celesti* cfr Ambrosius Autpertus, *Sermo in purificatione sanctae Mariae*, ed. Weber, CCCM 27B, c.1-2, 3, 4, 7, pp.986-987, 991

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1-2 SANCTI...MARIAE] OMELIA DE PURIFICATIONE SANCTAE MARIAE *F* 5 est quadragesimus] *tr. E* 7 Domini] domino *FKMIV* 8 hodie] *add. sup. l. K* 9 celebratur] *cebrantur a.c. M* 12 uenerationem...mandatorum] *add. sub pag. F* 13 bonum] *add. sup. l. M | ecclesia] ecclesia a.c. sup. l. F | ut] et IV* 15 singuli] *siguli a.c. sup. l. M* 17 ac] *om. FKMIV add. sup. l. E* 22 uestri] *uestro E* 23 excelsissimum] *excelsissima K excelsissimum a.c. sup. l. M* 27 suae] *om. F | atque] om. M | caritati] -que add. M | faciet] faciat F* 28 uniri] *uri a.c. sup. l. M | eius] eiusdem K* 28-29 celebratur...Dominum] *add. sub pag. F* 30 obseruatione...obtulit] *tr. E*



pia intercessione Domino Christo cotidie offerre dignetur.  
Ipsa enim sicut mater est Christi, ita et omnium est mater  
christianorum quos sibi Deus Pater in filios et ipse saluator  
noster adoptavit in fratres. Nam si filii Dei sumus, heredes  
35 quidem Dei, coheredes autem Christi erimus in regno  
celesti. 35  
3. Quapropter dignis moribus et sanctis debemus operibus  
promereri, ut bonum quod nobis Christus adoptavit per  
gratiam suam ipse in nobis conseruare dignetur per  
40 misericordiam suam. Persistamus iugiter in confessione  
nominis christiani, opera semper christiana facientes. 40  
Adoremus Dominum qui fecit nos, et ploremus ante eum  
cotidie peccata nostra, et ea quae defleamus, nullatenus  
iteremus. Elemosinis et ieiuniis diluamus mala quae  
45 fecimus, ut digne sancta solemnia celebrantes praesentia  
ad aeterna simul cum Domino festa peruenire mereamur. 45  
Intercedente pro nobis beatissima matre, eiusque filio  
Ihesu Christo Domino nostro unigenito nobis adiuuante,  
qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto unus est Deus, unus est  
50 Dominus, uiuens et regnans per omnia saecula 50  
saeculorum. Amen.

32 est Christi] *tr. E* | est mater] *tr. K* 34 in] *add. sup. l. M* | heredes] *add. sup. l. F* 35 erimus] *om. FKMIV add. in marg. E* 44 iteremus] *iteramus F*



XXIII. DE ADVENTV QVADRAGESIMAE ET  
OBSERVATIONE IEIVNII.

5	1. Scio, fratres karissimi, omnibus uobis esse notissimum dies aduentare quadragesimae, inde tamen uobiscum loquimur ut ipsa commemoratione quantum in his gaudere oportet demonstremus. Isti enim dies quadragesimae diem celeberrimum et sanctissimum paschae quasi quadam officii ordinatione praecedunt, et quasi nuntii 10 praecurrentes dominicae passionis salutare munus adportant. Nos itaque, fratres, ea quae diuinitus instituta sunt solemni obseruatione cum omni diligentia teneamus, eaeque incorrupta fidei mente ac deuotione custodire conemur, atque in his diebus summo studio bonae 15 operationis intentissime pro nostra laboremus salute.	5 10 15
20	2. Et hoc prae omnibus faciemus, quod propheta ammonet dicens: <i>Sanctificate ieiunium</i> . Ieiunium sanctificare est alia quoque bona opera addere, in castitate uitae, in morum sanctitate, in patientia et mansuetudine, in pace et concordia uera, in humilitate, in uigiliis et orationibus sanctis, in continentia omnium uitiorum, in sobrietate et modestia cibi et potus, ut de ieiunio nostro pauperes laetantur, ita ut quod nobis abstrahimus de cibo uel potu inde pauperes reficiantur. Tamen ut eorum curam nemo 25 neglegat, qui ad indulgentiam suorum delictorum uenire desideret, ut peregrini et hospites nostram sentiant consolationem. Similiter infirmi et in uinculis positi de consolatione ac adiutorio nostro laetentur. Et non solum amicos, sed etiam inimicos propter Deum diligamus 30 nostros, et ut peccantibus in nobis ueniam demus, quam nos ipsi ad nos flagitamus. Nullaque tam grauis sit culpa quae non propter Deum dimittatur, quia et nobis Deus	20 25 30

EFKW

17 Sanctificate ieiunium loel 1, 14; 2, 15

2 IEIVNII] SERMO SANCTI AVGVSTINI add. E AVG add. K 6  
commemoratione] commeratione F commemorationis K 8 quasi  
quadam] tr. E 9 ordinatione] ordinationes F 14 diebus] om. EK om. ut  
uid. W 16 faciemus] feciemus K | propheta] proheta a.c. sup. l. E 18  
addere] dare E 20 humilitate] humitate a.c. sup. l. K 23 abstrahimus]  
abstraimus a.c. sup. l. E 25 ad] add. in marg. E 25-26  
delictorum...desideret] tr. E 26 desideret] desiderat EF | sentiant] sentiat  
a.c. sup. l. W 28 ac] add. sup. l. E et K | laetentur] laetantur EFK 29  
amicos] amicus K 30 demus] dem<?>s a.c. sup. l. K | quam] qua F



	nostra non dimittit nisi nos dimittamus debitoribus nostris;	
	ut ad ecclesias frequentius cotidieque ueniamus, et pro	
35	peccatis nostris ubertim lacrimas fundamus; et orationes	35
	puras, pro aeterna nostra uita et salute, pro remissione	
	peccatorum nostrorum humiliter faciamus; confessionem	
	quoque sacerdotibus et testibus nostris coram Deo supplici	
	paenitentia cum luctu et lamentatione agamus, ut de	
40	praeteritis paenitentiam habeamus, et de praesentibus	40
	atque futuris cautelam; ut non solum ab extraneis, quod	
	omni est necesse tempore obseruandum, mulieribus, sed	
	etiam et de propriis istis quadragesimae diebus usque ad	
	praeteritum paschae penitus abstineatur: similiterque de	
45	concubinis, de omni quoque fornicatione et adulterio.	45
	Fraudes et homicidia, rapinae, furta, periuria, falsa	
	testimonia, ebrietas, nequaquam his diebus perpetrantur.	
	Odium, iracundia, inuidia, blasphemiae, detractioes,	
	penitus abiciantur.	
50	3. Ecce quisquis ita cum cetero bonorum operum studio	50
	istos dies sanctos celebrat, digne ad sanctam pascha	
	Domini cum gaudio spiritali uenire meretur, et	
	sacrosanctum corpus et sanguinem Domini ad remedium	
	percipit animae suae, et hic diuinae gratiae meretur	
55	auxilium, et in futuro uitam aeternam. Quod ipse Dominus	55
	omnipotens in nobis omnibus agere dignetur, qui uiuit et	
	regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.	

33 dimittamus] dimittimus E    34 ueniamus] ueniamus EK    37 faciamus] faciemus EFK a.c. sup. l. W    38 coram Deo] cum F | Deo] om. K    39 paenitentia] paenitentiae F    43 de] add. sup. l. W    44 paschae] pascha W    47 ebrietas] ebrietas a.c. ebrietate sup. l. K    52 gaudio] gaudium a.c. E | et] ut F    52-54 et...meretur] add. sub pag. F    54 percipit] percipiat K



XXVI. VNDE PRIMVM ORTVM EST IEIVNIVM .XL.  
DIERVM. LEONIS PAPAE.

5	1. Obseruationem quadraginta dierum ieiunio quam hodie adgredimur, dilectissimi nobis, primum Moyses instituit, qui, ut legem Domini mereretur accipere, quadraginta diebus ac noctibus ieiunauit. Deinde Elias propheta diuina repletus gratia post multa signa et mirabilia facta quadraginta diebus ac noctibus, ut diabolicas temptationes uinceret, ieiunauit. Dominus Ihesus Christus tricesimo aetatis suae anno a Iohanne baptizatus in Iordane statim quadraginta diebus ac noctibus ieiunauit, ut nobis temptamenta diaboli et carnis concupiscentias euincendi uires et uincendi formam tribueret, et sancti Spiritus gratiam possidendi. Nam sicut diabolus primum parentem nostrum in paradiso temptauit et superauit, ita et Christum pro nostra uidens esurire salute isdem tribus modis temptauit, et temptando succubuit; et uires amplius ultra humanam mensuram homines perdidit ad temptandum, et alligatus est in infernum. Quod bene ieiunium quadraginta dierum mutauit ecclesia, et ut Christi ieiunium prout possibile esset fideliter imitaret, et ut mundo corde et casto corpore, condigna castigatione facta, proximis quadraginta diebus digne celebrare meruisset paschalia festa, et ut fecunditas ecclesiae, quae sacro fonte renascitur, acceptabilis Deo foret, et fideles omnes ad percipiendum remissionem digni existerent.	5
10		10
15		15
20		20
25		25
30	2. Ad sanctissimum igitur certamen contra diabolum hoc nos tempus quadragesimalis ieiunii salubriter inuitat, ut a curis saecularibus actibusque terrenis liberos ad Dominum animos erigamus. Et quia hanc intentionem semper necessariam non omnes possumus habere perpetuam, saepiusque pro humana fragilitate decidimus, istis saltem diebus, qui nobis ad saluberrima sunt remedia praestiti, mundanis nos pro uiribus nostris occupationibus	30
35		35

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*E F K W*

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2 DIERVM] SERMO SANCTIS *add. E* | LEONIS PAPAE] LEONEM K  
| PAPAE] *om. F* 6 mereretur] meretur *a.c. in marg. E* 8 repletus gratia]  
*tr. E* 9 noctibus] noctis *F* | diabolicas temptationes] *tr. E* 14 uincendi]  
*om. F* | tribueret] tribuet *a.c. sup. l. E* 18 succubuit] non superauit *F* 29  
quadragesimalis] quadragesimalis *K* 31 quia] qui *a.c. sup. l. K* 33  
decidimus] decimus *a.c. sup. l. K* 34 remedia] redia *a.c. sup. l. F* | praestiti]  
praestituti *FK*



subtrahamus, et aliquid temporis ad bona aeterna capienda  
 nos occupemus. Et ut hoc nemo esse difficile iudicet,  
 audiet Dominum in euangelio dicentem: *Iugum enim*  
*meum suaue est, et onus meum leue.* Suaue est enim omne  
 40 opus bonum uolentibus, onerosum autem nolentibus, quae 40  
 enim impossibilia sunt homini ex infirmitate propria  
 possibilia fiunt, et diuinitate his qui spem suam et  
 fiduciam firmiter ponant in Domino.

3. Angusta est enim et arta uia quae ducit ad uitam, et  
 45 nemo in eam gressum inferret, nisi ipse nobis Christus uia 45  
 fieri uoluisset. Quia ipse qui nos ad nostram salutem  
 inuitat ad laborem, ipse nos perducit ad requiem. In eo  
 enim spes est aeternae uitae, ab eodem sumamus et  
 formam patientiae atque fortitudinem. Si enim hic Christo  
 50 conpati uolumus in laboribus corporis et mortificatione 50  
 carnalis concupiscentiae, conregnabimus cum Christo et  
 omnibus sanctis eius in aeterna requie. Per eum qui pro  
 nobis nasci et mori dignatus est, Ihesus Christus Dominus  
 noster, qui uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

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38–39 *Iugum...leue* Matth. 11, 30    44 *Angusta...uitam* Matth. 7, 14  
 49–52 *Si...requie* cfr Rom. 8, 17; II Tim. 2, 12

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44–51 *Angusta...conregnabimus* Leo Magnus, *Tractatus septem et*  
*nonaginta*, ed. A. Chavasse, CCSL 138A, tract. 90.2, ll.37-43, p.558

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36 subtrahamus] subtrahimus *F*    40 onerosum] rosum *a.c. in marg. F*  
 42 et<sup>1</sup>] ex *K*    45 inferret] ferret *a.c. sup. l. K*    46 fieri uoluisset] *tr. E*    47  
 In eo] ideo *F*    49 patientiae] paenitentiae *E* patientiam *F*    51 carnalis]  
 carnali *FKIV a.c. sup. l. E* | conregnabimus] conregnamus *EKIV*



XXVII. DE IEIVNIO VEL EXHORTATIONE  
ELEMOSINARVM. LEONIS.

5	1. Domini saluatoris nostri, fratres karissimi, edocti sumus magisterio quia <i>non in pane solo</i> , id est cibo corporali, <i>uiuuit homo, sed in omni uerbo quod procedit de ore Dei</i> . Ideoque prompta deuotione et alacri fide ineamus solemne ieiunium. Deliciae nostrae sint opera pietatis, et illis cibis qui nos ad aeternitatem nutriunt, id est erga indigentes	5
10	uoluntaria cura, repleamur. Sit laetitia nostra refectio pauperum quos impendia nostra satiauerunt. Iocundemur in uestitu eorum quorum nuditatem indumentis necessariis texerimus. Sentiant humanitatem nostram in aegritudine decumbentes, simul et carceres, et uincula sustinentes,	10
15	exules quos redimamus, pupilli et uiduae quorum desolatione consolamur, in quibus omnibus adiuuandis nemo est qui se debeat aut ualeat excusare. Quia quem angustat parua substantia, largitatem exhibere debet uoluntate magna. Nam uoluntas bona benefaciendi pro	15
20	opere facto reputabitur coram Deo; nam pro calice aquae frigidae bono animo indigenti porrecto, redditurum se regnum caelorum Dominus ipse promisit.	20
25	2. Quapropter, karissimi, libentissime demus ista transitoria, et mereamur aeterna. Caueamus semper illud propheticum elogium, ut nequaquam proponamus terrena diuinis, et propter lucra temporalia et terrena desideria, non neglegamus aeterna. Immo futura praemia et caelestia	25

EFKMIV

5-6 *non...Dei* Matth. 4, 4; Luc. 4, 4; Deut. 8, 3    20-22 *nam...promisit*  
cfr Matth. 10, 42; Marc. 9, 40

4-17 *Domini...excusare* Leo Magnus, *Tractatus septem et nonaginta*, ed.  
A. Chavasse, CCSL 138A, tract. 40.4, ll.89-111, pp.227-229

1-2 DE...LEONIS] DE IEIVNIO VEL EXORTATIONE ELIMOSINAE  
F                    1 EXHORTATIONE] EXORTATIONE KIV                    2  
ELEMOSINARVM] ELEMOSINE M ELYMOSINARVM IV |  
ELEMOSINARVM LEONIS] ELEMOSINAE. SERMO LEONIS  
PAPAE E | LEONIS] LEONEM K LEON IV    4 nostri] *om.* F    8 et] ut  
K    9 aeternitatem] aeternam E    12 necessariis] *necessaris a.c. sup. l. M*  
15-16 exules...consolamur] *om.* E    15 uiduae] uidua K | quorum] quo  
*add. W*    17 Quia] qui K *a.c. sup. l. M*    18 largitatem] largum EKMIV    19  
uoluntate] uoluntas EKMIV | uoluntas] uoluntate EKMIV    20 Deo]  
domino E | aquae] *add. sup. l. M*    21 indigenti] indigento F | porrecto]  
precto *a.c. sup. l. M*    24 mereamur] mercamur FKMIV



praesentibus praeseramus, quoniam omnia *quae uidentur*  
30 *temporalia sunt et transitoria: quae autem non uidentur* 30  
*aeterna sunt.* Sicut autem qui ad patriam tendit, donec  
perueniet, semper habet quo ambulet, ita et nos, quamdiu  
in hoc mortali corpore constituti sumus, semper ad nos  
peregrini sumus. Nam praesens uita nobis est uia in qua  
semper bonis operibus et studio pietatis atque orationibus  
35 sanctis proficere debemus, ut cum uiam istam, id est hanc 35  
uitam, finiamus, ad aeternam patriam simul cum sanctis  
omnibus Domino ipso ducente perueniamus, ubi simul  
cum eo aeternaliter gaudeamus.

28–30 *quae...sunt* II Cor. 4, 18

30–37 *Sicut...perueniamus* Fulgentius Ruspensis, *Opera*, ed. A. Fraipont, CCSL 91, epistola IV.5, ll.59-64, pp.230-231

32 hoc] hac *EFKMIV* 33 qua] quo *E* 35 uiam istam] *tr. M* 36  
finiamus] firmamus *E*



XLI. DE PAENITENTIA ET CONFESSIONE.  
VICTORIS.

5	1. Paenitentia peccatorum, dilectissimi nobis, res est salubris ac necessaria, et quamuis horreat faucibus, cordi tamen impertiat salutare remedium. Paenitentia enim est prioris aevi damnatio, et in futuro promissa correctio. Scriptum est enim: <i>Paenitentibus dedit Deus partem iustitiae, et destinavit illis sortem ueritatis.</i> Age igitur,	5
10	paenitens, propria scelera confitere, pande Deo tuae iniquitatis arcana, denuda secreta pectoris tui, et amoue animae tuae operculum tumuli. Nota sunt enim Deo cuncta quae in occulto gessisti; quae si non dixerit lingua, non potest celare conscientia. Patet Deo omne quod clausum est, et in aperto lucet quicquid abstrusae cogitationes intenebrant. Tu uero reum te officio confessionis institue,	10
15	et causam tuam in conspectu tuo, temetipso accusante, compone. Dicta in te sub seueritate sententiam, antequam iudicis sentias iracundiam: ut inuenies misericordiam, exerce prior in te ipse censuram. Expectat ecce Dominus confessionis munus, sed confitentem non inuoluit reatus;	15
20	et cum nota sit diuinis sensibus hominum conscientia, mauult linguam prodere, quem nihil possunt cordis occulta celare. Paenitentia itaque est, quae uno affectu officia diuersa congeminat: ex una parte publicat confitentem, ex alia confessum reddit innocentem.	20
25	2. O magnificum bonitatis diuinae thesaurum! O singulare clementissimi iudicis institutum! qui ad hoc de reis uult confessiones exculpere, ut non inueniat, quod debeat ultum ire. Nam cum apud saeculi iudices confessus mox dirigitur ad poenam, apud Deum confitens statim pergit ad ueniam. Et qui pro peccatis suis digne ultionis poenas	25
30		30

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*E K IV*

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8-9 *Paenitentibus...ueritatis* Eccli. 17, 20

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4-32 *Paenitentia...ueniam* Victor Cartennae, *De poenitentia liber unus*, c.1, PL 17, cols 971A-972B

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1 PAENITENTIA] PENITENTIA *IV* 9 illis] illos *ut uid. IV* | illis sortem] illos in sortem *E* 15 abstrusae] obstruse *E* obstrusae *KIV* 16 institue] adstitue *E* adstituae *KIV* 18 Dicta...te] dicta ante *ut uid. K* 21 inuoluit] inuolui *a.c. sup. l. E* inuolui *IV* 23 linguam] lingua *E* | cordis occulta] *tr. E* 24 celare] cel re *IV* 29 confessiones] *om. E* | inueniat] inueniet *K a.c. sup. l. E* 30 ultum] ultu *KIV*



debut sustinere, si confiteatur et paenitet, non solum  
indulgentiam, sed etiam aeternam percipiet beatitudinem  
35 Per misericordiam et gratiam Dei, qui solus et uerus est 35  
animarum medicus, Ihesus Christus Dominus noster, qui  
cum Deo Patre et Spiritu sancto regnat omnipotens, per  
infinita saecula saeculorum. Amen.

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34 indulgentiam] indugentiam *a.c. sup. l. K* | aeternam] aeternum *K* 36  
animarum medicus] *tr. E*



XLII. ITEM VNDE SVpra. VICTORIS.

5	1. Pensanda sunt nobis, fratres karissimi, diuinae misericordiae opera, quia pro lucro sibi computare dignetur misericors Dominus gemitus confitentis. Nec optat in peccatore ulcisci, qui paratus est misereri, ut ait ipse per prophetam: <i>Nolo mortem peccatoris, sed ut conuertatur et uiuat.</i> De quibus et Salomon dicit: <i>Deus mortem non fecit, nec laetatur in perditione morientium.</i>	5
10	Iudicis enim nostri clementia optat reos non perire uitae, sed damnationem effugere. O quam uerus uitae auctor, qui non uult peccatoris mortem, sed lamenta conuersi! Vnde ipse in euangelio ait: <i>Gaudium, inquit, est coram angelis Dei super uno peccatore paenitentiam agente.</i> Ipse et per	10
15	Isaiam prophetam ad paenitentiam prouocat, dicens: <i>Ego sum qui deleo iniquitates tuas, et non memorabor. Tu autem noli obliuisci, ut non iudiceris, sed dic tu prior iniquitates tuas ut iustificeris.</i> Quid fratres hac sponsione iocundius? Quid potest hoc inuitamento dulcius inueniri?	15
20	Ego autem non rememorabor amplius, tu autem noli obliuisci, acsi diceret: non remanebit penes me memoria facti tui, si tu proprii non obliuiscaris errati; et delebitur magnitudo criminis tui, si tu eius recordatione compunctus non cessas meis auribus confiteri. Nullum enim uult esse	20
25	temporis punctum, quo in pectore rei inrepat obliuio peccatorum, sed ut excretur quod ante commiserat, non ut pristinorum oblectatione capiatur.	25
30	2. Ideoque fratres, oportet ut casum tuum semper ante oculos proponas et lugeas, et peccata tua momentis omnibus plangas, mortuum te in peccatis iugiter sentias, moriturumque te sine dubitatione cognoscas. Itaque	30

E K W

7-8 *Nolo...uiuat* Ez. 33, 11; cfr Ez. 18, 32    8-9 *Deus...morientium* Sap. 1, 13    13-14 *Gaudium...agente* Luc. 15, 10    15-18 *Ego...iustificeris* Is. 43, 25-26

4-37 *lucro...consolabuntur* Victor Cartennae, *De poenitentia liber unus*, c.1-2, PL 17, cols 972B-973D

1 SVpra] SERMO SANCTI *add. E*    5 misericors] miserator *E* | gemitus] mitus *ut uid. W*    6 qui] quia *W*    9 morientium] morientientium *K*    11 uitae auctor] *tr. E*    12 peccatoris mortem] *tr. E*    14 agente] agentem *a.c. K*    15 ad] *om. KW* | paenitentiam] paenitentem *K*    19 hoc] *om. K* | dulcius inueniri] *tr. EK*    21 me] *add. in marg. E om. K*    26 excretur] execratur *E* exsecratur *K*    28 casum tuum] causam tuam *W*



agentem non tibi Dominus imputabit ad poenam, sed  
retorquet ad gloriam: et ita memorabitur tui, et obliuiscatur  
eorum quae ante gessisti, praebiturus tibi pro temporali  
35 luctu et paenitentia aeterna atque infinita solatia, cum 35  
peccata tua euaseris impunita, ipso dicente: *Beati qui  
lugent nunc, quoniam ipsi consolabuntur*, aeterna et  
infinita laetitia, simulque beatitudine sempiterna, in  
saecula saeculorum. Amen.

36–37 *Beati...consolabuntur* Matth. 5, 5

32 agentem] agendum *E* | imputabit] inputauit *E* 34 ante] *add. in marg.*  
*E* 35 aeterna atque] *tr. E*



## XLIII. ITEM ALIA VNDE SVPRA. VICTORIS.

	1. Adtendamus, fratres karissimi, misericordiam conditoris nostri, et pensemus uerba prophetica prouocantis nos ad	
5	peccatorum remedia: <i>Conuertimini ad Dominum Deum uestrum, quia misericors et pius est, patiens et multae misericordiae. Quia cum conuersus ingemueris saluus eris, et dic tu prior iniquitates tuas ut iustificeris.</i> Tantis ergo ac talibus documentis, fratres karissimi, agnoscamus	5
10	delectari paenitentiae sacrificio Deum, et contriti cordis spiritusque humiliati rependi mercedem, scriptura dicente: <i>Sacrificum Deo spiritus contribulatus, cor contritum et humiliatum Deus non spernit.</i> Cur non de profundo luxuriae, et de mundanae uoluptatis gurgite festinamus	10
15	emergere, atque per paenitentiae officia remedia capessenda ex coenolentis actibus respirare? Quia mox ut ad eius pietatem paenitendo et confitendo pulsemus, aperiet nobis ianuam misericordiae suae, et reuocet nos per humilitatem nostram atque adflictionem ad thronum gloriae suae. Quia iuxta est <i>Dominus his qui tribulati sunt corde, et humiles spiritu saluabit.</i>	15
20	2. Sed si aspera tibi fortassis uideatur post uoluptates saeculi paenitentia, sed si curari desideras, medele impetum cur non adtendas? Amarus est enim gustus antidoti, sed salutare ac uitale est, quod est faucibus insuaue. Ita namque aspera est castigatio paenitentiae, sed leuior efficitur, si modus culpae tractetur. Iampridem te mundialis pompae oblectabat ambitio, et in seruum te sibi concupiscentia saeculi uindicabat, nunc in luxuria pollutum, nunc in ebrietate dimersum, nunc in periurio	20
25		25
30		30

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*E K W*

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5-7 *Conuertimini...misericordiae* Ioel 2, 13    7-8 *cum...eris* Ez. 33, 12  
8 *dic...iustificeris* Is. 43, 26    12-13 *Sacrificum...Deus* Ps. 50, 19  
20-21 *Dominus...saluabit* Ps. 33, 19

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7-43 *cum...reparetur* Victor Cartennae, *De poenitentia liber unus*, c.17-18, PL 17, cols 991A-992A

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1 ALIA] *om. E* | VNDE] VT K | SVPRA] SERMO *add. E* | VICTORIS] *om. K* 11 mercedem] mercede E 12 Sacrificum Deo] *add. sub pag. E*  
14 gurgite] iurgite W 15 remedia] *add. sup. l. K* 16 capessenda] capessanda K | ex] et E 17 ad] *om. E* 19 ad] a *a.c. sup. l. E* 20 tribulati] tribulato W 21 saluabit] salualiit *ut uid. K* 22 fortassis] *add. sup. l. K* | post] ad *add. E* | uoluptates] uoluptate K 24 cur] *om. K* | adtendas] adtenda K 26 est] *om. W* 30 in?] *om. KW*



perditum, nunc odio uel homicidio deuastatum, ceterisque  
uitiis deprauatum. Reuertere aliquando fili, et emerge de  
profundo inferni. Et fero saltem reuiuiscere, et reciproca  
bonis moribus uitam tuam, ut qui peccando fuisti diaboli,  
35 nunc etiam paenitendo et confitendo esto filius Dei. Esto 35  
iam tuus, qui quondam fuisti alienus. Reuertere in uiam a  
cuius semitis diuiaueras. Damna quae gesseras, et te ipsum  
redde Deo per paenitentiam cui te perdidisti per culpam.  
40 Primo te ipsum quaere, ut quod quaeris, inuenias; et cum 40  
te inueneris, absque te ipso nihil quaeras. In cinere et  
cilicio plange, in ieiunio semper ora, in oratione ieiuna,  
elemosinis dele peccata. Quia pretiosa sunt Deo haec  
quibus corpus afficitur et pulchritudo animae reparetur,  
per uiuentem et regnantem Dominum Ihesum Christum  
45 nunc et semper, et in saecula saeculorum. Amen. 45

40–41 *In...plange* cfr Ier. 6, 26; Matth. 11, 21; Luc. 10, 13

33 reuiuiscere] reuiuiesce *K* 38 per<sup>2</sup>] *add. sup. l. E* 40 ipso] *add. sup. l. K*



## XLIII. ITEM VNDE SVPRA.

1. Licet, fratres karissimi, notum sit Deo omne quod  
 gerimus, nec quicquam occultatur eum antequam geratur,  
 5 mauult tamen cordis nostri nos confitendo monstrare sibi 5  
 secretum et facinora prodere paenitentia, ut ipse  
 indulgentiae suae dono cooperiat nostrae turpitudinis  
 nuditatem. Vnde et Daud post adulterium iunxit  
 10 homicidium quando interfecit Vriam, ut adulterium quod 10  
 in Bersabeae uxore sua commiserat occuleret, a propheta  
 alio increpatus, confugit ad secretarium paenitentiae.  
 Peccatum suum Deo manifestum sciuit, et iniquitatem  
 suam nulla negationis nube contexit; dixit aduersus se  
 15 protinus testimonium, et uoce confessionis emissa statim 15  
 adeptus est ueniam peccatorum. *Peccaui* inquit *Domino*.  
 At ille propheta non interposuit absolutionis moras, non  
 effectum distulit remissionis, sed repente ut ille reus  
 confessionem dedit, indulgentiam ei criminum ex Deo  
 depromebat dicens: *Dominus abstulit peccatum tuum*.  
 20 Impletum est in eo illud, quod ipse decantauit dicens: 20  
*Delictum meum cognitum tibi feci, et iniustitias meas non*  
*operui. Dixi: Confitebor aduersum me iniustitias meas*  
*Domino, et tu remisisti iniquitatem peccati mei*.  
 2. Conuertamur ergo ad Dominum, et confiteamur  
 25 Domino cum in huius saeculi degimus commeatu, et iudici 25  
 nostro confitendo nostram paenitentiam demonstremus.  
 Non sint temporis nostri otiosa curricula, nec nos natos ad  
 peccandum, sed ad bene agendum conuiuimus cogitemus.  
 Aut si peccatis fuerimus obnoxii, quoniam nemo esse sine  
 30 peccato potest quamdiu est hac mortali carne circumdatus, 30  
 reminiscamur igitur nostri, ut euadere gehennae  
 praecipitium ualeamus. Paeniteamus ex fide, oremus ex  
 corde, ploremus ex uiscere, sicut propheta dicit: *Adoremus*

---

*E K IV*

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15–19 *Peccaui...tuum* II Reg. 12, 13    21–23 *Delictum...mei* Ps. 31, 5  
 33–34 *Adoremus...nos* Ps. 94, 6

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3–44 *Licet...nobis* Victor Cartennae, *De poenitentia liber unus*, c.6, 27,  
 PL 17, cols 979C-1000D

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1 VNDE] VT K    6 paenitentia] paenitentiam K    8 adulterium] adulterio  
 IV    9 quando] quia E    13 aduersus] aduersum E    16 non<sup>1</sup>] *add. sup. l. K*  
 21 iniustitias] iniustias K    22 iniustitias] iniustias K    25 saeculi] *add. sup.*  
<sup>1</sup> IV | degimus] degemus K    30 hac] ac K    31 nostri] et *add. KW*



35

et procidamus, ploremus ante Dominum qui fecit nos; quia  
qui serunt in lacrimis, in gaudio metent. Felix heu,  
nimium felix, officium lacrimarum, quae futuro tempore  
colligant praemia gaudiorum! Et beatum seminis  
incrementum, quod in fletu profunditur laetitia metiatur!  
Scriptum est enim: *Felix homo, qui agnoscit ululatum  
suum.* Leuemus ergo oculos nostros ad montes, unde  
ueniet auxilium nobis, quia *sicut oculi seruorum in  
conspectu dominorum suorum, et sicut oculi ancillae in  
manus dominae suae: sic sint et oculi nostri ad Dominum  
Deum nostrum, donec misereatur nobis,* Dominus Deus  
45 noster, misericors et miserator, qui nos semper sua pietate  
et gratia uocat ad fidem, reuocat a peccatis ad  
paenitentiam, et per paenitentiam atque lamenta uel  
confessionem ad praemia aeternae beatitudinis perducere  
dignatur.

35

35

*qui...metent* Ps. 125, 5

39–40

*Felix...suum* Verba ignota

41–44

*sicut...nobis* Ps. 122, 2

35

serunt] erunt *K* | heu] et *E*

37

colligant] collegant *K*

38

fletu] flet  
*a.c. sup. l. K*

43

manus] manibus *K* | et] *om. E*

44

Deus] *om. K*

45

misericors] misecors *K*

47

atque] et *K*

49

dignatur] dignatus est *E*  
dignetur *W* per Dominum nostrum *add. K*



XLV. ITEM VNDE SVpra.

1. Beatus Paulus apostolus ad paenitentiae nos remedia  
hortatur, et dicit ne sis, o homo, tibimetipsi peccando  
5 crudelis, quia benignitas Dei ad paenitentiam te adducit: 5  
*Tu autem secundum duritiam tuam et cor inpaenitens,*  
*thesaurizas tibi iram in die irae et reuelationis iusti iudicii*  
*Dei, qui reddit unicuique secundum opera eius.* Volo dicas  
mihi, quae rerum praesentium gloria, qui sint huius  
10 temporis fructus, quae utilitas caducarum diuitiarum, quae 10  
uiuis nobis plerumque subtrahitur. Quid hoc totum quod  
nequaquam potest perfectum priuilegium beatitudinis  
obtinere. Caducum enim est omne huius saeculi bonum,  
fugitiua est huius saeculi gloria, noxia ualde est huius  
15 saeculi delectatio, huius saeculi cupiditas uana est et 15  
mortalis, et ad aeternae mortis incendium pertrahent haec  
omnia confidentes in eis. Illa ergo diligenda sunt bona, illa  
amplectenda gloria, illa semper desideranda, quae nullum  
tempus interruptit, nullus transitus diripit, nulla potest  
20 auferre persona, quae manet statu perpetuo, quae 20  
priuilegio seruatur aeterno.  
2. Fugiamus itaque illecebrosas pomposas huius mundi, et  
ambitiones transeuntis gloriae repudiamus, ut nos  
Iohannes apostolus persuadet dicens: *Nolite diligere*  
25 *mundum, neque ea quae in mundo sunt. Quia quisquis 25*  
*dilexerit mundum, non est caritas Patris in eo. Qui uero*  
*facit uoluntatem Dei, manet in aeternum, sicut et Deus*  
*manet in aeternum.* Lauemus ergo nos baptismo  
paenitentiae, ut possimus Dominum mundo corde uidere;  
30 auferamus nequitias ab animis nostris confitendo et 30  
deflendo peccata nostra. Discamus iustitiam facere,  
inquiramus iudicium, eripiamus quoscumque possimus

E K W

6-8 *Tu...eius* Rom. 2, 5-6 24-28 *Nolite...aeternum* I Ioh. 2, 15-17

6-45 *Tu...praemia* Victor Cartennae, *De poenitentia liber unus*, c.28-30, 32-33, PL 17, cols 1001D-1004B

1 VNDE] VT K 3 Paulus apostolus] tr. E 5 te] add. <sup>sup. l.</sup> K 7  
reuelationis] reualationis K 9 qui] quae EKIV 13 est] om. IV | omne]  
omnis K | saeculi] add. <sup>sup. l.</sup> K 19 nullus] nullo a.c. <sup>sup. l.</sup> E nulla KIV  
20 quae<sup>1</sup>] qua K 22 illecebrosas pomposas] inlecebras pompas KIV |  
mundi] mumdi K 28 Lauemus] lauamus KW 29 corde] cordem E



	iniurias patientes, subueniamus pupillo, defendamus a	
	potentibus et opprimentibus uiduas, et in uinculis uel	
35	carceribus constitutos consolemus, eisque adiutorium	35
	libentissime praebeamus; captiuos si possumus	
	redimamus, et ad libertatem uel ad patriam pristinam eos	
	reuocemus, omniumque pauperum et peregrinorum curam	
	prout possimus habeamus. Delinquentibus in nobis ex	
40	corde indulgentiam praebeamus, et ita agentes ad nos quod	40
	pollicitum est precipere mereamur, quod sunt praemia	
	uitae aeternae.	
	3. Praesens haec uita est in qua, conuersi et confitentes,	
	misericordiam promeremur; futura autem in qua iuxta	
45	opera nostra precipiemus et praemia. Quod nobis diuina et	45
	immensa pietas concedat, ut hic per bona opera, per digna	
	lamenta, per ueram paenitentiam et confessionem, per	
	elemosinarum largitatem cum sanctis et electis Dei ad	
	aeternam gloriam perducamur, ubi cum Domino	
50	aeternaliter gaudeamus.	50

33 subueniamus] subueniemus *KW* 44 misericordiam] Dei *add. in marg.*  
*K* 46 concedat] *add. in marg. K* | ut] et *a.c. sup. l. K* 48 largitatem]  
largitate *K*



## XLVI. ITEM VT SVpra. YSIDORI.

1. Sciendum nobis est, fratres karissimi, quia ex eo  
 unusquisque iustus esse incipit, ex quo suimet accusator  
 extiterit. Bonum est enim ut se unusquisque iudicet in hac  
 uita, ne iudicetur a Deo damnatione perpetua. Tunc  
 namque iudicium de se quisque sumit, quando per dignam  
 paenitentiam sua praua facta condemnat. Duplicem debet  
 habere fletum in paenitentia omnis peccator, siue quia per  
 negligentiam bonum non fecit, seu quia malum per  
 audaciam perpetravit. Quod enim oportuit non gessit, et  
 quod non oportuit fecit. Ille paenitentiam digne agit, qui  
 reatum suum satisfactione legitima plangit, condemnando  
 scilicet ac deflendo quae gessit, tantum plorando  
 profundius, quanto in peccando procliuius. Ille  
 paenitentiam digne agit, qui sic praeterita mala deplorat ut  
 futura iterum non committat. Nam qui plangit peccatum et  
 iterum admittit peccatum, quasi quis laterem crudum  
 lauans, quem quanto magis eluerit, tanto amplius lutum  
 facit.

2. Quamuis quisque sit peccator et impius, si ad  
 paenitentiam conuertatur, consequi posse ueniam creditur.  
 In hac uita quandocumque sit paenitentiae patet libertas;  
 post mortem uero nulla est correctionis licentia. In hoc  
 saeculo paenitentiam operantibus Dei misericordia  
 subuenit; in futuro autem nil operamus, sed rationem  
 operum nostrorum reddamus. A malo autem in deterius  
 uadit, qui tempus sibi ad paenitentiam indultum ad  
 libertatem prauis operis utitur. Festinare debet paenitendo  
 ad Deum dum potest, ne si dum potest noluerit, cum tarde  
 uoluerit omnino non possit. Proinde propheta ait: *Quaerite  
 Dominum, dum inueniri potest, inuocate eum, dum prope  
 est*. Vbi enim inueniri potest nisi in hac uita, in qua etiam  
 prope est omnibus inuocantibus se in ueritate? Qui enim

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*E K M W*

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31–33 *Quaerite...est* ls. 55, 6

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3–34 *ex...se* Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, ed. P. Cazier, CCSL 111,  
 II.13.1–13, pp.120–122

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5 hac] ac *a.c.* *K* 6 ne] nec *K* 8 Duplicem] duplum *K* 12 agit] ait *W*  
 15 profundius] profundus *W* 17 non] *add. sup. l.* *K* 18 crudum] crudam  
*K* 24 uero] *om.* *E* | licentia] licentiae *K* 26 nil] nihil *E* 28 indultum]  
 indultam *K* 32 inueniri] inuenire *E*



35      hic Deum per assiduitatem boni operis quaerit, confitendo      35  
et paenitendo peccata sua, elemosinisque redimendo, et  
hic indulgentiam et in futuro uitam aeternam inuenit.  
Quod nobis praestare dignetur Deus omnipotens regnans  
et uiuens per omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.

---

36 et paenitendo] *om. E*    37 hic] *om. E*    39 Amen] *om. K*



XLVII. ITEM VT SVPRA. ALBINI.

1. Quia multae sunt contra homines diabolicae fraudis  
insidiae in desiderio carnali et in ceteris humanae  
5 fragilitatis uitiis, sed nihil, Deo protegente, proficit 5  
diabolus in sua malitia, si puram uolunt homines facere  
confessionem et fructus dignos paenitentiae agere, ita  
tamen ut uulneribus peccatorum alia peccando non  
adiciant uulnera, et quae iam sanata sunt per confessionem  
10 iterum non resauciantur per peccatum. Salutare siquidem 10  
paenitentiae remedium est, paenitenda iterum non  
perficere. Scriptum est enim: *Paenitentibus dedit Deus  
partem iustitiae*. Frustra tamen, o homo, intra parietes  
cordis tui tua aestimas crimina abscondi. Patet enim Deo  
15 omne quod absconditum putas: etsi hominis oculos in 15  
peccatis effugere ualeas, nullatenus tamen Dei aspectum  
latere poterit quicquid gesseris in occulto. Pande per  
confessionem peccata, ut non superueniet in te iusti iudicis  
uindicta. Crede mihi, totum ueniale erit, quod peccasti, si  
20 confiteri non erubescis et per paenitentiam te purgare 20  
curaberis, dicente psalmista: *Dixi aduersum me iniustitias  
meas Domino, et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei*.  
2. Nam misericors Dominus, qui uult omnes homines  
saluos fieri et neminem perire, patienter expectat quando  
25 offeramus ei sacrificium confessionis nostrae, ut nobis 25  
delectabile munus tribuat indulgentiae, ipso per prophetam  
dicente: *In quacumque enim die conuersus fuerit peccator,  
uita uiuet et non morietur*. Et iterum: *Nolo mortem  
peccatoris, sed magis ut conuertatur et uiuat*. O quam  
30 benignus et pius iudex cum homini iudicanti se per 30  
confessionem et paenitentiam non solum indulgentiam,  
sed etiam pro luctu temporali aeternitatis gaudium tribuet!

E K IV

7 fructus...paenitentiae Luc. 3, 8 12-13 Paenitentibus...iustitiae Eccli.  
17, 20 21-22 Dixi...mei Ps. 31, 5 23-24 qui...fieri I Tim. 2, 4  
27-28 In...morietur Ez. 33, 12-15 28-29 Nolo...uiuat Ez. 33, 11

3-35 Quia...uos Alcuinus, *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH: Epp. IV*,  
epistola 131, pp.194-195; M.S. Driscoll, *'Ad pueros sancti Martini'*, c.2,  
pp.48-52

1 VT] VNDE EK 4 in<sup>2</sup>] om. K 9 adiciant] adicient K 14 tua  
aestimas] tu aestimas ut uid. K 16 effugere] effugire KIV 20 confiteri]  
confitere E | erubescis] erubesces KIV 21 aduersum] aduersus K 26  
per] pro a.c. E 27 dicente] dicentem K 28 uita uiuet] tr. E



ut ipse ait in euangelio: *Beati qui lugent nunc, quoniam ipsi consolabuntur.* Et alio loco: *Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam uos. Tollite iugum meum super uos, id est, subiugate corda et corpora uestra ad perficienda mandata mea, et discite a me humilitatem et paenitemini peccata uestra, et dicite coram Deo, coram sacerdote, facinora uestra, et inuenietis requiem animabus uestris, in saecula saeculorum. Amen.*

33–34 *Beati...consolabuntur* Matth. 5, 5    34–40 *Venite...uestris* Matth. 11, 28

33 euangelio] euuangelio *W*    35 onerati] honorati *K* | estis] esti *E*    37 uestra] nostra *a.c. sup. l. K*    38 dicite] Deo *add. K*    39 Deo] sacerdote *K* | coram sacerdote] *om. K*



## XLVIII. ITEM VNDE SVPRA.

1. Quamuis enim nos diuina pietas ad paenitentiam et  
 5 confessionem iugiter hortatur, fratres karissimi, non tamen  
 ignota sunt Deo peccata nostra qui ea priusquam gesta 5  
 essent sciebat, sed per ineffabilem clementiam suam  
 quaerit a nobis uulneris apertione per confessionem, ut  
 ipse nobis tribuet indulgentiae medicinam. Tunc enim  
 poteris, o homo, perfectum consequi beneficium  
 10 medicinae, si non celas medico tua uulnera conscientiae. 10  
 Confessio enim tua medicina est uulnerum tuorum, et  
 salutis tuae certissimum subsidium. Homo aegrotus a  
 medico quaerit medicinam, qui saepe incerto labore  
 desudat in aegroto. Deus uero sine labore sanat, sine  
 15 tarditate medicamentum ueniae praestat, si deuota lacrimis 15  
 scripta in auribus pietatis suae legatur paenitentia. Ipse  
 enim solus nouit operis sui fragilitatem qui hoc tantum  
 expectat, ut fatearis; quia mora non erit, ut saneris. Qui per  
 prophetam Ezechielem ait: *Cum conuersus fueris et*  
 20 *ingemueris, tunc saluaberis.* 20  
 2. Datur nobis a benignissimo iudice locus accusandi  
 nosmetipsos in peccatis nostris coram sacerdote, ne iterum  
 ualeat nos accusare diabolus coram eo in futuro iudicio.  
 Vult nobis ignosci in hoc saeculo, ne puniat nos in futuro.  
 25 Pius igitur pater, dum uidit per paenitentiam a 25  
 nobismetipsis peccata nostra damnari, gaudet misereri, et  
 proprium exercere munus misericordiae optat in  
 paenitentes, sicut enim ait per prophetam Isaiam: *Ego sum,*  
*qui deleo iniquitates tuas, si tu ne tardaueris conuerti.*  
 30 Quia qualem te ultimus dies uitae inuenerit, talis 30  
 iudicaturus eris. Nec te uoluit Deus illum praescire diem,  
 sed cum eum haberes incertum, semper paratus esses.

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*E K IV*

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19–20 *Cum...saluaberis* Ez. 33, 12 28–29 *Ego...conuerti* Is. 43, 25

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4–38 *hortatur...Dei* Alcuinus, *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH: Epp. IV*,  
 epistola 131, pp.195-196; M.S. Driscoll, *'Ad pueros sancti Martini'*, c.3-4,  
 pp.52-54

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1 VNDE] VT K | SVPRA] ALBINI add. *EK* 5 sunt Deo] *tr. E* 6 per]  
*add. sup. l. IV* 7 apertione] apertionem K 8 tribuet] et *add. sed eras. K*  
 15 praestat] praestet *ut uid. IV* | deuota] deuotae E deuote KIV 16  
 legatur] ligatur E legatu *a.c. sup. l. IV* 18 saneris] sanieris K 23 futuro]  
*add. sup. l. K* 25 uidit] uult E 28 paenitentes] paennitentes K | sicut] sic  
 K 29 tu] autem *add. E* 31 iudicaturus] iudicandus E

35

Ideoque qualem in conspectu omnium gentium optes ante  
iudicem stare talem te, dum habeas tempus operandi,  
indubitanter praepara. Esto tibimetipsi negotiator fidelis,  
eme tibi regnum Dei paenitentiae lucris, memorare  
Dominum dicentem: *Paenitentiam agite, appropinquavit  
enim uobis regnum Dei*, ubi aeterna iocunditate laetamini  
cum omnibus sanctis, in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

35

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37–38 *Paenitentiam...Dei* Matth. 3, 2

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35 praepara] praeparari *K*    37 appropinquavit] adpropinquabit *K*



## XLVIII. ITEM VT SVpra. ALBINI.

1. Sollicite igitur, o homo, perpende quia pro te Deus  
 homo factus est, ut te redimeret. Ideo semetipsum Dei  
 5 filius tradidit ad mortem, ut te saluaret in uitam. Quid tu 5  
 iaces in morte scelerum? Surge per paenitentiam et dic:  
*Pater peccaui in caelum et coram te.* Adhibe tibi tuae  
 paenitentiae testem fidelem ipsum Dominum et Domini  
 sacerdotem. Munda uis habere uestimenta: quare non  
 10 multo magis quaeris mundam habere animam tuam? 10  
 Sordidus procedere non uis in conspectu hominum: quare  
 non multo magis times sordidum te peccatis incedere  
 coram Deo? Ideo laua te lacrimarum fonte, ne quid in te  
 offendat oculiis maiestatis eius. Quis igitur cadens non  
 15 festinat resurgere? Quis ita infirmatur, ut non desideret 15  
 recuperare? Quis periculis inuolutus non optat euadere?  
 Paenitebit te pro certo post mortem tarditas ista, si nunc  
 non cogitaueris antea salutem animae tuae.
2. Exsurge fili, exsurge placare patrem paenitentia quem  
 20 offendisti fortiter in culpa. Confitere malum quod fecisti, 20  
 ut merearis a medico sanari piissimo. Esto in tua ipsius  
 sollicitus salute. Nam si tu ipse tui curam non habes, quis  
 tibi prodesse poterit ad salutem? Vel quis tibi fidelis erit,  
 si tu ipse tibi infidelis extiteris? Magna enim infidelitas est  
 25 de propria te non curare salute; morite in peccatis, et non 25  
 resuscitare per paenitentiam lacrimantis. Quanto enim  
 longius recessisti a Deo pro magnitudine scelerum, tanto  
 amplius adpropinquare ei festina assiduitate bonorum  
 operum. Clemens pater paratus est te suscipere, si tu ipse  
 30 non moraris reuerti. Reuertere in uiam de qua oberrasti. 30  
 Ieiuniis corpus affice, et pulchritudinem animae tuae  
 renouare contende. Vilis sit tibi tui corporis cultus, quia

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*E K IV*

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7 *Pater...te* Luc. 15, 18; 21

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3-41 *pro...caelorum* Alcuinus, *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH: Epp.*  
*IV*, epistola 131, pp.196-197; M.S. Driscoll, '*Ad pueros sancti Martini*',  
 c.5-6, pp.54-58

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1 ITEM] *om.* K | VT] VNDE E | ALBINI] *om.* K 9 Munda] mundum E  
 | uestimenta] uestimentum E 10 mundam] munda E 14 oculiis] oculos  
 K 18 cogitaueris] cogitaberis EK 24 infidelitas] infidelistas K 27  
 longius] logius *a.c. sup. l.* K | magnitudine scelerum] magnitudines celerum  
 K 30 reuerti] reuertere K reuerte IV | qua] quo K 31 affice] afficite IV

	hoc est praecipuae sanctitatis ornatus. Vigiliarum	
	assiduitas in oratione et laude Dei angelicae aestimatio	
35	uitae. Parcus cibus pastus est animae. Si habeas unde	35
	pauperibus manum porrige, quia manus pauperis	
	gazophylacium Christi est. Visita infirmos, merentes	
	consolare, peregrinos recipe, fame uel siti laborantibus ut	
	potes refice, quia talium executione operum, et his	
40	similium, et remissio peccatorum, et possessio promeretur	40
	regni caelorum, per Deum et Dominum nostrum Ihesum	
	Christum, qui cum Patre simul et Spiritu sancto uiuit et	
	regnat Deus, in saecula saeculorum. Amen.	

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37 Christi est] *tr. K* | Visita] uisitare *IV* 39 potes] poteris *KIV*



L. DE CONFESSIONE. ALBINI.

5	1. Hortatur uos, fratres karissimi, saepius sancta scriptura ad medicamenta confugere confessionis: non quod Deus indigeat confessionis nostrae, cui omnia praesto sunt quae cogitamus, loquimur, aut agimus; sed nos aliter salui fieri non possumus, nisi confiteamur paenitentes quod inique gessimus neglegentes. Qui seipsum accusat in peccatis suis, hunc diabolus non habet iterum accusare in die iudicii: si tamen confitens paenitendo diluit quae fecit, nec iterum renouat quae egit. <i>Confitemini</i> , dicit Iacobus apostolus, <i>alterutrum peccata uestra, et orate pro inuicem, ut saluemini</i> . Item beatus Paulus apostolus: <i>Ore autem confessio fit ad salutem</i> . Sed et Salomon de confessione peccatorum dixit: <i>Qui abscondit scelera sua, non dirigetur: qui autem confessus fuerit, et reliquerit ea, misericordiam consequetur</i> .	5
10		10
15		15
20	2. Magnum est salutis medicamentum non iterare quae impie gessimus, nec priorum cicatrices uulnorum resauciare. Sic autem dicit Iohannes euangelista: <i>Si confiteamur peccata nostra, fidelis est Deus et iustus, ut remittat nobis peccata, et mundet nos ab omni iniquitate</i> . Similiter et psalmista ait: <i>Dixi: Confitebor aduersum me in iniustitiam meam Domino: et tu remisisti impietatem peccati mei</i> . Viuens confiteatur peccator quae fecit, quia non est fructuosa confessio apud inferos, nec paenitentia	20
25		25

EFHKW

11–13 *Confitemini...saluemini* Iac. 5, 16 13–14 *Ore...salutem* Rom. 10, 10 15–17 *Qui...consequetur* Prou. 28, 13 20–22 *Si...iniquitate* I Ioh. 1, 9 23–25 *Dixi...mei* Ps. 31, 5

3–50 Hortatur...paenitentia Alcuinus, *De virtutibus et vitiis liber ad Widonem comitem*, c.XII, PL 101, cols 621B-622B

1 DE...ALBINI] OMELIA COTIDIANA DE CONFESSIONE F SERMO SANCTI AVGVSTINI DE CONFESSIONE H 4 confugere] fugere EHKF 5 confessionis] confessioni KW a.c. sup. l. F | confessionis nostrae] confessione nostra H 6 cogitamus] cogitemus a.c. sup. l. H | agimus] agamus FKW 7 paenitentes] paenites a.c. sup. l. K om. H 8 neglegentes] negentes a.c. sup. l. H 9 diabolus] dabolus a.c. sup. l. H | iterum accusare] ir. K 10 confitens] eras. ut uid. E | paenitendo] confitendo F 11 egit] agit FK 16 reliquerit] reliquit a.c. sup. l. K 18 salutis] medica add. K 19 nec] pro add. F 20 Sic] si a.c. sup. l. W | euangelista] euuangelista HIW | Si] add. sup. l. E om. FKW 22 mundet] mundat W 23 aduersum] aduerium a.c. E aduersus FHK 25 quia] quae F

ad salutem proficiens. *Ecce nunc tempus salutis, ecce nunc  
tempus acceptabile Deo.* Tempus est nunc remissionis  
30 paenitentibus, sed tempus erit post mortem uindictae 30  
neglegentibus confiteri scelera sua. Omnes enim impii  
amaram habent in tormentis paenitentiam, sed non proficit  
eis paenitentia ad remissionem, sed conscientia torquet eos  
ad augmentum poenarum quas patiuntur. Potuerunt sibi  
35 per confessionem praecauere tormentorum immanitatem, 35  
et neglexerunt. Ita sicut foras flammis, ita intus conscientia  
propria torquentur.

3. Quomodo potest medicus uulnus sanare, quod aegrotus  
ostendere erubescit? Deus enim confessionem nostram  
desiderat, ut iustam habeat causam ignoscendi. Qui  
40 peccata sua occultat et erubescit salubriter confiteri, Deum 40  
quem testem habet, iterum habebit eum ultorem. Optime  
se iudicat homo in hac uita, ne iudicetur a Deo damnatione  
perpetua. Duplicem habere debet fletum in paenitentia  
omnis peccator, siue quia per neglegentiam bonum non  
45 facit, seu quia malum per audaciam perpetravit. Quod 45  
enim oportuit, non gessit, et quod non oportuit, egit.  
Confessio iustificat, confessio ueniam peccatis donat.  
Omnis spes ueniae in confessione consistit. Confessio  
opus est misericordiae: salus aegroti unicum est uiribus  
50 nostris medicamentum cum paenitentia, per quam ad 50  
remissionem peccatorum quisque fidelis peruenit,  
auxiliante Deo, cui est honor et gloria, potestas et  
imperium, et aeterna maiestas, in saecula saeculorum.  
Amen.

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27-28 *Ecce...Deo* II Cor. 6, 2

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31 amaram] amara *F* | habent] *om. H sed habebunt add. sup. paenitentiam*  
33 quas] quae *FHKIV* 35 foras] foris *HK* | flammis] flamis *H* | ita] *eras.*  
*H* | conscientia] conscientie *a.c. sup. l. F* 36 propria] *om. H* | torquentur]  
torquetur *H* 37 potest medicus] *tr. E* 39 iustam] *om. H* 40 erubescit]  
escit *a.c. sup. l. H* 43 Duplicem] suplicem *K* 44 bonum] *add. sup. l. K* 45  
facit] fecit *H* 47 iustificat] iusticat *a.c. sup. l. H*



## LI. DE PAENITENTIA. ALBINI.

5	1. Dominus et saluator noster ad paenitentiam nos hortatur dicens: <i>Paenitentiam agite, adpropinquabit enim regnum caelorum.</i> Et Iohannes Baptista: <i>Facite fructus dignos paenitentiae.</i> Fructus dignus est paenitentiae, transacta flere peccata, et eadem iterum non agere, sicut scriptura ait: <i>Ne adicias iterum super peccatum. Lauamini,</i> dicit Dominus per Isaiam prophetam, et <i>mundi estote.</i> Lauatur itaque et mundus est, qui et praeterita plangit, et iterum flenda non admittit. Lauatur et non est mundus, qui plangit quod gessit, nec deserit; et post lacrimas haec quae fleuerat, repetit. De his qui post lacrimas ad delicta reuertuntur priora, beatus Petrus terribiliter ait: <i>Canis reuertitur ad uomitum suum. Fili, peccasti,</i> dicitur in scriptura sancta, <i>ne adicias iterum, sed de pristinis deprecare, ut remittantur tibi.</i>	5
10	2. Paenitentia uera non annorum numero censetur, sed amaritudine animi. Vnde et beatus Petrus mox a Domino indulgentiam recipit, quia amarissime fleuit trinae negationis culpam. Paenitentia, quamuis sit exigui temporis, si intima cordis amaritudine agitur, non despicitur apud iudicem iustum Deum, qui cordis secreta considerat. Non enim longitudinem temporis tantum requirit Deus, quantum affectum sinceritatis paenitentis pensat. Qui enim in Christum tota mente confidit, etiamsi multis moriatur peccatis, fide sua uiuit in aeternum, sicut ipse Dominus dicit in euangelio: <i>Ego sum resurrectio: qui credit in me, etiamsi mortuus fuerit, uiuet: et omnis qui uiuit et credit in me, non morietur in aeternum.</i> De morte	10
15		15
20		20
25		25
30		30

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*E F K W*

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4-5 *Paenitentiam...caelorum* Matth. 3, 2    5-6 *Facite...paenitentiae*<sup>1</sup>  
 Luc. 3, 8    8 *Ne...peccatum* Eccli. 5, 5    8-9 *Lauamini...estote* Is. 1, 16  
 14-15 *Canis...suum* II Petr. 2, 22    15-17 *Fili...tibi* Eccli. 21, 1  
 28-30 *Ego...aeternum* Ioh. 11, 25-6

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4-44 *Paenitentiam...licentia* Alcuinus, *De virtutibus et vitiis liber ad  
 Widonem comitem*, c.XIII, PL 101, cols 622B-623A

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1 DE...ALBINI] OMELIA COTIDIANA DE PAENITENTIA F |  
 PAENITENTIA] PENITENTIA W 4 enim] om. KIV add. sup. l. E 5  
 Facite] quid add. sup. l. E 11 admittit] amittit KIV a.c. sup. l. E | mundus]  
 add. sup. l. K 25 paenitentis] poenitenti a.c. sup. l. K 26 pensat] pensatur  
 KIV 28 dicit...euangelio] tr. K 29 uiuet] uiuit EK

animae dixit, quae propter peccatorum aegritudinem  
eueniet illi. Deus in natura misericors est, paratus est  
saluare per misericordiam, quos non inueniet saluare per  
iustitiam, *qui uult omnes homines saluos fieri, et neminem*  
35 *perire*; qui per prophetam ait: *In quacumque die conuersus* 35  
 *fuerit peccator, uita uiuet, et non morietur.*  
3. Quamuis quisque sit peccator et impius, si ad  
paenitentiam conuertatur, consequi posse ueniam se per  
Dei misericordiam non dubitet. In hoc saeculo  
40 paenitentiam facientibus Dei misericordia subuenit. In 40  
futuro autem paenitentia non proficit, sed rationem  
nostrorum operum reddituri sumus. In hac uita tantum  
paenitentiae patet libertas; post mortem uero nulla  
correctionis est licentia. Proinde necesse est nos in hac uita  
45 bene cum confessione et paenitentia, atque elemosinarum 45  
largitate redimere, ut et hic ueniam delictorum, et in futuro  
uitam cum sanctis Dei mereamur aeternam percipere.

34–35 *qui...perire* I Tim. 2, 4 35–36 *In...morietur* Ez. 18, 21

31 aegritudinem] egritudine *K* 36 morietur] moritur *IV* 38 se per]  
semper *KIV* 43 paenitentiae] paenitentia *EK* | libertas] libertatis *EK* 46  
redimere] redemere *KIV* 47 mereamur] meratur *K*



LII. QVALITER NOS DEVS AD PAENITENTIAM  
VOCAT. ALBINI.

5	1. Monet nos ubique diuina scriptura, fratres, non degeneres esse animo qui Dei filii sumus in baptismo consecrati, sed tamen excellens nobilitas, non nisi magna dignitate morum, conseruari poterit. Caelestis pater, immo omnium Dominus, peccatis subditos non dignatur habere filios. Quapropter homo, excute de collo tuo iugum captiuitatis diabolicae. Recurre ad pietatem dilectionis paternae. Reuertere ad Deum paenitendo fili, reuertere lacrimando, reuertere confitendo peccata tua, et ex mortuo reuiuisce, et ex perduto reparare. Animaduerte dominicae pietatis sententiam dicentis: <i>Non enim ueni uocare iustos, sed peccatores ad paenitentiam.</i> Vocat ergo Dominus ad paenitentiam peccatores, quos optat magis saluare quam condemnare, et plus cum suis sanctis gaudere, quam cum diabolo in aeternum punire. Vocat nos per seipsum, uocat per scripturas sanctas, uocat etiam per praedicatores catholicos, uocat ut reuertamur ad eum, quia ipse est paratus nos accipere, si nos non erimus pigri ad eius clementiam festinare.	5
10		10
15		15
20		20
25	2. Idcirco, karissimi filii, currite per paenitentiam lacrimosam, currite per confessionem dignam ad uocantem nos piissimum iudicem. Transeunt enim dies istius uitae, et uelut fumus euanescit huius mundi gloria, et incerta est unicuique nouissima hora, qua reuertatur puluis in puluerem, et spiritus redeat ad Dominum qui dedit illum, ut iudicetur unicuique secundum opera sua.	25
30	Auditura erit tunc anima quicquid hic carne copulata	30

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*E K W*

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14-15 *Non...paenitentiam* Luc. 5, 32    27-29 *qua...illum* Eccle. 12, 7  
29 *unicuique...sua* cfr Matth. 16, 27

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5-44 *degeneres...gloriam* Alcuinus, *Epistolae*, ed. E. Dümmler, *MGH: Epp. IV*, epistola 131, pp.197-1988; M.S. Driscoll, 'Ad pueros sancti Martini', c.7-8, pp.58-60

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1 PAENITENTIAM] PENITENTIAM *W*    2 ALBINI] SERMO *add. E*  
5 animo] animi *K*    7 conseruari] conseruare *K*    8 non] de *add. sup. l. K*    9  
tuo] *add. sup. l. K*    11 fili] *om. E*    13 reuiuisce] reuiuesce *W a.c. K*    14  
enim] *om. K* | ueni uocare] *tr. E*    17 suis sanctis] *tr. E*    27 qua] quia *K*  
28 Dominum] Deum *E*    29 iudicetur] iudicet *K* | unicuique] unusquisque  
*E*    30 carne] carni *E*

	fecerat in occulto, si non hic dum licet confitetur in saeculo. Stabit accusator malignus contra nos, qui quondam peccare suggestit, si nos neglexerimus praeuenire faciem iudicis in confessione. Quaecumque	
35	enim humiliter confitemur, nihil horum habet diabolus potestatem obicere nobis in illo tremendo iudicio Dei.	35
	3. Agite nunc diuites et pauperes, senes et iuuenes, liberate uosmetipsos de diabolica seruitute. Currite per paenitentiam ad clementissimi iudicis sinum. Nolite per	
40	desideria carnis uestrae uobis gaudia caelestia perdere et inter angelicos coetus aeterni regni beatitudinem, et	40
	confortate uosmetipsos, et pugnate uiriliter cum aduersario uestro, ut feliciter mereamini coronari cum sanctis Dei et perpetuam cum illis possidere gloriam, in saecula	
45	saeculorum. Amen.	45

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31 fecerat] *add. in marg. K* | confitetur] confiteatur *E* 34 in] *add. sup. l. K*  
| confessione] confessionem *K* 37 Agite] agete *a.c. K a.c. sup. l. W* 40  
uobis gaudia] *tr. K* 41 coetus] cetus *a.c. sup. l. K* | et] sed *K*



## LXII. ITEM DE PASSIONE. LEO.

1. Omnes enim antiqui patres et fideles in Deo ab initio mundi expectauerit simulque rogauerit et optauerit uenturum, quod in fine mundi pro redemptione humani generis natus, passus, et mortuus est Christus. Nulli enim umquam sancto nisi in passione Domini salus aut iustificatio fuit, quae sicut expectabatur multis sanctorum patrum, et prophetarum oraculis signisque promissa, ita est etiam ipso munere redemptionis humanae et opere praesentata, cum omne humanum genus ad libertatem pristinam, et ad immortalitatem aeternam se gaudet esse reductum.
2. Vnde nunc, dilectissimi, in toto ordine Domini esse passionis, non ita solam infirmitatem consideremus humanam, ut arbitremur illic potentiam defuisse diuinam; neque illam coaequalem et coaeternam Patri formam unigeniti ita cogitemus, ut putemus non fuisse uera quae Domino tolerare uidentur indigna. Plane in utraque natura uerus est Christus: nec diuinitas in passione ab homine diuisa, nec humanitas a diuinitate disiuncta, sed diuinitas humanam confortauit in passione naturam, et humanitas uere ultra modum naturae praeualuit in passione. Quia humanitas a diabolo seducta, perdidit uitam, perdidit libertatem, perdidit immortalitatem, quam per nullius umquam alterius iusti uel sancti hominis meritum potuit iterum adipisci, nisi per diuinitatis Christi gratiam, et per humanitatis eius passionem. Qui etiam hora discessionis tantae potentiae erat in humanitate, ut non solum quando uoluit, sed etiam cum clamore ualido animam deposuit, ut dicit euangelista: *Ihesus autem clamans uoce magna emisit spiritum*, et iterum die tertia per potentiam

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*E K W*

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31–32 *Ihesus...spiritum* Matth. 27, 50

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3–21 *Omnes...disiuncta* Leo Magnus, *Tractatus septem et nonaginta*, ed. A. Chavasse, CCSL 138A, tract. 52.1-2, ll.23-36, p.308

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1 ITEM...LEO] ITEM VNDE SVpra. SERMO LEONIS *E* 3 enim] *om.* *E* 4 rogauerit] regnauerit *K* 9 oraculis] oculis *a.c. sub. l. E* 10 ipso] ipse *W* | humanae] humane *K* 12 aeternam] aeterna *K* 14 Domini] domi *a.c. sup. l. K* 16 illic] *om. K* 18 fuisse] se *add. K* 19 in] *om. K* *add. sup. l. E* 21 sed] et *E* 23 naturae] natura *K* 24 a] *add. sup. l. K* 27 diuinitatis] diuitatis *K* 31 autem] *add. sup. l. K*

diuinitatis reuixit. Quod nemo ante eum fecerat, nec  
 facturus erit, quia nemo alium resuscitare potest in  
 35 corpore, nisi hoc etiam diuina potentia operetur. Et ideo 35  
 ipse in se impleuit, quod ante praedixit. *Potestatem habeo,*  
*inquit, ponendi animam meam, et iterum resumendi eam.*  
 3. Quae tamen depositio Christi animae non otiosa erat,  
 sed magnam humano generi est operata salutem. Quia  
 40 anima eius comitante diuinitate et cooperante descendit ad 40  
 inferos sola sine peccato, et omnes exinde fidelium animas  
 quae ibi pro debito peccati tenebantur, eripuit, et ad  
 caelestia secum regna resurgendo prouexit. Et non solus  
 ipse Christus resurrexit, sed multa simul cum eo  
 45 sanctorum corpora resurgebant, et cum magna triumphi 45  
 gloria, cum magna sanctorum multitudine gloriosissime  
 resurrexit. Omnibus tamen fidelibus hic peccata sua  
 paenitentibus et confitentibus et elemosinas facientibus, in  
 caeterisque bonis operibus permanentibus, et aeternam  
 50 mortem euadendi, et ad aeterna gaudia resurgendi tribuit 50  
 potestatem. Qua nos resurrectione hic filius Dei sua pietate  
 resuscitet, ut ad ultimam omnium resurrectionem cum  
 sanctis Dei ad aeternam beatitudinem et gloriam  
 resurgamus, per misericordem Deum et saluatorem  
 55 nostrum, regnantem et dominantem per omnia saecula 55  
 saeculorum. Amen.

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36–37 *Potestatem...eam* loh. 10, 18

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33 diuinitatis] diuinita *a.c. sup. l. K* 34 erit] erat *E* 35 operetur] reparetur  
*E* 37 resumendi] adsumendi *K* 43 Et] quia *add. KIV quia E* 44  
 resurrexit] surrexit *re-eras. ut uid. K* 52 ultimam] ultimum *EK*



## LXXII. ITEM VNDE SVpra. AVGVSTINI.

1. Meminit nobiscum sanctitas uestra, fratres karissimi,  
 beatum dixisse Paulum apostolum: *Quia pascha nostrum*  
 5 *immolatus est Christus*, acsi diceret: pro eo quod nobis ad 5  
 regnum caelorum transitum praepararet ad mortem se  
 tradidit Christus, quia pascha transitus interpretatur. Ipse  
 enim sicut pro nobis est immolatus, ita pro nobis est  
 suscitatus. Nam sicut mortuus est propter iniquitatem  
 10 nostram, sic etiam resurrexit propter iustificationem 10  
 nostram. Moriens Christus reddidit debitum sub quo  
 miseri iacebamus, resurgens ostendit promissum in quo  
 beatae uiuamus.
2. Sed oportet, fratres, ut apostolici sermonis iugiter  
 15 recordemur, quod alibi ait: *Quia quicumque baptizati* 15  
*sumus in Christo Ihesu, in morte ipsius baptizati sumus.*  
 Consepulti enim sumus cum illo per baptismum in morte,  
 quia sicut ille triduo iacuit in sepulchro, ita et nos tribus  
 uicibus mergimur in baptismo, et morimur et sepelimur  
 20 peccato. Et quomodo tertia die resurrexit Christus a 20  
 mortuis per gloriam Patris, ita et nos tertio eleuati de fonte  
 in nouam et immaculatam resurgimus uitam, et ad  
 aeternam simul cum Christo gloriam resurgamus, si  
 praeceptis eius fideliter obtemperare uolumus. Ideo ergo  
 25 mortificet in se desideria carnis, quisquis morti Christi 25  
 desideret esse consimilis. Christus enim aduentu suo  
 figuram, quam de eo uetus lex monstrauit, amouit, quando  
 pro nostra redemptione et salute morti succubuit.
3. In Christo enim uerum pascha celebramus, per quem ad  
 30 aeternam uitam de morte transimus. Nam sicut postes 30  
 filiorum Israel agni sanguine delibutos uastator angelus  
 cernens transibat, ita etiam frontes nostras signo suae

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*E H K W*

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4-5 *Quia...Christus* I Cor. 5, 7    9-11 *Nam...nostram* Rom. 4, 25  
 15-16 *Quia...sumus*<sup>2</sup> Rom. 6, 3    30-32 *Nam...transibat* Ex. 12, 7

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1 ITEM...AVGVSTINI] SERMO DE EODEM DIE H | VNDE] VT EK |  
 AVGVSTINI] om. K    3 Meminit] memminit H    8 est<sup>1</sup>] om. E    15-16  
 baptizati sumus] baptizamus a.c. <sup>sup. l.</sup> H    16 Ihesu] om. H | in<sup>2</sup>...sumus<sup>2</sup>]  
 tr. H    17 morte] mortem EK    19 baptismo] baptismum EKW    20-21  
 Christus...mortuis] tr. E    23 resurgamus] resurgimus EH    25 mortificet]  
 mortficet K    26 desideret] desiderat H    27 uetus] uentus a.c. H |  
 monstrauit] monstraerat H    28 salute] saluti K | morti] morte a.c. H  
 30 transimus] transmisimus W    32 transibat] transiuit HK | suae] suo K

passionis praemunitas diabolus cernens pertransit, et non  
 nobis nocere audebit si etiam cordis cubilia Dei uoluntatis  
 35 praesidio creuerit praemunita. Christus nos de egyptiaca 35  
 afflictione eripuit, quos de potestate tenebrarum sua gratia  
 liberauit. Nam sicut antiquitus pharaonem et aegyptios  
 simul in mari rubro dimersit, ita in nobis per baptismum  
 operatur, ita ut nullum reatum in nobis praeteritae  
 40 iniquitatis permanere dimittat. Nos ad terram 40  
 repromissionis uerum Ihesum Christum sequimur, sicut  
 filii Israel Iosue, qui propter aeternam uitam recta fide  
 Christum colimus saluatorem, et in eo ueri Dei uerique  
 hominis in una persona cognoscamus et credamus ueram  
 45 substantiam. Christus enim pro nobis est passus, nobis 45  
 relinquens exemplum, ut sequamur uestigia eius, nobisque  
 oportet ut, exemplum quod nobis Christus ostendit, uera  
 caritate secuturis fratribus praebeamus, ut nos et illi simul  
 et in aeternum cum Christo uiuere ualeamus, ipso largiente  
 50 qui cum genitore piissimo et ueracissimo una cum Spiritu 50  
 sancto regnat et dominatur, per omnia saecula saeculorum.  
 Amen.

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*E K W*

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37-38 *Nam...dimmersit* Ex. 15, 4-21; Ps. 135, 15; I Mach. 4, 9  
 45-46 *Christus...eius* I Petr. 2, 21

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33 praemunitas] praemunitos *EK* | pertransit] transit *H* 34 cordis] nostri  
*add. HK* 35 creuerit] cernerit *EKIV* cruerit *a.c. sup. l. H* | de] *add. sup. l. K*  
 37 sicut] siquid *a.c. sup. l. H* | et] *om. H* | aegyptios] -que *add. H* 38  
 mari] mare *KIV* | in<sup>2</sup>] *om. K* 39 ut] et *H* 40 dimittat] dimittit *EHK* 41  
 Christum] *om. HK* 44 cognoscamus] cognoscimus *H* | credamus]  
 credimus *H* 48 secuturis] securis *W* 49 et] *om. K* 50 genitore]  
 genitori *K* 51 regnat] Deus *add. H* 52 Amen] *om. K*



LXXVIII. ITEM ALIA VNDE SVpra.

1. Duas esse mortes et duas similiter resurrectiones nosse debemus, fratres karissimi. Prima itaque resurrectio est  
5 qua hominis anima a sua iniquitate mundatur; secunda qua  
corpus a suo cinere suscitatur. In prima resurrectione  
impius iustificatur, ut ab omni sua impietate mutetur; in  
10 secunda uero resurrectione omnis iustus et impius pro suis  
operibus iudicatur. In hac prima resurrectione qua per Dei  
gratiam homo in animo suscitatur, ut a malo ad bonum  
mutetur, ut hic bonis operibus et confessione pura ad  
aeternam gloriam promereatur. In secunda uero  
15 resurrectione, ad hoc quisque iustus resurgit in carne, ut  
cum anima simul et corpore laetetur in aeterna patria. Ad  
hoc quisque resurgit iniustus, ut per mala quae gessit et  
paenitere noluit neque confiteri cum anima simul et  
corpore aeterna poena damnetur.  
2. Omnis igitur homo qui uixit in carne, resurget in carne,  
20 quod ipse Dominus non solum uerbis euangelicis, sed  
etiam sanctissimis demonstraui exemplis. Dixit quoque  
quia ueniet hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt  
audient uocem filii Dei et procedent: alii in resurrectionem  
iudicii, alii in resurrectionem uitae. Cum ergo omnes de  
25 monumentis processuros audimus, resurrectionem  
mortuorum sine dubio adfuturam credamus. Quod etiam  
beatus Paulus, ita insinuans ait: *Omnes quidem  
resurgemus, sed non omnes immutabimur*. Dum autem  
omnes praedicat resurrecturos, sed non omnes insinuat  
immutandos. Ostendit per potestatem Christi resurgentis  
30 omnes homines resuscitari, sed per discretionem Christi  
iudicantis solos iustos in melius immutari. Mutabuntur  
itaque boni fideles, ut qui nunc non sunt peccatores in  
anima, mortales tamen in carne. Tunc per immutationis

E K IV

20–23 demonstraui...in loh. 5, 28    21–23 quia...uitae loh. 5, 28-29  
26–27 Omnes...immutabimur I Cor. 15, 51

1 ALIA] om. E | SVpra] AVGVSTINI add. E    4 debemus] debeamus  
K | resurrectio est] tr. K    7 mutetur] mutatur EK    8 impius] impis E    9  
qua] ad hoc E    10 animo] anima K | suscitatur] suscitatur K    11 ad] om.  
KIV    12 promereatur] promeretur KIV a.c. sup. l. E    15 iniustus] iustus a.c.  
sup. l. E    18 resurget] resurgit EK a.c. sup. l. IV    19 uerbis] uerbum K    27  
resurgemus] resurgimus KIV

35	gratiam, nec in anima amplius, nec in corpore moriantur, sed aeterna laetitia perfruantur.	35
40	3. Ad illam mutationem, dilectissimi fratres, toto corde tendamus; illuc omnes recta fide, sincera spe, perfecta caritate, cum omni bonorum operum studio simul et confessione sancta, diligentissime festinemus. Studeamus hic perfecte mutari de malo in bonum, ut possimus adiuuante Domino ad illam beatam peruenire immutationem sanctorum et cum eis praemia percipere regna caelorum, simulque cum eis gaudere in saecula saeculorum. Amen.	40

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34 moriantur] moriuntur *K a.c. EV* 35 perfruantur] perfruuntur *K*



LXXVIII. ITEM VNDE SVPRA. AVGVSTINI.

1. Festina igitur christiane, dispone conuersionem tuam,  
corrigere uitam tuam. Insta moribus sanctis et operibus  
5 bonis, ut cum resurrexeris, in melius immuteris. Discede 5  
cito a peccatis tuis, recede a moribus peruersis et operibus  
prauis. An forte bonum est Domini Dei praecepta  
contemnere, et cum iniquis semper ardere, cum impiis  
10 poenas luere, cum diabolo et angelis eius damnari, et igne 10  
aeternae combustionis torqueri? Considera, christiane,  
quod facis, adtende quod geris. Vitam quippe inordinatam  
diligis, ordinatamque contemnis. Amplecteris breuissimam  
respis sempiternam. Miseram semper habere cupis uitam,  
beatam nullatenus delectaris. Inordinatam uero uitam tu  
15 tibi facis dum caelestem animam terrenis delectationibus 15  
obruis. Sancta prorsus extinguens desideria, mortalitatis et  
corruptionis amplecteris.

*B E K W*

1 ITEM...AVGVSTINI] DICTA SANCTI AVGVSTINI DE  
RESVRRECTIONE *B* | VNDE] ALIA VT *K* | AVGVSTINI] *om. K* 11  
quod'] quid *B* 16 extinguens] extingens *a.c. sup. l. K*

LXXX. ITEM DE RESVRRECTIONE. SERMO SANCTI  
GREGORII.

5	1. Oportet, fratres karissimi, de resurrectione carnis breuiter sermonem facere, quia triste nimis et ualde lugubre est, quod quosdam in ecclesia de carnis resurrectione dubitare cognoscimus. Hanc autem antiqui patres uenturam esse certissime crediderunt, etiam cum nullum adhuc eiusdem resurrectionis exemplum tenuerunt.	5
10	Qua igitur damnatione digni sunt qui exemplum iam resurrectionis ab ipso Domino saluatore acceperunt, et tamen adhuc de resurrectione diffidunt? Pignus tenent, et fidem non habent. Quare non cogitant quod per beatum Iob dicitur? <i>Scio quod redemptor meus uiuit, et in</i>	10
15	<i>nouissimo die de terra resurrecturus sum, et rursum</i> <i>circumdabor pelle mea, et in carne mea uidebo Deum;</i> <i>quem uisurus sum ego ipse, et oculi mei conspecturi sunt,</i> <i>et non alius.</i> Et quod psalmista ait: <i>In conspectu eius</i> <i>procedent uniuersi qui descendunt in terram.</i> In terram	15
20	enim mortui, non spiritu, sed corpore descendunt. In conspectu ergo Domini procedunt qui in terram descendunt, quia resurgendo ad iudicium ueniunt qui nunc in puluere putrescunt. Et quod rursus ait: <i>Auferes spiritum</i> <i>eorum, et deficient, et in puluerem suum reuertentur.</i>	20
25	Moxque subiungit: <i>Emittes spiritum tuum et creabuntur, et</i> <i>renouabis faciem terrae.</i> Deinde quod per Ezechiel prophetam scriptum est: <i>Ossa arida, audite uerbum</i> <i>Domini. Haec dicit Dominus Deus ossibus his: Ecce ego</i>	25

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E H K W

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14-18 *Scio...alius* Iob 19, 25      18-19 *In...terram*<sup>1</sup> Ps. 21, 30  
23-24 *Auferes...reuertentur* Ps. 103, 29      25-26 *tuum...quod* Ps. 103, 30  
27-32 *audite...enim* Ez. 37, 4-6

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4-38 *Oportet...habet* Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Hiezechihelam prophetam*, ed. M. Adriaen, CCSL 142, lib. 2, hom. 8.6-7, ll.160-212, pp.339-341

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1-2 ITEM...GREGORII] SERMO SANCTI AVGVSTINI DE  
RESVRRECTIONE DOMINI H 1-2 SERMO...GREGORII] om. K 10  
Qua] quia a.c. H 11 resurrectionis] resurrectiones a.c. K 14 quod] quia  
H 15 resurrecturus] surrectus a.c. surrecturus <sup>sup. l.</sup> W 16 circumdabor]  
circumdabo KW 19 terram<sup>1</sup>] terra KIV | terram<sup>2</sup>] terra KIV 20 corpore]  
cor a.c. <sup>sup. l.</sup> K 21 conspectu] conspectum EK | terram] terra HK a.c. ut  
uid. W 24 reuertentur] reuertuntur E 25 Moxque] -que om. H |  
Emittes] emitte E emittis K



30	<i>intromittam in uos spiritum, et uiuetis. Et dabo super uos neruos, et succrescere faciam super uos carnes, et superextendam in uos cutem, et dabo uobis spiritum, et uiuetis. Ipse enim in euangelio ait: Nolite mirari, quia uenit hora in qua omnes qui in monumentis sunt audient uocem filii Dei. Et procedent qui bona fecerunt in resurrectionem uitae; qui mala fecerunt, in resurrectionem iudicii. Ecce tanta testimonia de carnis resurrectione concordant, et tamen quorundam infirmitas fidem non habet.</i>	30
35		35
40	<i>2. Vniuersorum enim in Christo credentium et in Spiritu sancto renatorum, per ipsum et cum ipso una est et passionis societas et resurrectionis aeternitas, dicente apostolo: Mortui enim estis, id est, omnibus peccatis in baptismo: siue etiam post baptismum moriemini peccatis per paenitentiam et confessionem atque per elemosinarum largitatem, seu per opera iustitiae et pietatis, et ita uita uestra abscondita est cum Christo in Deo. Cum enim Christus in iudicio apparuerit uita uestra, cuius uoluntati in hoc saeculo non desiderii carnis uiueretis, tunc et uos apparebitis cum ipso in gloria sempiterna. In hac igitur, dilectissimi, spe constituti, omnes diabolicas caute uersutias, qui non solum per carnis concupiscentias et per corporeas tantum insidiatur inlecebras, sed inter ipsa quoque semina fidei spargens zizania falsitatum, ueritatis studet uiolare culturam, ut quos non potuerit corrumpere malis actibus, impiis subuertat erroribus.</i>	40
45		45
50		50
55		55
60	<i>3. Quapropter omnem hereticam prauitatem deuitate, nihil uobis commune sit cum eis qui catholicae aduersantes fidei solo sunt nomine christiani. Omnes uitae istius temptationes cum fidei exultatione toleremus, et eas cum omni patientia in spe firma et caritate perfecta in nomine</i>	60

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32–36 *Nolite...iudicii* loh. 5, 28-29 42–50 *est...dilectissimi* Col. 3, 3-4

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39–63 *Vniuersorum...conregnabimus* Leo Magnus, *Tractatus septem et nonaginta*, ed. A. Chavasse, CCSL 138A, tract. 69.4-5, ll.97-117, pp.423-424

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35 mala] male a.c. <sup>sup. l.</sup> W 43 baptismo] baptimo a.c. <sup>sup. l.</sup> H 46  
abscondita est] tr. H 47 Christus] om. H 48 hoc] om. E | uiueretis]  
uiueretis E add. uiueratis (?) in marg uiuitis H 50 spe] om. EW |  
diabolicas] diaboli EW | caute] calcemus H 51 per<sup>2</sup>] om. E 52 ipsa]  
ipse W 56 deuitate] add. in marg. E om. W 56-58 deuitate...fidei]  
procul a uobis proicite, et eos qui catholicae aduersantur fidei et H 60  
perfecta] om. EW

65

Domini superare facile ualeamus. Si enim hic conpatimur  
cum Christo in tribulationibus huius mundi fideliter  
dimicantes, et conregnabimus cum eo et sanctis eius in  
aeterna uita gaudentes, cui sit honor et potestas, uirtus et  
imperium in saeculo saeculorum. Amen.

65

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61–63 *Si...conregnabimus* Rom. 8, 17; II Tim. 2, 12

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62 cum] *om. HW* | tribulationibus] tribulatione *E*    63 conregnabimus]  
congregabimur *H*



## VI. DE PASSIONE SANCTI GEORGII.

1. Erat quidam rex paganorum nomine Datianus qui  
 scripsit litteras in omnem regnum suum, ut uenirent ad  
 5 eum omnes gentes sub regno eius, eos interrogans, utrum 5  
 dii innumeri paganorum an Christus solus debuisset  
 adorari. Et uenerunt ad eum, sicut legimus, septuaginta  
 duo reges cum immensa multitudine. Tunc rex Datianus  
 iussit diuersa adferri genera poenarum quibus adficerentur  
 10 atque damnarentur omnes qui Christi nomen colerent, 10  
 donec autem Christum negarent et idolis sacrificarent, aut  
 poenis uariis interirent. Vnde contigit ut pauci essent qui  
 Christum nominare praesumerent. Vnus nomine Georgius  
 15 qui erat ex prouincia Capadotia, dum factus esset tribunus 15  
 militiam suam bene agebat, uidit autem quia Christum  
 nemo nominabat, dedit omnem substantiam suam  
 pauperibus et ad martyrium se praeparabat.

2. Venit itaque ante regem, et exclamauit et dixit:  
 Excaecauerunt daemones corda uestra quia furorem  
 20 uestrum contra christianos exercuistis. Dii autem uestri 20  
 sunt daemonia, et quos colitis non sunt dii sed opera  
 manuum hominum, et perdent omnes confidentes in se qui  
 dispereunt a facie Christi, et permanent in inferno cum  
 dracone antiquo. Nos autem christiani Deum uiuum et  
 25 uerum credimus, et ueneramus qui fecit caelum et terram, 25  
 mare et omnia quae in eis sunt, qui habet omnem  
 potestatem in caelo et in terra. Hunc adiutorem nostrum  
 quaerimus eumque saluatorem omnium confitemur  
 uiuentem et regnantem in saecula saeculorum. Quod  
 30 audiens Datianus iussit diuersis adfligi eum suppliciis. Ille 30  
 autem constans inter omnia poenarum genera, permansit  
 usque ad mortem fidelis, multosque sana doctrina et

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*P W*

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25-26 *qui...sunt* Ex. 20, 11; Ps. 145, 6; Dan. 14, 4; Act. 4, 24; 14, 14;  
 Apoc. 10, 6

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1 GEORGII] GEORII *W* 4 omnem] omne *P* 5 eos] quos *W* 6 dii  
 innumeri] deos innumeros *W* 7-8 septuaginta duo] septuagesimo  
 secundo *P* 9 adferri] adferre *P* 13 Vnus] ergo *add. sup. l. P* 14 qui]  
*add. sup. l. P* 15 uidit autem] ut autem uidit *P* 16 substantiam]  
 sustantiam *W* 18 et!] *add. sup. l. P* 20 autem] enim *P* 21 sunt!] deus *W*  
 | et] *add. sup. l. P om. W* 22 et] *add. sup. l. P om. W* | perdent] perdentia *W*  
 25 ueneramus] ueneramur *P* ueneremur *W* 27 nostrum] *add. sup. l. P* 30  
 eum] *add. sup. l. P om. W*

35	exemplis patientiae atque humilitatis sanctaeque conuersionis instinctu conuertit ad Dominum Dei gratia largiente, ita ut crederent per eum homines circiter mille nonaginta et amplius. Ad ultimum martyrio praesentem finiuit uitam et adeptus est gloriam sempiternam sub die praesente, quem hodie ob eius memoriam sanctam solemniter celebramus.	35
40	3. Vnde oportet, karissimi, ut si passionis eius non possumus esse consortes, tamen bonis eum operibus, quantum Domino donante possumus imitari studeamus in humilitate, in castitate, in patientia, in sanctitate uitae, in operibus misericordiae, et egentium ac pauperum cura, in	40
45	timore pariter et amore Domini, in fide recta, in spe ad Dominum firma, in caritate Dei et proximi uera atque perfecta, ut aeternae simul cum eo beatitudinis gloria participemus per creatorem omnium et dominatorem nostrum, uiuentem et regnantem in gloria sempiterna per	45
50	omnia saecula saeculorum. Amen.	50

35 homines] hominum IV    42 imitari] imitare IV    43 uitae] *add. sup. l. P*  
48 participemus] participemur PIV



XLVIII. DE PRINCIPIBUS HVIVS SAECVLI.  
YSIDORVS.

1. Omnibus enim hominibus apostolicum oportet intendere  
 5 sermonem dicentem: *Omnis anima potestatibus* 5  
*sublimioribus subdita sit. Non est enim potestas nisi a*  
*Deo: quae autem sunt, a Deo ordinatae sunt. Qui autem*  
*resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit.* Qui ergo in  
 appetendis honoribus saeculi aut prosperitatibus instanti  
 10 desudat labore, et hic et in futuro uacuis inuenitur a 10  
 requie, tantoque sarcinis peccatorum grauatus, quanto a  
 bonis operibus alienus. Quanto quisque amplius saecularis  
 honoris dignitate sublimatur, tanto grauius curarum  
 ponderibus praegrauatur. Nam ut quidam patrum ait:  
 15 Omne quod supereminet, plus meroribus afficitur quam 15  
 honoribus gaudeat. Quanto quisque curis mundi maioribus  
 occupatur, tanto facilius uitiiis praemitur. Si enim uix ualet  
 peccata animus deuitare quietus, quanto minus  
 occupatione saeculari deuinctus.

2. Non statim utile est omne potestatis insigne, sed tunc 20  
 uere utile est si bene geratur; tunc autem bene geritur  
 quando subiectis prodest, quibus terreni praeferuntur  
 honores. Potestas bona est a Deo data, ut malum timore  
 25 coerceat, non ut temere malum committat. Nihil est enim 25  
 periculosius quam per potestatem peccandi libertatem  
 habere, nihilque infelicius male agendi felicitate. Quidam  
 igitur ipsam potestatem regiminis ad immanitatem  
 transuertunt crudelitatis, dumque ad culmen potestatis  
 uenerint, in apostasiam confestim labuntur, tantoque se  
 30 tumore elationis extollunt, ut cunctos sibi subditos in sui 30  
 comparatione dispiciunt, eosque quibus praeesse contigit  
 non agnoscant. De quibus bene per Salomonem dicitur:

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*MPW*

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5-8 *Omnis...resistit*<sup>2</sup> Rom. 13, 1

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8-45 *Qui...gloriam* Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, ed. P. Cazier, CCSL 111, III.48.2-5b, 8-9, 6, pp.296-299

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1 SAECVLI] SECULI *M* 2 YSIDORVS] YSIDORI *M* 5 dicentem]  
 dicentis *MPW a.c. sup. l. P* 9 prosperitatibus] prosperitatibus *P* 10-11  
 et<sup>1</sup>...requie] *add. sub pag. M* 17 occupatur] occupantur *a.c. M* 19  
 occupatione] occupationem *P* 21 autem] *add. sup. l. W* 22 praeferuntur]  
 proferuntur *W* 23 timore] *add. sup. l. P* 26 infelicius] infeliciis *M* 32  
 non agnoscant] nascunt *a.c. sup. l.* non agnoscunt *W*

*Ducem te constituerunt, noli extolli, sed esto in illis quasi unus ex illis.*

35	3. Potentes itaque homines dum se ceteris sublimiores	35
	sentiant, necesse est ut mortales se esse cognoscant, nec	
	regni gloriam, qua in saeculo sublimantur, aspiciant, sed	
	opus quod secum post exitum portent intendant. Ideoque	
	oportet ut in huius temporis gloria, illa agant de quibus	
40	sine fine perpetualiter gaudeant qui uero praue honores	40
	saeculares exercent, post uestem fulgentem, post gloriam	
	transeuntem, nudi et miseri ad inferna torquendi	
	descendunt. Qui ergo saeculari potentia bene imperat, sine	
	fine in perpetuum regnat, et de gloria saeculi huius ad	
45	aeternam transmeat gloriam, largiente et operante Domino	45
	omnium datori bonorum Ihesu Christo redemptori nostro,	
	qui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto unus est Deus, unus est	
	Dominus manens et permamens in saecula saeculorum.	
	Amen.	

33–34 *Ducem...illis* Eccli. 32, 1

39 ut] *add. sup. l. M* | temporis] temporibus *a.c. sup. l. P* 41 exercent]  
exerceant *M* 44 in] im *P* | huius] huius *a.c. sup. l. M* 49 Amen] *om. P*



## XLVIII. DE IVSTITIA PRINCIPVM.

1. Qui recte saeculari utitur potestate, ita praestare se  
 5 omnibus debet, ut quanto magis honoris celsitudine claret,  
 tanto semetipsum mente humiliet, praeponens sibi 5  
 exemplum humilitatis de Dauid, qui de sede regali non  
 tumuit, sed humiliter sese deiciens dixit: *Vilis incedam*  
*ante Deum qui elegit me.* Qui recte saeculari utitur  
 potestate, formam iustitiae factis magis quam uerbis  
 10 demonstrare debet. Talis qui est nulla prosperitate erigitur,  
 nulla aduersitate turbatur, non innititur propriis uiribus,  
 nec a Domino recedit cor eius. Non eum delectat iniquitas,  
 non inflamat cupiditas, nec defraudatione alicuius ex  
 paupere diuites iniuste faciet et, quod iusta potestate a  
 15 populis exquirere poterit, saepe misericordi clementia  
 donat. 15

2. Deus dedit principibus praesulatum pro regimine  
 populorum, et illis eos praeesse uoluit cum quibus una est  
 eis nascendi moriendi conditio. Prodesse ergo debet  
 20 populis principatus, non nocere, nec dominando eos  
 premere, sed condescendendo consulere, ut uere sit utile  
 hoc potestatis insigne, et donum Dei pro tuitione utantur  
 membrorum Christi. Membra quippe Christi fideles sunt  
 25 populi, quos, dum ea potestate quam accipiunt optime  
 regunt, bonam utique uicissitudinem Deo largitori  
 restitunt. Bonus princeps facilius a delicto per iustitiam  
 regreditur, quam de iustitia ad delictum transfertur. In  
 proposito eius esse debet numquam egredi a ueritate; quod  
 si casu titubare contigerit, mox ut resurgat, misericordis  
 30 Dei gratiam interpellat, et cum resurrexerit amplius cautius  
 uiuat, per eum qui uiuit et regnat in saecula saeculorum.  
 Amen. 30

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*FMW*

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7-8 *Vilis...me* II Reg. 6, 22 12 *a...eius* cfr Ier. 17, 5

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3-29 *Qui...resurgat* Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, ed. P. Cazier, CCSL 111, III.49.1-4, pp.299-301

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1 DE...PRINCIPVM] OMELIA DE PRINCIPIBUS *F* 5 semetipsum]  
 semetipsom *a.c. sup. l. M* | praeponens] proponens *F* 6 de<sup>1</sup>] *om. F* | de<sup>2</sup>]  
*add. sup. l. F* | sede] *se MW* 10 est] *om. F* 13-14 ex...faciet] pauperis  
 diuitias iniuste colligit *F* 14 iusta] iuste *F* 15 misericordi] misericordia  
*FM* 20 non nocere] noncere *a.c. sup. l. M* 29 contigerit] contingerit *F*  
 31 uiuat] uiuit *F* | saecula] saeculo *F* 32 Amen] *om. F*

L. DE PATIENTIA PRINCIPVM.

1. Plerumque princeps iustus etiam malorum errores  
dissimulare nouit, non quod iniquitati eorum consentiat,  
5 sed quod aptum tempus correctionis expectat, quando 5  
eorum uitia, uel emendare ualeat, uel punire. Nam de  
aliorum malo bene Deus principibus facit, dum culpas  
quas mali agunt isti mira patientia indulgent. Reddere  
malum pro malo uicissitudo iustitiae est, sed qui  
10 clementiam addit iustitiae, non malum pro malo culpatis 10  
reddit, sed bonum pro malo offensis impertit, unde  
Dominus nos ammonet, dicens: *In patientia uestra  
possidebitis animas uestras.*  
2. Vnde rem dilectioni uestrae paruam narrare delectat.  
15 Erat quidam senex nomine Gelasius, qui habebat codicem 15  
ualentem solidos decem et octo, qui positus erat in ecclesia  
ut in eo legeret quicumque uoluisset. Superuenit autem  
quidam peregrinus et furatus est eum, pergensque in  
ciuitatem quaerebat cui uenderet eum. Et cum inuenit  
20 sedecim solidorum praetium quaesiuit ab eo, ille autem, 20  
qui conparare eum uoluit, dixit: Da mihi librum, ut  
ostendam eum magistro. Et accipiens librum portauit et  
ostendit eum ipso Gelasio, et dixit ei quantum praetii  
uenditor postulat. Et dixit senex: Eme illum quia bonus est  
25 et tanti ualet ut dixit tibi. Ille autem ueniens ad uenditorem 25  
dixit ei: Ecce ostendi eum Gelasio seni et dixit mihi quia  
non ualet quantum dixisti. Ille hoc audiens dixit ei: Nihil  
aliud dixit tibi senex? Et respondit: Nihil. Tunc uenditor  
dixit ei: Nunc nolo uendere illum. Compunctus autem egit  
30 paenitentiam, uenit ad senem et rogauit eum ut reciperet 30  
codicem. Senex autem nolebat recipere eum. Tunc dixit ei  
frater ille: Quia si non recipis eum, non ero inde securus.

MPW

10–11 non...impertit cfr Rom. 12, 17 12–13 In...uestras Luc. 21, 19

3–11 Plerumque...impertit Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, ed. P. Cazier, CCSL 111, III.50.1-3, p.301 15–35 Erat...senis *Verba seniorum*, c.XVI.1, PL 73, cols 969C-970A

4 eorum] eoru M 7 principibus] principibus M 8 mali] male M | isti] ista PIV 10 addit iustitiae] addet iustitiam P add. sup. l. M | malum] malo MP 11 bonum] bono a.c. sup. l. P | impertit] inpertis IV 12 nos] om. MIV 19 ciuitatem] ciuiuitatem M 21 qui] om. P | conparare] conparere IV 25 dixit] dixi M | autem] aum M 31 nolebat] noluit M



Et dixit ei senex: Si non potes esse securus, ecce recipiam  
eum. Et remansit frater ille apud eum usque ad exitum  
35 suum, ualdeque proficiens de patientia senis. 35  
3. In omni enim uita humana patientia necessaria est. Sicut  
enim patienter sufferre debemus iniurias nobis inlatas, ita  
et patienter sufferre necesse est tribulationes quae nobis  
eueniunt. Nemo enim bene sapiens est, qui patientiam non  
40 habet. In patientia quaerenda est ignoscendi facultas, non 40  
uindicandi occasio: nam qui patienter mala aliorum tolerat,  
in futuro coronam merebitur sempiternam.

36-42 In...sempiternam Alcuinus, *De virtutibus et vitiis liber ad*  
*Widonem comitem*, c.IX, PL 101, cols 619A-619C

33 potes] potest P 35 ualdeque] -que add. sup. l. M 37 patienter]  
patiententer M 38 patienter] patientia M 41 uindicandi] uincandi M

LI. DE PERICVLO PRINCIPVM.

	1. Quanto quisque in superiori constitutus est loco, tanto in maiori uersabitur periculo; et quanto splendoris honore	
5	celsior quisque est, tanto, si delinquat, peccatum maior est: <i>Potentes enim potenter tormenta patiuntur.</i> Cui enim plus	5
	committitur, plus ab eo exigitur. Principes enim uitam subditorum exemplis suis uel aedificant, uel subuertunt,	
10	ideoque rectorem non oportet delinquere, ne forte iam peccandi faciat peccati eius impunita licentia.	10
	2. Iustum est rectorem legibus obtemperasse suis. Tunc enim iussa sua ab omnibus custodienda existimet, quando	
	et ipse reuerentiam Dei legibus praebet. Iusta est enim uocis eorum auctoritas, si, quod populis prohibent, sibi	
15	licere non patiantur. Sub religionis disciplina saeculi potestates subiectae sunt; et quamuis culmine honoris sint	15
	praediti, uinculo tamen sponsionis quem Deo fecerunt tenentur adstricti, ut fidem Christi suis uerbis et operibus	
20	praedicent, et ipsam fidei praedicationem moribus conseruent, largiente et adiuuante gratia Dei.	20

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*M IV*

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6 *Potentes...patiuntur* Sap. 6, 7

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3–20 *Quanto...conseruent* Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, ed. P. Cazier, CCSL 111, III.50.5-6, 51.1-3, pp.302-304

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8 subuertunt] sub *add. in marg. M* 14 prohibent] prohibet *a.c. sup. l. M*



## LII. DE IUDICIBVS.

1. Bonus iudex sicut nocere ciuibus non debet, ita  
prodesse omnibus debet. Aliis praestat censuram iustitiae,  
5 aliis bonitatem. Iudicia sine personarum reddet acceptione, 5  
per quem non infirmat iustitiam auaritiae flamma, nec  
cupiat auferre alteri quod cupiat sibi. Boni iudices  
iustitiam ad solam obtinendam salutem aeternam  
suscipiunt, nec eam muneribus acceptis distribuunt, et ita  
10 sit, ut, dum de iusto iudicio temporalia lucra non appetunt, 10  
praemio aeterno ditentur.
2. Iudicem ergo non temere quemquam iudicare. Oportet  
adattendere unde uobis pauca ad exemplum narranda sunt.  
Fratr quidam in congregatione culpabilis a quodam  
15 iudicatus est. Cum autem exisset de congregatione frater 15  
qui iudicauit alium, uenit angelus Domini, et stetit ante  
ostium cellae unde exierat, dicens ei: Non te dimitto  
intrare. Ille autem interrogabat eum, dicens: Quae est  
causa? Et respondens angelus dixit ei: Dominus misit me  
20 ut iudicarem tibi. Vbi iubes ut mittam illum fratrem 20  
culpabilem, quem adiudicasti? Et statim frater ille  
paenitentiam egit, dicens: Peccaui, ignosce mihi. Et dixit  
angelus: Surge, ignouit tibi Deus; sed custodite de cetero  
ne temere iudices quemquam.
3. In iudice enim misericordia et disciplina debet esse  
25 communis, quia una sine altera bene esse non poterit. Quia 25  
misericordia sola si fuerit securitatem facit peccandi  
ceteris. Iterum, si disciplina sola semper aderit, uertitur  
animus delinquentis in desperationem, et iudex non  
30 merebitur a Deo misericordiam. Primo igitur homo sibi 30

---

*MPW*

---

3–11 *Bonus...ditentur* Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, ed. P. Cazier, CCSL 111, III.52.2-3, p.305 14–24 *Fratr...quemquam* *Verba seniorum*, c.IX.3, PL 73, cols 909D-910A 25–36 *In...diabolo* Alcuinus, *De virtutibus et vitiis liber ad Widonem comitem*, c.VII, PL 101, cols 618A-618B

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5 iudicia] iudicii *MP* | acceptione] acceptionem *P* 6 non] *add. sup. l. W*  
7 auferre] auferre *P* 8 iustitiam] iustiam *M* 11 praemio...ditentur]  
aeterno ditentur praemio *add. sub l. M* 12 ergo] *add. sup. l. P* | temere]  
timere *M* | Oportet] ergo *add. P* 13 exemplum] emplum *M* 14  
congregatione] congregationem *W* | culpabilis] culpababilis *P* 16 alium]  
*add. sub pag. P* 17 ostium] hostium *MPIV* 20 iudicarem] iudicerem  
*MIV a.c. sup. l. P* 23 cetero] ceteris *a.c. sup. l. P* 25 enim] ergo *P* 27  
peccandi] pecandi *M* 28 disciplina] disciplinam *P*

debet misereri ut deserat peccata et uitia, ne sibimetipsi  
 crudelis sit in anima sua quam peccando tradit ad mortem.  
 Sibimetipsi enim crudelis est qui sibi peccando aeterna  
 praeparat incendia. Bene misericors est qui in seipso  
 35 incipit custodire quod in aliis debet reprehendere, et qui se 35  
 diligenter custodit, ne puniatur cum diabolo, sed ut per  
 opera misericordiae atque iustitia simul mereatur gaudere  
 cum Christo et sanctis angelis eius in saecula saeculorum.  
 Amen.

---

33 aeterna] aeternam *M*



LIII. ITEM DE IVDICIBVS. NE MVNERA ACCIPIANT  
NEC PERSONAM.

5	1. Omnis qui recte iudicat, quasi stateram in manu gestat, quia in utroque penso iustitiam et misericordiam portat; pro iustitia reddet peccati sententiam, pro misericordia peccati temperat poenam. Quaedam enim sunt a iudice bono per equitatem corrigenda, quaedam itaque per misericordiam indulgenda. Sine personarum acceptione debent esse iudicia. Nihil enim iniquius est, quam accipere munera in iudiciis, quia <i>munera excaecant corda prudentum, et subuertunt uerba iustorum. In quo enim, inquit Dominus, iudicio iudicabitis; iudicabitur de uobis.</i> Quapropter iudex Deum timeat, ne forte Deo iudicante damnetur, quia innocentes damnat, uel impios iustificat pro muneribus; uel si cuiuslibet personae amore uel odio iustum praetergreditur iudicium.	5
10		10
15	2. Non est persona in iudicio consideranda, sed causa, scriptum est enim: <i>Non accipies personam in iudicio.</i> Et iterum: <i>Non misereberis pauperi in iudicio; sed iuste iudica proximo tuo.</i> Qui enim consanguinitatis uel amicitiae fauore, siue inimicitiarum odio, peruertunt iudicia, sine dubio in Christum, qui est ueritas et iustitia, peccare noscuntur. Iniqui iudices errant in ueritatis sententia, dum intendunt qualitatem personae; et nocent saepe iustis, dum improbe uel iniuste defendunt impios. Quia uel recte iudicare studet neutram partem palpare nouit, nec cohibere iustitiam didicit. Nam acceptio munerum in iudiciis, praeuaricatio est ueritatis. Qui ergo	15
20		20
25		25

M IV

11-12 *munera*<sup>2</sup>...*iustorum* Deut. 16, 19    12-13 *In...uobis* Matth. 7, 2  
19 *Non...iudicio* Deut. 1, 17    20 *Non...iudicio* Ex. 23, 3    20-21 *sed...tuo*  
Leu. 19, 15

4-7    *Omnis...poenam* Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, ed. P. Cazier, CCSL 111, III.52.4, p.305    4-31    *Omnis...percipiant* Alcuinus, *De virtutibus et vitiis liber ad Widonem comitem*, c.XX, PL 101, cols 628C-629B    18-29 *Non...ueritatis* Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, ed. P. Cazier, CCSL 111, III.53.1-2, 54.3, pp.308-309

1 ACCIPIANT] ACCIPIENT MIV    5 penso] pensu MIV    6 sententiam] sentiam W    7 poenam] *add. sub l. M*    10 iniquius] iniquus a.c. <sup>sup. l. W</sup> <sub>sub l. M</sub>    12 prudentum] prudentium a.c. M    13 Dominus] in *add. M*    23 Christum] Christo M    24 ueritatis] ueritates a.c. <sup>sup. l. ut uid. W</sup>

30	Deum timent et iuste iudicant, aeternae beatitudinis a Deo praemia percipiant.	30
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LIIII. ITEM ALIA NE IVDICES MVNERA  
ACCIPIANT.

1. Qui recte iudicat et praemium inde remunerationis  
5 expectat, fraudem in Deo perpetrat, quia iustitiam quam 5  
gratis inpertire debuit acceptione pecuniae uendit. Bona  
male utuntur qui iuste pro temporali lucro iudicant; tales  
quippe ad ueritatem non iustitiae defensio, sed amor  
10 praemii prouocat. Quibus si spes nummi subtrahitur,  
10 confestim a iustitiae defensione recedunt. Acceptio 10  
munerum praeuaricatio ueritatis est; unde et propheta  
dicitur: *Qui excutit manus suas ab omni munere, iste in  
excelsis habitat.* <Tu>nc enim iudex manus suas ab omni  
mun<ere e>xcutit, quando in iudicio suo non <solum  
15 n>ullam pecuniam, sed etiam huma<nam gratiam non> 15  
requirit. Ideoque iud<ices?> \*\*\* dum recte iudicant, hoc  
pro temporali retributione faciant. Ipsum solum testem  
<uestri> operis q<uae?>rant, quem iudicem sustinent.  
2. Diues muneribus corrumpit iudicem cito, pauper dum  
20 non habet quod offerat, non solum audire contemnitur, sed 20  
etiam contra ueritatem opprimitur. Tres enim sunt  
munerum acceptiones quibus contra iustitiam humana  
uanitas militat, id est fauor amicitiarum, adulatio laudis et  
corporalis acceptio muneris. Quattuor modis iudicium  
25 humanum peruertitur: timore, cupiditate, odio, amore. 25  
Timore dum metu potestatis alicuius ueritatem loqui  
pauescimus; cupiditate dum praemio muneris alicuius  
corrumpimur; odio dum contra quemlibet aduersari  
molimur; amore dum amico uel propinquis gratiam  
30 praestare uolun<?> \*\*\* quattuor causis saepe aequitas 30  
<uiolatur, saepe> innocentia laeditur \*\*\* cuique opus est  
illud dictum sa<?> \*\*\* operibus tu<?> \*\*\* po<?>ta  
deuitat, aeternam cum gaudi<o?> \*\*\* et gloriam et

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W

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12-13 *Qui...habitat* Is. 33, 15-16

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4-13 *Qui...habitat* Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, ed. P. Cazier, CCSL 111, III.54.1-3, p.309      13-18 *Tunc...sustinent* Gregorius Magnus, *Homiliae in Evangelia*, ed. R. Étaix, CCSL 141, hom. 4.4-5, II.122-131, p.31      19-31 *Diues...laeditur* Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, ed. P. Cazier, CCSL 111, III.54.4, 6-7, pp.309-310

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11 propheta] prophetam W      23 adulatio] adalatio W      27 cupiditate] cupiditatem W      28 corrumpimur] corrumpimus W

35 salutem, largiente Domino Ihesu Christo uiuenti et  
regnanti in saecula saeculorum. Amen. 35



LV. DE PRAVIS IVDICIBVS.

1. Neminem stultorum uel improborum oportet iudicem  
esse. Nam stultus per ignauiam ignorat iustitiam; improbus  
5 per cupiditatem corrumpit ipsam quam didicit ueritatem. 5  
Grauius lacerantur pauperes a prauis iudicibus quam a  
cruentissimus hostibus. Nullus enim praedo est tam  
cupidus in alienis quam iudex iniquus in suis. Hostes in  
aliorum sanguinem tantum intendunt; iudices, quasi  
10 cruentissimi carnifices ciuium, oppressione diuitias 10  
congregare student. Plerumque et iudices boni sunt, <sed  
mini>stros rapaces habent, quorum \*\*\* de reis ante Deum,  
si non prohibe<nt rapicit>atem illorum; et ita in alienis  
he<?> \*\*\* peccatis, quia *non solum qui mal<?> \*\*\**  
15 <fac>iunt, sed et qui consentiunt fa<cientibus> \*\*\* 15  
*perpetua morte* \*\*\* aut peruertunt iudicia. \*\*\* part<ium>  
negotia quou<sque> \*\*\* qui causant<ur> \*\*\* non  
ca<usam se>d dona con<siderant> \*\*\*

IV

14-16 non...morte Rom. 1, 32

3-18 Neminem...considerant Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, ed. P. Cazier, CCSL 111, III.52.6-11, pp.306-307; Alcuinus, *De virtutibus et vitiis liber ad Wīdonem comitem*, c.XX, PL 101, cols 628D-629A

9 quasi] qua IV

## LVII. DE FRAUDE CAVENDA. YSIDORI.

1. Qui nos benignos ammonet de nostra substantia  
 pauperibus et miseris esse, prohibet nos ab omni auaritia et  
 iniusta pecuniae acquisitione. Qui uero ait: *De iustis* 5  
*laboribus tuis fac elemosinam*, ipse per Iacobum  
 apostolum nos ammonet dicens: *Nolite fraudare inuicem*.  
 Nam qui fraudem facit proximo suo cito incidit in  
 periculum mortis. Quamuis quisque prosperatur in malis,  
 10 finis tamen malitiae tendit ad supplicium damnationis  
 aeternae. Qui per fraudem quidlibet adquisierit, perdit  
 iustitiae aequitatem, perdit fidem: elongabitur a caritate  
 quae Deus est. Nam qui elongatur a Deo, diabolo iungatur.  
 Dic fraudator, dic sceleste, dic auare, dic cupide, quid  
 15 adquesisti per tuam fraudem? Forte aurum? Ecce aurum  
 adquisisti et fidei thesaurum perdidisti. Nam si in mercato  
 fidem inuenires uenalem, si ad Deum tenderes, forte  
 magno pretio comparasses eam? Ergo cum tibi eam gratis  
 dedit, quare non times perdere eam, cum Deus te uellit  
 20 habere eam? 20  
 2. Ecce praetiosissimum thesaurum perdidisti, et  
 putr<es?>centem adquisisti per fraudem; perdidisti fidem  
 et caritatem, simulque iustitiam et Dei timorem,  
 beatitudinemque sempiternam. Quid autem adquisisti nisi  
 25 iram Dei et poenam perpetuam, si non eas euaseris per  
 confessionem et poenitentiam puram? *Quid proderit tibi,*  
*si mundum uniuersum lucreris, et animae tuae*  
*detrimentum patieris?* Nonne melius tibi esset, si mundum  
 habuisses totum dare, quam animam tuam perdere? Nihil  
 30 enim prodesse possunt diuitiae in die ultionis, nec 30  
 liberabunt male utentes eis a poenis perpetuis. Redemptio  
 itaque animae uiri diuitiae eius: date in bona possibilitate.  
 Honorat Deum qui miserebitur pauperi. In uita tua benefac

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F

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5-6 *De...elemosinam* Tob. 4, 7 7 *Nolite...inuicem* I Cor. 7, 5  
 26-28 *puram...detrimentum* Matth. 16, 26; Marc. 8, 36; Luc. 9, 25  
 29-31 *perdere...poenis* cfr Pr. 11, 4 31-32 *perpetuis...diuitiae* Pr. 13, 8  
 32-33 *possibilitate...miserebitur* Pr. 14, 31

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3-31 *Qui...perpetuis* Alcuinus, *De virtutibus et vitiis liber ad Widonem*  
*comitem*, c.XIX, PL 101, cols 627C-628B

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1 DE...YSIDORI] OMELIA COTIDIANA DE CAVENDA AVARITIA F  
 13 elongatur] longatur F 18 eam<sup>2</sup>] add. <sup>sup. l.</sup> F 25 euaseris] euaderis F



35 pauperi, et dum poteris tuam animam liberare, quia post  
mortem non habes potestatem bene faciendi. Nam qui 35  
miserebitur pauperi beatus erit in aeternum.

---

35–36 *faciendi...beatus* Pr. 14, 21

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34 post] pot *F*

LVIII. DE FALSIS TESTIBVS.

	1. <i>Falsus testis</i> , dicit Salomon, <i>non erit impunitus</i> . Qui falsum testimonium profert contra proximum suum,	
5	extinguetur lucerna eius in die ultimo. Qui metu cuiuslibet potestatis ueritatem occultat, iracundiam Dei super se prouocat, quia magis timet hominem quam Deum.	5
	Falsidicus testis tribus est personis obnoxius: primum Deo, cuius praesentiam contemnit; deinde iudici, quem	
10	mentiendo fallit; postremo innocenti, quem falso testimonio laedit. Si falsi testes separantur, mox mendaces inueniuntur. Vterque reus est, et qui ueritatem occultat et qui mendacium dicit: quia et ille prodesse non uult, et iste nocere desiderat. Beatus cuius testimonium in conspectu	10
15	Dei probabile inuenietur.	15
	2. Magis dolendi sunt qui opprimunt pauperes, quam qui patiuntur iniuriam. Illi enim qui opprimuntur, temporalem miseriam cito finiunt: illi uero qui opprimunt eos per iniustitiam, aeternis flammis deputantur. In illa itaque	
20	aeterna retributione semper boni felices erunt, et mali semper miseri erunt. Quibus bene sit in hoc saeculo, contendant maxime ne bona perdant perpetua: et qui molestias patiuntur, fortiter eas sufferant, ut aeternam beatitudinem digni inueniantur.	20

FM

3 *Falsus...impunitus* Pr. 19, 5; 19, 9

3-24 *Falsus...inueniantur* Alcuinus, *De virtutibus et vitiis liber ad Widonem comitem*, c.XXI, PL 101, cols 629C-630A

1 DE...TESTIBVS] OMELIA COTIDIANA DE FALSIS TESTIBVS F  
8 Falsidicus] falsedicus F 18 finiunt] finiuntur F 20 mali] malis a.c. M  
22 maxime] maima a.c. <sup>sup. l.</sup> M | perdant] perdent FM 23 molestias] molestiam F | patiuntur] patiantur M | eas] eos FM 23-24 aeternam beatitudinem] aeterna beatitudine M



LVIII. DE PERIVRIO. YSIDORI.

1. Cauendum est igitur omnimodis iuramentum, nec  
utendum eum nisi in sola necessitate. Non est contra Dei  
5 praeceptum iurare, sed dum in consuetudinem uertitur, 5  
periurii crimen incurritur. Numquam ergo iurat qui  
periurare timet. Plerumque sine iuramento loqui  
disponimus, sed per incredulitatem aliquorum iurare  
compellimur. Talique necessitate consuetudinem iurandi  
10 adquirimus. Grauius autem delinquant qui sibi solo 10  
loquentes iurare compellunt. Quacumque arte uerborum  
quis iuret, Deus tamen, qui conscientiae testis est, ita hoc  
accipit sicut ille cui iuratur intellegit.  
2. Inde est quod Dominus per Moysen iuramentum  
15 fallacem prohibet, dicens: *Non periurabis in nomine meo,* 15  
*nec pollues nomen Domini Dei tui, nec adsumes nomen*  
*Domini Dei tui in uanum. Ego Dominus, qui scruto corda*  
*singulorum hominum, qui reddo unicuique saeculum*  
*opera eius.* Dupliciter autem reus fit qui periurat, quia et  
20 nomen Domini Dei sui in uanum adsumit, et proximo 20  
dolum facit. Ideo Dominus ipse in euangelio  
consuetudinem iurandi prohibet, dicens: *Non iurare*  
*omnino, neque per caelum, quia thronus Dei est, neque*  
*per terram, quia scabillum est pedum eius. Sit autem*  
25 *sermo uester est est, non non: quod autem abundantius 25*  
*est, a malo est.* Vnde et Salomon ait: *Vir multum iurans,*  
*replebitur iniquitate, et non descendit a domo illius plaga.*  
Et iterum: *Iuramenta hominis capiunt eum, et quasi*

FM

15-16 *Non...tui* Leu. 19, 12      16-17 *adsumes...uanum* Ex. 20, 7  
17-19 *Ego...eius* Ier. 17, 10      22-24 *Non...eius* Matth. 5, 34  
24-26 *Sit...est*<sup>2</sup> Matth. 5, 37      26-27 *Vir...plaga* Eccli. 23, 12  
28-29 *Iuramenta...conligatur* cfr Pr. 5, 22

3-13 *Cauendum...intellegit* Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, ed. P. Cazier, CCSL 111, II.31.1-2, 6-8, pp.155-156      19-21 *Dupliciter...facit* Isidorus Hispalensis, *Sententiae*, ed. P. Cazier, CCSL 111, II.31.8, p.156

1 DE...YSIDORI] OMELIA COTIDIANA DE PERIVRIO F      7  
iuramento] mento F      9 consuetudinem] consuetudine M      10 solo] om. M  
11 Quacumque] quia cumque F      13 accipit] accepit a.c. <sup>sup. l.</sup> M      16  
nec<sup>2</sup>] neque M      17 uanum] uacuum M      20 Dei sui] add. in marg. M |  
uanum] uacuum M

*funibus ita periuriis conligatur. Quid est enim iurare per*  
30 *caritatem, nisi per Deum, quia Deus caritas est?* 30  
3. Quapropter uitanda sunt iuramenta, multo magis etiam  
periuria, quae diligentes se in interitum mergunt et  
perditionem. Magna est cautela periurii Dei semper  
praesentiam timere. Qui perfecte Deum timet, diligenter se  
35 a peccatis custodit. *Timenti Dominum bene erit in* 35  
*nouissimo, et merces eius in aeternum permanet.*

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30 *Deus...est* I Ioh. 4, 8; 4, 16    32–33 *in...perditionem* I Tim. 6, 9  
35–36 *Timenti...nouissimo* Eccli. 1, 13    36 *merces...permanet* Eccli. 18,  
22

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33–36    *Magna...permanet* Alcuinus, *De virtutibus et vitiis liber ad*  
*Widonem comitem*, c.XV, PL 101, cols 624A-624B

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31 multo] multum *M*    35 peccatis] peccantis *a.c. M*



## LX. DE PACE ET CONCORDIA.

1. Adtendendum nobis et pensandum est, fratres karissimi,  
 quomodo homo in Deum credere dicitur qui nec unum  
 5 mandatum eius custodit, quia fides sine operibus mortua  
 est. Solus enim ille uere credit qui exercet operando, quod  
 credit. Ideo fides uera in operibus est ostendenda, quibus  
 nisi in adimplendis mandatis Domini. Id est, diliges  
 10 Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde, quod est ex omni  
 intellectu, quantum cuique Dominus dederit assidue  
 meditare, quomodo Dominum Deum suum sincere ualeat  
 diligere ultra semetipsum et ultra omnia quae in mundo  
 sunt concupiscibilia; et ex tota anima, hoc est ex tota  
 uoluntate, ut plus spiritali quisquam carnali consentiat  
 15 uoluntati; et ex tota mente iugitur hoc memoriae retinere,  
 quod Deum ultra omnem modum, et ultra semetipsum, et  
 ultra omnem creaturam debet quisque diligere: hoc est  
 cognoscere Deum et uoluntatem eius facere.

2. Deinde diligere proximum suum sicut semetipsum, ut  
 20 omnia quaecumque bona sibi quisque uoluerit, quantum  
 ualeat, proximo suo faciat, et quod non praeualeat ei,  
 nullatenus inuideat, et quod sibi noluerit, proximo suo nec  
 faciet nec illi fieri cupiet. Quomodo enim Deum diligit,  
 qui filium eius odit? Nec enim uere Deus diligitur sine  
 25 proximo, nec proximus uere diligitur sine Deo. Qualiter  
 autem ista dilectio perfecte possit ostendi ipse Dominus  
 insinuat, qui et amicum iubet diligere in Deo et inimicum  
 diligere propter Deum. Quis est amicus noster nisi qui in  
 unitate fidei nobiscum permanet in sancta ecclesia? Qui  
 30 est filius Dei sicut et nos, qui est frater Christi sicut et nos,  
 qui habet unum Deum et unum Deum Patrem sicut et nos,  
 et unam matrem ecclesiam sicut et nos, unum baptisma

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*A F*

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5-6 *fides...est* lac. 2, 20; 26 7 *fides...ostendenda* cfr Tit. 3, 8; lac. 2, 24  
 8-18 *diliges...facere* cfr Deut. 6, 5; Matth. 22, 37; Marc. 12, 30; Luc. 10,  
 27 19-23 *Deinde...cupiet* cfr Matth. 5, 43; 19, 19; 22, 39; Marc. 12, 31;  
 Luc. 10, 27; Rom. 13, 9; Gal. 5, 14; lac. 2, 8; 1 Ioh. 3, 10  
 27 *amicum...diligi* cfr Leu. 19, 18 29-34 *Qui...nos* cfr Eph. 4, 5-6

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1 DE...CONCORDIA] OMELIA COTIDIANA DE PACE ET  
 CONCORDIA *F* 6 uere] *add. sup. l. F* 7 Ideo] in Deo *F* | est] *om. F* 8  
 nisi] *om. F* 9 tuum] *om. A* 14 quisquam] quisque *F* 15 et] *om. F* |  
 tota] omni *A* 16 omnem] *om. F* 21 praeualeat] proualeat *A* 23 Deum]  
*om. F* 31 Deum<sup>2</sup>] *om. F* 32 unum] unam *A*

sicut et nos, ad unam spectat hereditatem, id est ad regnum  
caelorum, sicut et nos? Qua igitur praesumptione odimus  
35 eum qui haec nobiscum habet sicut et nos, qui et frater 35  
noster et proximus est? Nullo modo igitur Deum diligit  
nec uoluntatem eius facit qui fratrem et proximum suum  
oderit. Quis est autem inimicus quem propter Deum  
debemus diligere? Hoc est infidelis quisque qui non credit  
40 in Deum, nec eum sequitur, nec uoluntatem eius operatur; 40  
qui nos credentes in eum persequitur et odit si potest usque  
ad mortem: quem tamen ita debemus diligere, ut pro eius  
uita et salute, ut et conuertatur a malitia sua et credat in  
Deum, et ut uoluntatem eius faciat, orare debemus, ipso  
45 Domino praecipiente: *Diligite inimicos uestros, benefacite 45*  
*his qui oderunt uos, et orate pro persequentibus et*  
*calumniantibus uos.*

3. Si enim et inimicum debemus diligere, qua temeritate  
audemus etiam amicum odire? Hoc igitur in nobis hostis  
50 agit antiquus, ut qui terrena omnia dare pro Christo 50  
debemus et nosmetipsos etiam pro fratribus nostris usque  
ad mortem, si opus contingerit, pro terrenis et fugitiuis  
rebus litigamus, et odio habemus inuicem, et nos quibus  
iustitiam esurire et sitire iussum est, ut tanto desiderio quo  
55 famem nostram maximam et sitim cupimus extinguere, 55  
tanto utique desiderio debuimus iustitiam in omnibus  
quaerere, et quanto eam potissime ualuissimus exhibere  
proximis et fratribus nostris, fortissime irascamur cum  
quis ad nos suam iustitiam quaerit. Et quod pro ipsa uita  
60 nostra si quis nobis eam moliretur auferre pro Christo 60  
facere debuimus, si Deum uere diligere uoluissimus, sed  
pro eis sicut supra diximus orare et gaudere, ut digni  
fuissemus pro nomine Ihesu contumeliam pati, uel pro alia  
re parua. Nos e contrario pro uno agro perdimus  
65 nosmetipsos Deo, et gratia eius nos alienos efficimus. 65  
Quomodo enim non est perditus Deo, cum sequitur  
auctorem discordiae diabolum, et uoluntatem eius facit, et

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36-38 *Nullo...oderit* cfr I loh. 4, 20-21 45-47 *Diligite...uos* Matth. 5,  
44; Luc. 6, 27 53 *odio...inuicem* Matth. 24, 10 54 *iustitiam...est* cfr  
Matth. 5, 6 62-63 *digni...pati* Act. 5, 41

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34 praesumptione] praesumptio *a.c. sup. l. A* | odimus] odiemus *F* 40 in]  
*om. A* 43 conuertatur] conuertamur *A* 49 hostis] ostis *F* 50 agit] ait *A*  
53 odio] hodio *F* 60 auferre] auferre *F* 61 debuimus...diligere] *om. F*  
63-64 uel...parua] *om. F* 64 e] se *A* 66 perditus] perditos *F* 67  
auctorem] auctore *F*



Deo salutari suo rebellis existit, cum contra suimetipsius  
operatur salutem odiendo fratrem et proximum suum,  
70 quem quasi semetipsum diligere debuit? Vel quomodo  
ualet Deum diligere, cum et semetipsum odit litigando pro  
ista putredine, quae uelut stercora debuimus pro Christo  
respuere? Ecce dies ante cessabit priusquam omnia illa  
75 ualeantur enarrari, quanta mala in nobis agit odium  
proximi. Ecce talibus et his similibus malis, Deum odisse  
et non diligere conuincimur. Quali enim iustitia uitam  
habet qui uitam suam oderit? Id est Christum qui dixit:  
*Ego <sum> uia, ueritas, et uita.* Et alibi ait discipulis suis:  
*Ego uiuo in Patre et uos in me.* Et iterum: *Qui non diligit*  
80 *me, manet in morte.* Et Iohannes in epistola sua: *Qui odit*  
*fratrem suum, in tenebris est, et in morte ambulat.* Et  
iterum: *Qui odit fratrem suum, homicida est. Et scimus*  
*quod omnis homicida non habet uitam aeternam in se*  
*manentem.* Quisquis igitur talis est, fratres mei, gemendus  
85 est ualde; qui non gemit, dolendus est fortiter, quia non  
dolet seipsum in mortem et in supplicium tradit.

4. Ideoque qui in se quid tale cognouerit, quomodo Deo se  
sacrificium placabile offerre confidit, uel quomodo  
sanctum sacrificium audet accipere, quamdiu filium suum  
90 oderit et fratrem Christi? Certissime igitur ad concordiam  
reuertatur, qui uel aliquam scintillam odii in corde suo  
contra fratrem et proximum suum habeat, si Deum sibi  
uelit habere propitium. Timeat se in tenebris et in morte  
manere, redeat ad lucem et uitam, expauescat se filium  
95 diaboli nuncupari, respuat per confessionem et  
paenitentiam diabolum seductorem et perditorem, quaerat  
Christum suam uitam et salutem aeternam. Redeat ad  
pacem, respuat falsitatem, non uerbis solum, sed ex corde  
puriter odium dimittat. Diligamus eum qui dilexit nos  
100 Christum, et tradidit semetipsum pro nobis, ut nos  
redemeret, non solum ab omni peccato uerum, etiam et a  
morte aeterna. Teneamus inter nos pacem et concordiam,  
et diligamus nos inuicem, ut filii Dei et fratres Christi esse

72-73 quae...respuere cfr Phil. 3, 8 78 Ego...uita loh. 14, 6  
79 Ego...me loh. 14, 10-11, 20; 10, 38 79-80 Qui...morte I loh. 3, 14  
80-81 Qui...ambulat I loh. 2, 11 82-84 Qui...manentem I loh. 3, 15

71 et] om. F 72 putredine] putridine A 73 cessabit] cessabat F 74  
agit] ait F 78 sum] om. AF 81 est] om. A 85 qui] quia F 86 tradit]  
tradi F 88-89 uel...accipere] om. F sed add. post Christi 89 audet]  
audeat F 93 uelit] uellit F 98 uerbis] rebus F 101 non] no A

105

possimus, eiusque coheredes in regno caelesti, ipso  
donante in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

105

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104 coheredes] eredes *F*